

James 1625
Colchester 16th May 1625

OF THE
CHURCH,
FIVE BOOKES.

BY
RICHARD FIELD, DOCTOR OF
DIVINITY, AND SOMETIMES
Deane of GLOCESTER.

THE THIRD EDITION.



OXFORD,

Printed by WILLIAM TURNER, Printer
to the famous University: M.DC.XXXV.





TO THE ILLVSTRIOV'S
PRINCE THE DVKE OF
BUCKINGAM HIS GRACE,
LORD HIGH ADMIRALL
OF ENGLAND &c.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,



That especiall favour which your Grace was pleased to shew unto the Author of this worke while he lived, hath imboldned me to commend the worke it selfe, as it is now enlarged, unto your Gracious protection. And though the Authors particular obligement had not directed me in my choice, I know not unto whom I might more fitly have presented it then unto your Grace, who in a more peculiar manner then others, have undertaken the protection of Schollers. One example amongst many, this Author might have beene, had hee lived but a little longer, of your honourable care, for the advancement of learning, and encouragement of Schollers. The volume which I present unto your Grace, for the bulke and bignesse is not great, especially if it be compared with the writings of our Adversaries; whose voluminous workes would make the ignorant beleeve, that they had ingrossed all learning unto themselves. But as many times we may finde in little men that strength of body and vigour of minde which is wanting in those of greater stature; so experience telleth us, that amongst bookes, the greatest are not alwaies the best.

OT Sæpius in libro memoratur Persius uno,
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide.

And those that are acquainted with the writings of our Adversaries are not ignorant, how for the most part their great volumes are stuffed

The Epistle Dedicatory.

If a man will take the paines to reade them, like those that digge in mines for gold, hee must be content to finde parvum in magno, but a little gold in a great deale of unprofitable earth, of this worke I thinke I might safely say thus much, that it compriseth much in a little: but I intend not a panegyrique in the praise thereof. If I give it not that praise which it deserves, my neare relation unto the Author may be my excuse; seeing whatsoever I should say would seeme rather to proceede from affection then judgement. What my opinion of it is, I thinke I have sufficiently expressed in that I have thought it not unworthy your Graces patronage. And thus praying for the continuance of your Graces prosperous and happy estate I remaine

Your Graces most humbly

28 SE 60

obliged servant

NATHANIEL FIELD.

TO



TO
THE MOST REVEREND
FATHER IN GOD, MY VERY
GOOD LORD, THE LORD ARCH-

Bishop of CANTERBURY his Grace, Primate
and Metropolitan of all England.

Most Reverend in Christ, the consideration of the unhappie divisions of the Christian world, and the infinite distractions of mens mindes, not knowing in so great variety of opinions, what to thinke, or to whom to joyne themselves, (every faction boasting of the pure and sincere profession of heavenly truth, challenging to it selfe alone the name of the Church, and fastning upon all that dissent, or are otherwise minded, the hatefull note of Schisme and Heresie) hath made mee ever thinke, that there is no part of heavenly knowledge more necessary, than that which concerneth the Church. For, seeing the controversies of Religion in our time, are growne in number so many, and in nature so intricate, that, few have time and leisure, fewer strength of understanding to examine them; what remaineth for men desirous of satisfaction in things of such consequence, but diligently to search out, which amongst all the societies of men in the world, is that blessed company of holy ones, that household of faith, that Spouse of Christ, and Church of the living God, which is the Pillar and ground of truth; that so they may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and rest in her judgement. Hence it cometh, that all wise and judicious men, doe more esteeme bookes of doctrinall principles, than those that are written of any other argument; and that there was never any treasure holden more rich and pretious by all them that know how to prize and value things aright, than bookes of prescription against the prophane novelties of Heretiques: for that thereby men that are not willing, or not able to examine the infinite differences that arise amongst men concerning the faith, have generall directions what to follow, and what to avoid. We admit no man, saith Tertullian in his booke of prescriptions, to any disputation concerning sacred and divine things, or to the scanning and examining of particular questions of Religion, unlesse hee first shew us, of whom he received the faith, by whose meanes hee became a Christian, and whether he admit and hold the generall principles, wherein all Christians do, and ever did agree; otherwise, prescribing against him, as a stranger from the common-wealth

The Epistle

of the Israel of God, and having no part, nor fellowship in this businesse. But as in the dayes of the Fathers, the Donatists, and other Heretickes, including the Church within the compasse of Africa, and such other parts of the world, where they & their consorts found best entertainment, rejected all other from the unity of the Church, excluded them from hope of salvation, and appropriated all the glorious things that are spoken of it, to themselves alone: so in our time, there are some found so much in love with the pompe and glory of the Church of Rome, that they feare not to condemne all the inhabitants of the world, and to pronounce them to be Anathema from the Lord Iesus, if they dissent from that Church, and the doctrine, profession, and observations of it; So casting into hell, all the Christians of Græcia, Russia, Armenia, Syria, and Æthiopia, because they refuse to be subject to the tyranny of the Pope, and the Court of Rome: besides the heavy sentence which they have passed, against all the famous States & Kingdomes of Europe, which have freed themselves from the Aegyptiacall bondage, they were formerly holden in. These men abuse many with the glorious pretences of antiquity, Vnity, Vniversality, Succession, & the like; making the simple beleve that all is ancient which they professe, that the consent of all ages is for them, and that the Bishops succeeding one another, in all the famous Churches of the world, never taught, nor beleaved any other thing, than they now doe: whereas it is easie to prove, that all the things wherein they dissent from us, are nothing else but novelties, and uncertainties; that the greatest part of the Christian world hath bin divided from them for certaine hundreds of yeares; that none of the most famous, and greatest Churches, ever knew, or admitted, any of their heresies; and that the things they now publish, as Articles of faith to be beleaved by all that will bee saved, are so farre from being Catholike, that they were not the doctrines of that Church, wherein they and we sometimes lived together in one communion, but the opinions onely of some men in that Church, adulterating the doctrine of heavenly truth, bringing in, and defending superstitious abuses disliked by others, and serving as vile instruments to advance the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome. Wherefore for the discovery of the vanity of their insolent boastings for the confirming of the weake, the satisfying of them that are doubtfull, and that all men may know that wee have not departed from the auncient faith, or forsaken the fellowship of the Catholicke Church, but that wee have forsaken a part to hold communion with the whole, (led so to doe, by the most prevayling reasons that ever perswaded men, and the greatest authority on earth) I resolved to communicate to others, what I had long since in private for mine owne satisfaction observed, touching the nature of the Church, the notes whereby it may bee knowne, and the priviledges that pertain to it. These my simple labours, most Reverend in Christ, I thought it my duty to offer to your Graces censure, before they should present themselves to the view of the world; that so, either finding approbation, they might the more confidently make themselves publike, or otherwise bee suppressed like the untimely fruit, that never saw the Sunne. The condition of the times wherein we live is such, that many are discouraged from meddling with the controversies of Religion, because they are sure (besides the vile slanders, wicked calumniation, and bitter reproches, of the common adversaries) to passe the censures of those men, who, though they will doe nothing themselves, yet in the height of a proud and disdainefull spirit, with many a scornefull looke, smile at the follies of other mens writings, as they esteeme them. The sinister judgements of either of these sortes of men, I shall the lesse regard, for that it pleased your Grace so lovingly to accept, and so favourably to approve these my poore paines, bestowed for the clearing of sundry questions

Dedicatory.

questions concerning the Church, which by your direction and appointment I first entered into. It hath bin of late, the vaunt of the adversaries of the Religion established amongst us, that they have written many bookes against us, and none have bin found to oppose any thing against them; and that they desire nothing more, then by writing, or disputing, to trie the goodnes of their cause. But, I doubt not, but this Nationall Church, the government whereof under our most gracious Sovereigne, is principally committed to your fatherly care, shall yeeld men more than matchable, with the proudest of the adverse faction: who being animated and hartned by your favour, & guided by your directions, shall no longer suffer these proud Philistims, to defie the armies of the Lord of Hosts. For though they proclaime their owne praises with loude sounding trumpets, that might have beene piped with an eaten straw; and though they magnifie themselves, as if they were the onely Paragons of the world, and as if all wit, & learning, had bin borne with them, & should die with them: yet whosoever knoweth them, will little regard the froath of their swelling words of pride and scorne: seeing when they have done vaunting, they have done their best, and that which remaineth is little worth; their allegations being for the most part nothing but falsifications: their testimonies of antiquity, the markes & notes of their ancient forgeries; their reasons, sophismes: their reports, slanders, & wicked calumniationes: their threats, the venting of their malice, and powring out of their impotent desires; their predictions, onely manifesting what they wish might be, but no way shewing what shall be. In the later dayes of our late dread Sovereigne Elizabeth of famous & blessed memory, all their books were nothing but fearefull threatnings of bloody confusions, and horrible dissipations, of Church and Common-wealth; which they hoped for, and looked after, so soone as it should please God to cut off the thread of her blessed life. But, he that sitteth in heaven hath laughed them to scorne, and branded them with the marke of false Prophets. For, Elizabeth is gathered to her fathers in peace, full of dayes, and full of honour, & yet they have not bathed their swords in blood as they desired; but God hath disappointed all their purposes, frustrated their hopes, and continued our happinesse: Josua hath succeeded Moyles: & Salomon, David: and he that disposeth the kingdomes of men, and giveth them to whom he will, hath set upon the Throne of Majesty amongst us, a King of a Religious, Vertuous, and peaceable disposition, to whom he hath given a wise and understanding heart, large as the sands on the Sea-shoare, whose delight is in the Law of the Lord, who hath chosen his testimonies to be his Counsellors; whose constant resolutions in matters of faith and Religion, daunteth the enemies of it; whose admirable understanding in things Divine, more then for many ages, the world hath found in any of his ranke, giveth us good assurance, that no frauds of any deceivers shall ever bee able to seduce or mis-lead him: whose blessed Progenie, and Royall issue, maketh us hope, that the felicity of these united kingdomes, shall continue as long as the Sunne and Moone endure: which whosoever desireth, and seeketh to procure, Peace be upon him, and upon the Israell of God. Thus craving pardon for this my boldnesse, and humbly beseeching Almighty God, long to continue your Graces happy and prosperous estate, and to make you a glorious instrument of much good to his Church, I rest:

Your Graces,

in all dutie,

RICHARD FIELD.

28 SE 60

Yon Gorge

in all directions

Richard Field

WHAT THINGS ARE HANDLED IN THE BOOKES FOLLOWING.

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THE FIRST BOOKE CONCERNING THE NAME, NATURE, AND DEFINITI- ON OF THE CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Of the Church consisting of men and Angels in the day of their Creation.



Hatsoever commeth within the compasse of mans conceit and apprehension, is either the universall perfection of being it selfe, wherein there is nothing intermingled of not being, nothing of possibilitie to bee that which already it is not, which is the nature of God, whose name is *Jehovah, Which is, which was, and is to come*: or else it is finite limited and restrained to a certaine degree, measure, and kinde of being, which is the condition of all things under God. So that as wee cannot thinke aright of God, but with resol-

a *Exod. 3. 14.*
and 6. 3.
b *Revel. 1. 8.*

ved and undoubted assurance that *he is*. (For what can be, if being it selfe be not?) that hee is infinite, and hath no limitation of his perfection, (for within what bounds or limits shall we compasse that wherein the fulnesse of being is found?) that hee is from everlasting to everlasting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end of his continuance: (For how should that have either beginning or end, wherein there is nothing intermingled of not being, and so no time nor moment can be imagined wherein it was not or shall cease to bee?) so wee cannot thinke of any thing else but as finite and limited having certaine bounds set unto it, within the compasse whereof, all the perfection it possesseth and enjoyeth is contained, as having being after not being, and so receiving it from another, as limited in continuance as well as in measure and kinde of perfections, having set and certaine termes before which it was not, and a necessitie of ceasing to be, if the hand that upholdeth it withdraw it selfe but for a moment. Hence it followeth that such is the nature and condition of all things under God, that they are mixed and compounded of being and not being, perfection and imperfection, fulnesse and want. For howsoever they want nothing, which to the perfecting of their owne kinde is required, yet they faile and come infinitely short of that perfection, which is found in God the fountaine of all being; yea, much is denyed to every of

A

them

them, which is bestowed on others and even in respect of themselves, they are oftentimes that in possibility, which actually they have not attained unto. Seeing therefore the imperfection of each thing, presupposeth perfection before it, out of which it is taken, whereunto it tendeth and endeavoureth to attaine, and whereof it faileth; all things under God having imperfection found in them, and having some part of his Divine perfections committed unto them, but not in sort answerable to that whence they are taken, and wherein they are originally found, looke backe and hasten to returne to that beginning, whence they came forth, and with fixed eyes, bowed knees, and hands lifted up, present themselves before him that liveth for ever, *which is, which was, and which is to come*, with great joy and exultation powring forth and returning thankfull praises to him, *for whose sake they were created*; desiring continuance of that they are, supply of that they want, and thinking it their greatest happinesse, to have but the least resemblance of his Divine perfections.

c Revel. 5. 13.
w 4. 11.

d Gaspar Con-
tarenus lib. 7.
primæ Philoso-
phiæ.

The proceeding of each thing from the first, is like to a straight line drawne out in length which of all other is the weakest; neither can it be strengthened, but by being redoubled & bowed backe againe, whereby it draweth nigh to the nature of a circular line, which of all others is the strongest, as wherein each part yeeldeth stay and support to other. All things therefore after they are come forth from the presence of God, taking view of themselves, and finding their owne imperfect and defective nature, fearing to remove too farre, flie backe unto him that made them, for support, comfort and stay, and like a reflected line returne towards the presence of him, *for whose sake they are, and have beene created*: yet is there nothing found in degree of nature inferiour unto man, that returneth so farre, and approacheth so neare, as to know, see and delight in God, as he is in himselfe, but all rest contented and seeke to discerne, know and enjoy no more of his Divine perfections, than in themselves they possesse and partake of him. So that they expresse not the nature of a perfect circle, in which the lines, drawne forth in length, are in such sort reflected and bowed backe againe that in their returne they stay not, till they come to the very same point whence they beganne. This is peculiar to men and Angels, which are carried backe with restless motions of unsatisfied desires, and stay not till they come to the open view, cleare vision and happie fruition of God their Creator. *O Lord, saith Augustine, thou madest us for thy selfe, and our hearts are restless and unquiet, till they rest in Thee.*

e Quia fecisti
nos ad te, & in-
quietum est cor
nostrum donec
requiescat in te.
Aug. lib. 1. Con-
fess. in initio

The reason of this so different condition of men and Angells, from other things, who so taketh a view of the diverse degrees and sorts of things in the world, cannot but with exceeding great sweetnesse of delight observe and discerne.

There is nothing which, in sense of want and imperfection, doth not endeavour to returne towards God, from whom all good and happy supplie of defect and want proceedeth: neither is there any thing found in the world, (all things being full of defect,) which is not carried with some inclination of desire, either seeking that it hath not, or desiring the continuance of that it hath already received from him, in whom the fulnesse of all happie good is found. From hence it commeth, that all things incline, tend, and move to that place, condition and estate, wherein they may enjoy the uttermost of that perfection they are capable of. This inclination of desire ariseth and groweth in each thing out of the forme thereof, which giveth it that degree, measure and kind of being it hath, neither is there any forme whence some inclination doth not flow. Those things therefore which have no forme, but that which giveth them their naturall being, different and distinct from other things, have no inclination of desire, but naturall, to enjoy and possesse themselves

selves and continue that they are, to grow and increase till they come to the full period of their naturall perfection, and to continue the same by turning into their owne substance and nature such things, by addition whereof they may be nourished, increased and continued. But those things wherein besides their naturall formes giving them being, by reason of their more spirituall and immateriall nature, the formes and formall resemblances of other things do shine and appeare, have farre more large desires, growing out of the formes thus shining into them, and apprehended by them. And as they are of more of these largenesse of apprehension: so are their desires larger and more free, or shut up within the narrower compasse.

The most perfect and excellent creatures in the world, below the condition of man, have not a generall apprehension of all things, but only of some outward sensible things, in the getting or declining whereof their good doth stand and consist; and therefore have their desires likewise contained within the same straites, and are like prisoners subject to the will of him that restraineth them, which cannot goe at large whither they will. But man is by condition of his creation free, having no bounds of any one kind of good things within the compasse whereof he is inclosed; but as his understanding is so large, that it reacheth to all things that are, though in kind never so different, and number never so numberlesse; so his desires have no limitation to things of any one kind alone, but are freely carried to the desiring of whatsoever in any kind or degree of goodnesse appeares to be good. And because in this multiplicitie of good things nothing is good, but as partaking of the chiefe good: nothing better than other, but as comming nearer unto it: therefore for the direction of all his desires, that he may rightly value and prize each thing, either preferring or lesse esteeming it according to the worth thereof, it is necessary that hee know and desire as the chiefe good, that which indeed is the chiefe and principall good, the measure of all the rest, before he can rightly discern the different degrees of goodnesse found in things, and so rightly preferre one before another.

And this doubtlesse is the reason why no other creatures, but onely men and Angels are capable of felicitie and blisse; because the greatest good they know or desire is but some particular thing, and that no better than themselves; but men and Angels, in whom so great perfection of knowledge is found, that they apprehend the whole variety and multiplicity of things, and all the different degrees of goodnesse in them, never have their desires satisfied till they possesse and enjoy that soveraigne, infinite and everlasting good, by participation whereof all things else in their severall kindes and degrees are judged good. This glorious society of men and Angels, whom the most high God; (passing by all his other creatures made capable of felicitie and blisse, calling them to the view, sight, and enjoying of himselfe, is rightly named *Ecclesia, cætus evocatus*, the Church of the living God, the joyfull company of them among whom his greatnesse is knowne and his name called upon, the multitude which by the sweete motions of his Divine grace hee hath called out to the participation of eternall happinesse.

CHAP. 2.

Of the calling of grace, whereby God called out both men and Angels from the rest of his creatures, to be unto him a holy Church: and of their Apostasie,

a Virtus naturæ ordinat actum suum in bonum per naturam, quia non est supra naturam, & ideo potest in illum ordinem & sine dispositione nova ferre ad locum. Actus rationalis creaturæ meritorius oportet quod ordinetur ad bonum, quod est supra ipsam, quod est summum bonum & infinitum. Quia ergo non est possibilis extensio rationalis creaturæ supra seipsam, ideo non est ei possibile per naturam ut ordinet suum actum, siue perveniat in suum finem: & ideo necesse est ut juvetur gratia. Et post: Duplex est cognitio de Deo. Una per effectus suos, & hæc est sine gratia, alia per præsentiam sui apud animam, & hæc est per gratiam. Præsens autem est in quantum præsentat, seu præsentem facit beatitudinem quæ est in ipsis, in habitu tantum, ut in parvulis; in affectu tantum, ut in adultis; in habitu, affectu & intellectu, ut in beatis. Alex. de Hales part. 3. q. 61. memb. 6 Ostendā tibi omne bonum. Exod. 33. 19. c Joan Picus Heptapli 1. 7. in proæmio. d John 6. 44.

ALl other things seeke no higher perfection nor greater good, than is found within the compasse of their owne nature; by natures guiding without the helpe of any other thing attaine thereunto: but men and Angels which seeke an infinite and Divine good, even the everlasting and endlesse happinesse, which consisteth in the vision of God, *At whose right hand are pleasures for evermore*, cannot attaine their wished good, which is so high and excellent, and farre removed from them, unlesse by supernaturall force, which wee call *grace*, they be lifted unto it. For though, by nature they know God, so farre forth as by his effects and glorious workes hee may be knowne; yet as he is in himselfe they know him not. farther than in the light of grace and glory hee is pleased to manifest himselfe unto them, thereby admitting them to the joyfull sight, and blessed view of his glorious Majestic, *which dwelleth in light that no creature*, by it selfe, *can approach unto* This is true and perfect happinesse, to see the face of God: which to behold is the height of all that good which any creature can desire. To this the Angels may be lifted up, to this they cannot ascend by themselves; to this man cannot goe, to this hee may be drawne, according to that our Saviour delivereth of himselfe, *No man cometh unto mee unlesse my father draw him*. Those things which are inferiour unto man, can neither attaine by themselves, nor be drawn, nor lifted up to the partaking of this so happy and joyfull an estate. The vapour of water goeth up on high, but not unlesse it be drawne with the beames and sweete influence of the Sunne: but more grosse and earthly things, can neither ascend of themselves, nor admit into them these heavenly beames, to raise and draw them up. Among bodily substances, some are carried onely with a straight and direct motion, either to the highest or lowest places of the world: which motion expresseth the condition of those things to the which God hath denied the knowledge and immediate enjoying of himselfe, which are established in the perfection of their owne nature, and therein rest without seeking any further thing. Some with circular motion, by which they returne to the same point whence they began to move. The motion of these expresseth the nature and condition of men and Angels, who onely are capable of true happinesse, whose desires are never satisfied, till they come backe againe to the same beginning whence they came forth, till they come to see God face to face, and to dwell in his presence. None but immortall and incorruptible bodies are rolled with circular motions: none but Angels that are heavenly spirits, and men whose soules are immortall, returne backe to the sight, presence and happy enjoying of God their Creator. Each thing is carried in direct motion, by natures force, in circular, by heavenly movers. Every thing attaineth natures perfection, by natures force and guidance; but that other which is Divine and supernaturall, consisting in the vision and fruition of God, they that attaine unto it, must impute it to the sweete motions and happy directions of Divine grace.

This grace God vouchsafed both men and Angels in the day of their creation, thereby calling them to the participation of eternall happinesse, and giving them power that they might attaine to the perfection of all happy and desired good if they would, and everlastingly continue in the joyfull possession of the same. But such was the infelicity of these most excellent creatures, that knowing all the different degrees of goodnesse found in things, and having power

to make choise of what they would, joyned with that mutability of nature which they were subject unto in that they were made of nothing, ^d they fell from the love of that which is the chiefe and greatest good to those of meaner qualitie, and thereby deprived themselves of that sweete and happy contentment they should have found in God; and denying to be subject to their great Sovereigne, and to performe that duty they owed unto him, were justly dispossessed of all that good, which from him they received, and under him should have enjoyed; yea all other things which were made to do them service, lost their native beautie and originall perfection, and became feeble, weake, unpleasant and untractable, and in them they might finde as little contentment as in themselves. ^e For seeing nothing can prevaile or resist against the lawes of the omnipotent *Creator*: no creature is suffered to deny the yeelding of that, which from it is due to God. For either it shall be forced to yeeld it by right using of that which from him it received, or by loosing that which it would not use well; and so consequently, if it yeeld not that by duty it should, by doing and working righteousness, it shall by feeling smart and miserie. This then was the fall of men and Angels from their first estate, in that by turning from the greater to the lesser good, they deprived themselves of that blessednesse which though they had not of themselves, yet they were capable of, and might have attained unto, by adhering to the chiefe and immutable good, and so by their fault fell into those grievous evils they are now subject unto; yet in very different sort and manner.

^d August de Civitate Dei lib. 12. c. 8.

^e August. de libero Arbitrio lib. 3. cap. 15.

C H A P. 3.

Of the Church, consisting of those Angels that continued in their first estate by force of grace upholding them, and men redeemed.

THe Fall of Angels was irrecoverable; For without all hope of any better estate, or future deliverance out of those evils, (into the bottomlesse gulph whereof, by their rebellious sinne they plunged themselves,) they are reserved in chaines of darknesse, to the judgement of the great day. But concerning the sonnes of men, the Lord knew whereof they were made, and remembred that they were but dust. Hee looking upon them with the eies of pittie, and in the multitude of his compassionate mercies, said of them as it is in the Prophet *Jeremie*, *Shall they fall, and shall they not arise? shall they turne away, and shall they not returne?* as high as the heaven is above the earth, so great was his mercies towards them: As farre as the East is from the West, so farre removed hee their sinnes from them, hee redeemed their life from hell, and crowned them with mercy and compassion.

^a Jerem. 8. 4.

^b The reason of this so great difference, as the Schoolemen thinke, is: First, for that the Angels are not by propagation one from another, but were created all at once, so that of Angels some might fall and others stand. But men descend by generation from one stocke or roote, and therefore the first man falling and corrupting his nature, derived to all his posterity a corrupted and sinfull nature: if therefore God had not appointed a redemption for man, he had beene wholly deprived of one of the most excellent creatures that ever hee made; whereas among the Angells, notwithstanding the Apostasie of some, hee held still innumerable in their first estate. Secondly, the Angels fell of themselves, but man by the suggestion of another. Thirdly, the Angels in the height of their pride, sought to be like unto God in omnipotencie, which is an incommunicable property of divine being, & cannot be imparted to any creature. But men desired onely to be like unto God in omniscience and the generall knowledg of all things, which may be communicated to a creature, as in Christ it is to his humane soule: which notwithstanding the union with God, yet still remaineth

^b Alexand. de Hales part. 3. q. 1. memb. 2.

remaineth and continueth a created nature, and therefore the degree of sinfull transgression was not so grievous in the one; as in the other. Fourthly, the Angels were immateriall and intellectuall spirits, dwelling in heavenly palaces, in the presence of God and the light of his countenance, and therefore could not sinne by error or misperswasion, but of purposed malice which is the sinne against the holy Ghost, and is irremissible. But man fell by misperswasion, and being deceived by the lying suggestion of the spirit of error. Fifthly, the Angels have the fulnesse of intellectuall light; when they take view of any thing, they see all that any way pertaineth to it; and so do all things with full resolution, that they never alter nor repent: but man who findeth out one thing after another, and one thing out of another, doth dislike upon farther consideration, that which formerly hee liked. Whereupon Schoolemen note that there are three kindes of wills; The first of God, which never turneth nor altereth; the second of Angels, that turneth and returneth not; the third of men, that turneth and returneth. Sixtly, there is a time prefixed both to men and Angels, after which there is no possibility of altering their estate, bettering themselves, or attaining any good; Now as death is that time prefixed unto men, so was the first good or bad deliberate action to the Angels; that who would might be perpetually good; who would not, no grace should ever after restore them againe. *Hoc est Angelis casus, quod hominibus mors.* saith *Damascene*. The reason why God limited so short a time to them, and assigned so long a time to men, was, because they were spirituall substances, all created at once, and that in the empyreall heavens; and so both in respect of nature, condition, and place, were most readily prepared, disposed, and fitted for their immediate, everlasting glorification; so that it was fit there should be set upon them a short time to make choice of their future state, never after to be altered againe, to wit, till their first deliberate conversion unto him, or aversion from him.

c Damasc. l. 2.
Orthodoxæ
fidei. cap. 4.

But man being created in a naturall body, to fill the world with inhabitants by procreation, being set in a place farre removed, even in an earthly paradise, had a longer time set him before hee should be in finall stay, or have his last judgement passe upon him, to wit, till death for particular, and till the end of the world for generall judgement, when the number of mankind shall be full. These are the reasons that moved Almighty God that spared not the Angels, to shew mercie unto the sonnes of men.

So that as God; in the day of the creation, called forth all both men and Angels from among the rest of his creatures, to whom hee denied the knowledge and enjoying of himselfe, that these onely might know, feare and worship him in his glorious Temple of the world, and be unto him a selected multitude and holy Church; so when there was found amongst these a dangerous Apollacie, and departure from him, hee held of the Angels so many as hee was pleased, and suffered them not to decline or go aside with the rest; and raised up and severed out of the masse of perdition, whom hee would among the sonnes of men. The Angels now confirmed in grace, and those men whom in the multitude of his mercies hee delivereth out of the state of condemnation, and reconcileth to himselfe, do make that happie society of blessed ones, whom God hath loved with an everlasting love. This society is more properly named the Church of God, than the former, consisting of men and Angels, in the state of that integrity wherein they were created, in

d 1. Tim. 5. 21.
e Jude ver. 6.

e Major libertas est necessaria adversus tot

& tantas tentationes quæ in Paradiso non fuit dono perseverantiæ munita & firmata, ut cum omnibus amoribus, terroribus, & erroribus suis vincatur hic mundus. Hoc Sanctorum martyria docuerunt: denique ille Adam, & terrente nullo & insuper contra Dei terrentis imperium libero usus arbitrio non stetit in tanta felicitate, tanta non peccandi facilitate. Isti autem non dico terrente mundo sed sæviante ne starent, steterunt in fide: cum videret ille bona præsentia quæ erat relicturus, isti futura quæ accepturi fuerunt non viderent. unde illud, Nisi dominante illo, &c. *Aug. de Correp. & gratia. Cap. 12.*

that

that they which pertain to this happie company, are called to the participation of eternall happinesse, with the calling of a more mighty, potent and prevailing grace then the other. For whereas they were partakers onely of that grace, which gave them power to attaine unto, and continue in the perfection of all happie good, if they would, and then *in tanta felicitate, & non peccandi facilitate*, in so great felicitie and facilitie of not offending, left to themselves to do what they would, and to make their choice at their owne perill; These are partakers of that grace, which winneth infallibly, holdeth inseparably, and leadeth indeclinably, in the waies of eternall blessednesse.

C H A P. 4.

Of the Church of the Redeemed.

All these, aswell Angels that stood by force of grace upholding them, as men restored by renewing mercy, have a most happie fellowship amongst themselves, and therefore make one Church of God: yet for that the sonnes of men have a more full communion and perfect fellowship, being all delivered out of the same miseries, by the same benefit of gracious mercy; Therefore they make that more speciall society, which may rightly be named the Church of the redeemed of God. This Church began in him in whom sinne began, even in *Adam* the father of all the living, repenting after his fall and returning to God. For wee must not thinke, that God was without a Church among men at any time; but so soone as *Adam* had offended, and was called to give an account of that he had done, (hearing that voice of his displeased Lord and Creator, *Adam, where art thou?* that so hee might know in what estate he was by reason of his offence) the promise was made unto him, *that the seede of the woman should breake the serpents head.* Yet for that *Abel* was the first that the Scripture reporteth to have worshipped God with sacrifice, and to have beene divided from the wicked in whom God had no pleasure, even *curst Cain*, that afterward shed his innocent blood, therefore we usually say the Church or chosen company of the redeemed of the Lord began in *Abel*: who being slaine by *Cain*, God restored his Church againe in *Seth*, in whose race and posterity hee continued his true worship till *Noe*. In whose time the wickednesse of men being full, hee brought in the flood and destroyed the whole world, *Noe* onely and his familie excepted, whom he made a preacher of righteousness to the world, before and after the flood, and chose (from among his children) *Sem* his eldest sonne, in whose race hee would continue the pure and sincere knowledge of himselfe, and the expectation of that promised seede that should breake the serpents head.

This *Sem* was the father of all the sonnes of *Heber* (of whom the people of God were afterwards named *Hebrewes*) who was also as some thinke *Melchisedech*, in whose posterity the true Church continued; so that God vouchsafed to be called the God of *Sem*, till the daies of *Abraham*, in whose time there being a great declining to Idolatrie after the flood, as there was in the daies of *Noe* before the flood, so that the defection was found not onely amongst those that descended of *Cham* and *Japhet*, but even among the children of *Sem* and the sonnes of *Heber* also, of whom *Abraham* was; God called him out from his fathers house, and gave him the promise that he would make his seed as the starres of heaven in number, and that in his seed all the nations of the world should be blessed, and gave him the seale of circumcision, so that all posterities have ever honoured him with the name and title of the father of the faithfull. This man obtained a sonne by promise in his old age, when *Sara* his wife was likewise old, and it ceased to bee with her after the manner of women, and named his name *Isaac*, of whom came *Esau*

remaineth and continueth a created nature, and therefore the degree of sinfull transgression was not so grievous in the one, as in the other. Fourthly, the Angels were immateriall and intellectuall spirits, dwelling in heavenly palaces, in the presence of God and the light of his countenance, and therefore could not sinne by error or misperswasion, but of purposed malice which is the sinne against the holy Ghost, and is irremissible. But man fell by misperswasion, and being deceived by the lying suggestion of the spirit of error. Fifthly, the Angels have the fulnesse of intellectuall light; when they take view of any thing, they see all that any way pertaineth to it; and so do all things with full resolution, that they never alter nor repent: but man who findeth out one thing after another, and one thing out of another, doth dislike upon farther consideration, that which formerly hee liked. Whereupon Schoolemen note that there are three kindes of wills; The first of God, which never turneth nor altereth; the second of Angels, that turneth and returneth not; the third of men, that turneth and returneth. Sixtly, there is a time prefixed both to men and Angels, after which there is no possibility of altering their estate, bettering themselves, or attaining any good; Now as death is that time prefixed unto men, so was the first good or bad deliberate action to the Angels; that who would might be perpetually good; who would not, no grace should ever after restore them againe. *Hoc est Angelis casus, quod hominibus mors.* saith Damascene. The reason why God limited so short a time to them, and assigned so long a time to men, was, because they were spirituall substances, all created at once, and that in the empyreall heavens; and so both in respect of nature, condition, and place, were most readily prepared, disposed, and fitted for their immediate, everlasting glorification; so that it was fit there should be set upon them a short time to make choice of their future state, never after to be altered againe, to wit, till their first deliberate conversion unto him, or aversion from him.

c Damasc. l. 2.
Orthodoxæ
fidei. cap. 4.

But man being created in a naturall body, to fill the world with inhabitants by procreation, being set in a place farre removed, even in an earthly paradise, had a longer time set him before hee should be in finall stay, or have his last judgement passe upon him, to wit, till death for particular, and till the end of the world for generall judgement, when the number of mankind shall be full. These are the reasons that moved Almighty God that spared not the Angels, to shew mercie unto the sonnes of men.

d 1. Tim. 5. 21.
e Jude ver. 6.

So that as God; in the day of the creation, called forth all both men and Angels from among the rest of his creatures, to whom hee denied the knowledge and enjoying of himselfe, that these onely might know, feare and worship him in his glorious Temple of the world, and be unto him a selected multitude and holy Church; so when there was found amongst these a dangerous Apostacie, and departure from him, hee held of the Angels so many as hee was pleased, and suffered them not to decline or go aside with the rest; and raised up and severed out of the masse of perdition, whom hee would among the sonnes of men. The Angels now confirmed in grace, and those men whom in the multitude of his mercies hee delivereth out of the state of condemnation, and reconcileth to himselfe, do make that happie society of blessed ones, whom God hath loved with an everlasting love. This society is more properly named the Church of God, than the former, consisting of men and Angels, in the state of that integrity wherein they were created, in

e Major libertas est necessaria adversus tot

& tantas tentationes quæ in Paradiso non fuit dono perseverantiæ munita & firmata, ut cum omnibus amoribus, terroribus, & erroribus suis vincatur hic mundus. Hoc Sanctorum martyria docuerunt: denique ille Adam, & terrente nullo & insuper contra Dei terrentis imperium libero usus arbitrio non stetit in tanta felicitate, tanta non peccandi facilitate. Isti autem non dico terrente mundo sed sæviante ne starent, steterunt in fide: cum videret ille bona præsentia quæ erat reliquiturus, isti futura quæ accepturi fuerunt non viderent. unde illud, Nisi dormante illo, &c. Aug. de Correp. & gratia. Cap. 12.

that

that they which pertain to this happie company, are called to the participation of eternall happinesse, with the calling of a more mighty, potent and prevailing grace then the other. For whereas they were partakers onely of that grace, which gave them power to attaine unto, and continue in the perfection of all happie good, if they would, and then *in tanta felicitate, & non peccandi facilitate*, in so great felicitie and facilitie of not offending, left to themselves to do what they would, and to make their choice at their owne perill; These are partakers of that grace, which winneth infallibly, holdeth inseparably, and leadeth indeclinably, in the waies of eternall blessednesse.

C H A P. 4.

Of the Church of the Redeemed.

All these, aswell Angels that stood by force of grace upholding them, as men restored by renewing mercy, have a most happie fellowship amongst themselves, and therefore make one Church of God: yet for that the sonnes of men have a more full communion and perfect fellowship, being all delivered out of the same miseries, by the same benefit of gracious mercy; Therefore they make that more speciall society, which may rightly be named the Church of the redeemed of God. This Church began in him in whom sinne began, even in *Adam* the father of all the living, repenting after his fall and returning to God. For wee must not thinke, that God was without a Church among men at any time; but so soone as *Adam* had offended, and was called to give an account of that he had done, (hearing that voice of his displeased Lord and Creator, *Adam, where art thou?* that so hee might know in what estate he was by reason of his offence) the promise was made unto him, *that the seede of the woman should breake the serpens head.* Yet for that *Abel* was the first that the Scripture reporteth to have worshipped God with sacrifice, and to have beene divided from the wicked in whom God had no pleasure, even *curst Cain*, that afterward shed his innocent blood, therefore we usually say the Church or chosen company of the redeemed of the Lord began in *Abel*: who being slaine by *Cain*, God restored his Church againe in *Seth*, in whose race and posterity hee continued his true worship till *Noe*. In whose time the wickednesse of men being full, hee brought in the flood and destroyed the whole world, *Noe* onely and his familie excepted, whom he made a preacher of righteousness to the world, before and after the flood, and chose (from among his children) *Sem* his eldest sonne, in whose race hee would continue the pure and sincere knowledge of himselfe, and the expectation of that promised seede that should breake the serpens head.

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and *Jacob*, concerning whom God pronounced ere they were yet borne, or had done good or evill, *The elder shall serve the younger, I have loved Jacob, and hated Esau.* *Jacob* therefore prevailed with God, and was named *Israel*, the father of the twelve Patriarches, of whom came the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, and that chosen Nation of holy Hebrewes, who were also named *Jewes* of *Juda* the Patriarch, to whom the Scepter and Kingly dignity pertained, to whom his fathers sonnes bowed according to the tenor of *Jacobs* blessing, concerning whom the Lord did promise, *that the Scepter should not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from betweene his feete, till the Shilo were come.* Great was the honour of this people above all the Nations of the World, for *unto them were committed the Oracles of God, to them pertained the adoption and glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law and the service of God, and the promises, of whom were the fathers, and of whom concerning the flesh Christ came, who is God over all blessed for ever, the propitiation for sinnes the merit of reconciliation, The glory of Israel, and the light of the Gentiles, to whom God gave a name above all names, that at the naming thereof all knees do bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, in whom all things appeare full of mercy, and full of merveile.* God, before all eternitie, yet made man in time; begotten before all times, yet borne in time; borne of a woman, yet a Virgin, inclosed in the wombe of *Mary* his mother, yet even then knowne of *Iohn* his fore-runner, yet in the wombe *Elizabeth* his Mother likewise, who sprang for joy at the presence of the eternall Word. Hee was borne in *Bethlehem* the meanest of the Cities of *Judah*, wrapped in swadling bands, and laid in a manger, yet glorified by the Angels, pointed to by a starre, and adored by the Sages that came from farre. He was no sooner borne into the World, but *Herod* sought his life, so that he was forced to flye into *Egypt* whilest he did yet hang on his mothers breasts, but he overthrew and brake in pieces all the Idols of *Egypt*. The *Jewes* saw no beautie in his face, nor glory in his countenance, yet *David* in spirit long before pronounced, that hee was fairer than the sonnes of men; and being transfigured in the mount, his face did shine like the Sunne, and gave a taste of that glory, wherein hee will returne to judge the quick and dead: hee was baptized as a man, but forgave sinnes as God, not washed by those waters, but purifying them rather, and filling them with sanctifying force and power; hee was tempted as a man, but overcoming as God, maketh us confident, because hee hath overcome the world; hee was hungry, but fed many thousands, and was the true Bread that came downe from Heaven; hee thirsted but cryed aloud, *If any thirst let him come unto mee, and promiseth, to every one that beleeveth in him, that rivers of water shall flow out of his belly.* Hee was weary, but promised rest to all them that are weary and come unto him; hee slept, but waking stilled the tempest, and commanded the winde and the sea; hee payed tribute but out of the mouth of a fish taken in the sea; hee prayed, but hearing our prayers; hee wept, but wipeth all teares from our eyes; hee was sold for thirty pence, but redeemed the World with a great and inestimable price; hee was led as a sheepe to the slaughter, but hee is the great shepheard that feedeth the *Israel* of God; hee was beaten and wounded, but cured all our weakenesse, and healed all our sicknesse; he died, was buried, and descended into hell, but he rose againe, and ascended into heaven, where hee sitteth at the right hand of the highest Majestie, till all his enemies be made his foot-stoole. This was hee whom all the fathers looked for, all the Prophets prophesied of, whom all the Ceremonies, Sacrifices, and Jewish observations led unto, in whom that which was fore-told was fulfilled, that which was imperfect supplied, and all things changed into a better estate, so that by his comming *all things are become new*, a new Priesthood, a new Law, a new Covenant, new Sacraments, and a new people, that worship not at *Ierusalem*, or in the Temple alone, but (without respect of place) worship God in spirit and truth.

CHAP. 5.

Of the Christian Church.

THe society of this new & blessed people began in the *Apostles*, whom Christ the anointed *Saviour* of the world did chuse to be his followers, and to be witnesses of all the things he did and suffered among finfull men. To these our Saviour Christ after his resurrection, gave most ample Commission to teach the Nations and people of the world, and to preach repentance and remission of sinnes in his name, opening their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures, that so it behooved him to suffer, and to rise againe the third day, whereof they were witnesses. Yet commanded hee them to tarry in Ierusalem, till they were indued with power from above, Which was performed unto them in the feast of Pentecost, when all they that looked for the redemption of Israel by this anointed Saviour, and had beene his followers, after his departure from them & returning from the heavens, were assembled into one place, and suddainly heard as it were the noise of a mighty and rushing wind, & there appeared unto them cloven tongues like fire, and sate upon every of them, & they were all filled with the holy Ghost, and began to speake with other tongues, as the spirit gave them utterance; so that though there were dwelling at Ierusalem, men that feared God of every nation under heaven, yet they all heard them speake in their owne tongues the wonderfull workes of God. Here was the beginning of that blessed company, which for distinction sake we call the Christian Church, as consisting of them that beleve in Christ now already come in the flesh.

^a Mat. 28. 19. 20.
^b Luke 24. 45.
 46. 47. 48.
^c Acts 1. 4.
^d Acts 2. 1.

And though the Church of the Old and New Testament be in essence the same, yet for that the state of the Church of the new Testament is in many respects farre more glorious and excellent, the Fathers and Ecclesiasticall Writers for the most part appropriate the name of the Church, to the multitude of beleivers since the coming of Christ, and call the faithfull people that were before by the name of the Synagogue. If this difference of names be retained only for distinction sake, (that men may know when we speake of that moiety of the people of God that was before, and when of that other that is and hath beene since the coming of Christ) we dislike it not.

The Greeke words which wee turne *Church* and *Synagogue*, the one originally and properly signifieth a multitude called out, or called together, which is proper to men; the other a multitude congregated and gathered together, which is common to men with brute beasts. If any man having an eye to the different originall significations of these words, do thereupon inferre, that the people of God, before the coming of Christ, did seeke nothing but earthly, outward, and transitory things, and so were gathered together like brute beasts and like oxen fatted to the day of slaughter, we detest and accurse so wicked & damnable a construction. And herein surely the *Catechisme* of Trent cannot well be excused, which abusing the authority of *Augustine* upon the *Psalm* 77. and 81. affirmeth that the name of Synagogue is therefore applied to the people that were under the Law, because like brute beasts which most properly are said to be congregated or gathered together they respected, intended, & sought nothing, but

^e Catech. Trident. in explicatione Symboli.
^f Quamvis proprie dicatur Synagoga Iudeorum, Eccle-

fia verò Christianorum, quia congregatio magis pecorum, Convocatio magis hominum intelligi solet: tamen & illam dictam invenimus Ecclesiam, & nobis fortassis magis convenit dicere, Salva nos Domine noster, & congrega nos de Gentibus, ut confiteamur nomini sancto tuo: neque dedignari nos oportet, imo gratias ineffabiles agere, quia sumus oves manuum ejus, quas præ videbat cum diceret, Habeo alias oves. Aug. in Psal. 77. ^g Synagoga dicitur populus Israel; cum uniusque quamvis vero Deo mancipatus videretur, pro magnis tamen & summis bonis ab illo carnalia, terrena & temporalia requirebat. Aug. in Psal. 81. Sed in Psal. 72 ostendit, utrumque multi animadvertentes quæ promiserit Deus populo suo, nempe abundantiam rerum terrenarum, patriam, pacem, & felicitatem terrenam, & non considerantes in his omnibus figuram esse, nec intelligentes quid ibi lateret, putarent non habere Deum melius quod daret diligentibus se: fuisse tamen Prophetas & alios quosdam intellectores regni cælestis & æterni, qui non pro temporalibus sed spiritualibus bonis Domino servirent.

only

h Calvin. insti-
tut. lib. 2. cap.
10. 1.

i Hebr. 11. 13.
14. 15. 16.

onely outward, sensible, earthly, and transitory things. Which unadvised speech, how much it advantageth the *Anabaptists*, who thinke the faithfull people before Christ did onely taste of the sweetnesse of Gods temporall blessings, without any hope of eternall happinesse, any man of meane understanding may easily discern. It is therefore not to be doubted, but that the faithfull, before the manifestation of Christ in the flesh, were so instructed of the Lord, that they assured themselves there was a better life for them elsewhere; and that, neglecting this earthly, momentany and wretched life, they principally sought the other, which is Divine and Heavenly. Notwithstanding, some difference there was betweene their estate and ours, in that though the Lord raised their mindes from base and earthly things, to know, seeke and desire the heavenly inheritance and life of the world to come, yet that they might the better be strengthened, in the hope and expectation thereof he made them take a view of it, and taste the sweetnesse of it in those temporall and earthly blessings and benefits, which most abundantly he bestowed upon them; whereas now, the grace of the life that is to come being more clearly revealed by the Gospel (omitting all that inferiour kinde of manuduction or leading by the hand, through the consideration, sight and enjoying of these meaner things) he doth more directly, and immediately fasten our thoughts on things divine.

For the expressing of this difference, and the more easie distinction of the two moities of the people of God, the one before, the other after the worke of redemption was performed by Christ, though both be rightly and most aptly named the Church of God; yet it hath beene and is religiously observed, that by a kind of appropriation the one is named the *Synagogue*, the other the *Church*. Neither doth any of our Divines (for ought I know) call this societie of Christians a *Synagogue*, though (following the rule of *Thomas*, that in words wee must not so much respect their originall, exact, and precise signification, or derivation, as whereunto they are by use of speech applyed) wee use the word congregation, which is the Latine of *συναγωγὴ*, & feare not to say that the people of God, in the state of the new Testament, are the Congregation of Christ, and are congregated in his faith and name: even as, though *ἐκκλησία*, *Ecclesia*, *convocatio*, *catus evocatus*, a multitude called out, or called together, both Greeke, Latine, and English words, doe originally signifie one and the same thing; yet there are many meetings, societies, and assemblies of men, which may rightly be called convocations, multitudes called together, or multitudes of men called out from others, which if wee should endeavour to expresse by the Greeke word *ἐκκλησία*, or by the English word *Church*, it would seeme absurd, and no man would understand us. It followeth not therefore that wee call the companie and societie of Christians a *Synagogue*, though we name it the Congregation of Christ, warranted thereunto by the authority, example, and practise of the Apostles of Christ, and other holy and Catholique men that have beene before us. Let us consider one another to provoke unto love, and good workes, saith the Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrewes. 10. chapter, Not forsaking our assembling or congregating, and gathering together, or the fellowship we have among our selves, as the manner of some is; where the Greeke word is *συναγωγὴ*. And the same Apostle to the *Corinthians*, When you are congregated, and my spirit in the midst of you, I will deliver this man, that hath done this thing unto Sathan. And who knoweth not that all writers, since the Apostles time, have freely used the word Congregation, applying it to signifie the multitudes and assemblies of Christians. In the Councell of *Constance* nothing more often repeated, than *Synodus in spiritu sancto congregata &c.* Yet I hope that *Gregory Martin*, and other such verball companions, will not say that the fathers assembled in that Councell, which ended the Schisme of three Popes, and settled the succession of the Bishops of *Rome* againe, were congregated and gathered like bruit beasts. It is not therefore with so great scorne, and imputation

h Aliud est Etymologia nominis, & aliud significatio nominis. Etymologia attenditur secundum id à quo imponitur nomen ad significandum: Nominis verò significatio secundum id ad quod significandum imponitur.
2. 2. q. 92 art. 1.

verse 25.

m 1. Cor. 5. 4.

h Ignatius Epist. ad Trallianos saith, that without the Bishop and Presbyters there can be no congregation of holy ones, where the word is *συναγωγὴ*.

tation of dangerous and hereticall meaning to be rejected, and that our translators of the Scriptures did, and do sometimes translate the word *Ecclesia* used to expresse the Christian people of the new Testament, by the name of the Congregation.

The reason why our translators, in the beginning, did choose rather to use the word *Congregation* than *Church*, was not as the adversarie maliciously imagineth, for that they feared the very name of the Church; but because, as by the name of religion and religious men, ordinarily in former times, men understood nothing but *factitias religiones*, as *Gerson* out of *Anselme* calleth them, that is, the professions of Monkes and Fryers: So all the ordinary sort, when they heard the name of the *Church*, understood nothing else thereby, but either the materiall place where men met to serve and worship God, or the Clergie, Jurisdiccions, and Temporalities belonging to them; as the same *Gerson* sheweth, affirming that the state of the Church in his time was meere brutish, so that men judged him a good Bishop and governour of the Church, that looked well to the Edifices, Mansions, Lands, Rents, and Revenewes pertaining to the Clergie, not much respecting, what care hee tooke of the spirituall welfare of them that were committed to his charge. When this error in the conceipt and apprehension of men was removed, the former name of Church was more ordinarily used againe. Wherefore leaving this contention about words, wherein our adversaries most delight, let us come to the thing it selfe.

Religio Christiana quamvis extendat se ad omnem Christianum, attamen appropriatur quodam usu loquentium restringitur ad religiones quas Anselmus appellat Factitias Gerson. de Relig. perfectione & moderatione, confid. 3. & ibid. addit Ecclesie nomen ad Clerum solere restringi, sicut religionis ad Religatos circa consilia Christi. p Sermo in die Circumcisionis Dom. Confid. 1. q De origine juris & legum confid. 13.

CHAP. 6.

Of the definition of the Church.

COncerning the Church, five things are to be observed. First, what is the definition of it, and who pertaine unto it. Secondly, the notes whereby it may be knowne. Thirdly, which is the true Church demonstrated by these notes. Fourthly, the priviledges that do pertaine unto it. Fifthly, the divers degrees, orders, and callings of those men, to whom the government of this Church is committed.

Touching the first; the *Church* is the multitude and number of those, whom Almighty God severeth from the rest of the world by the worke of his grace, and calleth to the participation of eternall happinesse, by the knowledge of such supernaturall verities as concerning their everlasting good hee hath revealed in Christ his sonne, and such other pretious, and happie meanes, as hee hath appointed to further and set forward the worke of their salvation. So that it is the worke of grace, and the heavenly call, that give being to the Church, and make it a different societie from all other companies of men in the world, that have no other light of knowledge, nor motion of desire, but that which is naturall; whence, for distinction from them, it is named *Ecclesia*, a multitude called out.

CHAP. 7.

Of the diverse sorts of them that pertaine to the Church.

They that are partakers of the heavenly calling, and sanctified by the profession of divine truth, and the use of the meanes of salvation, are of very diverse sorts. For there are some that professe the truth delivered by Christ the sonne of God, but not wholly, and entirely, as Heretiques, some that professe the whole saving truth, but not in unitie, as Schismatikes; some that professe the whole saving truth in unitie, but not in sinceritie, and

and singlenesse of a good and sanctified minde, as Hypocrites and wicked men, not outwardly divided from the people of God; and some that professe the whole saving truth in *unitie*, and *sinceritie* of a good and sanctified heart.

All these are partakers of the heavenly calling, and sanctified by the profession of the truth, and consequently are all in some degree and sort of that societie of men, whom God calleth out unto himselfe, and separateth from Infidels, which is rightly named the *Church*. These being the different ranks of men, made partakers of the heavenly calling, and sanctified by the profession of saving truth, there are diverse names by which they are expressed, and distinguished one from another.

2 Heb. 12. 23.

For as the name of the *Church* doth distinguish men that have received the revelation of supernaturall truth, from Infidels; and the name of the *Christian Church*, Christians from Jewes; so the name of the *Orthodoxe Church*, is applied to distinguish right beleeving Christians from Heretiques; the name of the *Catholique Church*, men holding the Faith in unitie, from Schismatiques; the name of the invisible *Church*, *the Church of the first borne*, whose names are written in heaven, *the mysticall body of Christ*, and the like, to distinguish the elect from all the rest: so that many were of the Church which were not of the Christian Church, as the Jewes before the coming of Christ; many of the Christian Church that are not of the Orthodoxe; many of the Orthodoxe, that are not of the Catholique; and many of the Catholique, that are not of the invisible, and Church of the first borne, whose names are written in heaven.

Thus then the Church having her being & name, from the calling of grace, all they must needs be of the Church, whom the grace of God in any sort calleth out from the profane, and wicked of the world, to the participation of eternall happinesse, by the excellent knowledge of divine, supernaturall, and revealed verity, and use of the good, happie, and pretious meanes of salvation: but they onely perfectly and fully in respect of outward beeing, which professe the whole truth in unitie; and they onely principally, fully, and absolutely are of the Church, whom divine grace leadeth infallibly, and indeclinably by these meanes to the certaine and undoubted profession of wished blessednesse; because in them onely grace manifesteth her greatest and most prevailing force, without which efficacie of Grace, winning infallibly, holding inseparably, and leading indeclinably, no man ever attained to salvation; and of which who so is partaker shall undoubtedly be saved.

In the benefits of this grace, none but the elect and chosen of God, whom he hath loved with an everlasting love, have any part or fellowship, though others concur with them in the use of the same meanes of salvation, and be partakers with them of sundry inward motions inclining them to good. when wee say therefore none but the elect of God are of the Church; wee meane not that others are not at all, nor in any sort of the Church, but that they are not *principally, fully, and absolutely*; and that they are not of that especiall number of them, who partake and communicate in the most perfect worke, force, and effect of saving grace.

6 Ecclesia præcipue & ex intentione fideles tantum colligit, qui veram

fidei in corde habent. Cum autem admiscuntur aliqui fidei qui verè non credunt, id accidit præter intentionem Ecclesiæ. Si enim eos nosse posset, nunquam admitteret, aut casu admissos continuo excluderet, Bellarm. de Ecclesia lib. 3. cap. 10.

C H A P. 8.

Of their meaning, who say, that the Elect onely
are of the Church.

THis was the meaning of *Wickliffe*, *Husse* and others, who therefore define the Church to bee the multitude of the Elect, not for that they thinke them onely to pertaine to the Church, and no others, but because they onely pertaine unto it principally, fully, effectually, and finally, and in them onely is found that which the calling of grace (whence the Church hath all her being) intendeth, to wit, such a conversion to God, as is joyned with finall perseverance, whereof others failing and comming short, they are onely in an inferiour and more imperfect sort, said to bee of the Church.

The Elect and chosen of God are of two sorts; some elect onely and not yet called; some both elect and called. Of the latter there is no question but they are the most principall parts of the Church of God. Touching the former, they are not actually of the Church, but onely *secundum prescientiam & predestinationem*, in Gods prescience, and predestination, who hath purposed what they shall be, and knoweth what they will be.

It is frivolous therefore, that *Bellarmino*, *Stapleton* and others of that faction alledge against us, that the Elect before they are called are not of the Church. For it is true, if they speake of actuall admission into the fellowship of Gods people; but false, if they speake of the intent and purpose of Almighty God, whereby they were chosen to bee made his in this present world, before the world it selfe was made. *Secundum prescientiam*, saith *Augustine*, *multi etiam qui aperte foris sunt, & Heretici appellantur, multis & bonis Catholicis meliores sunt*: In the prescience of God, many that are apparantly without, and named Hereticks, are better than many, and those good and right beleeving Catholick Christians. And in his tract upon *John*, *Secundum prescientiam, & predestinationem, quàm multa oves foris, quàm multi lupi intus? Quid est, inquit, quod dixi? Quàm multa oves foris? quàm multi luxuriantur casti futuri? quàm multi blasphemant Christum credituri in Christum? & hi oves sunt, veruntamen modò alienam vocem audiunt, alienos sequuntur. Item quàm multi intus laudant blasphematuri? casti sunt fornicaturi? stant casuri? & non sunt oves; de predestinatis enim loquimur*: According to Gods prescience and predestination, how many sheepe are there without, and wolves within? what is it, saith *Augustine*, that I said? How many sheepe are there without? how many are there that now wallow in all impurity and filthinesse, that hereafter shall be chaste and undefiled? how many now doe blaspheme Christ, which hereafter shall beleve in Christ? and these are sheepe, yet for the present they heare the voyce of a stranger, and follow strangers: On the other side, how many are there now within, which presently praise God, that hereafter shall blaspheme him? which now are chaste, that hereafter will become impure adulterers? now stand, that hereafter will fall? and these are not sheepe, for wee speake of the predestinate. It is true therefore, that *Wickliffe*, *Husse*, *Calvine*, and others doe teach, that none but the Elect doe pertaine to the Church in such sort as hath beene before expressed, and that all the Elect are of the Church either actually, as they that are already called, or potentially and according to the purpose of Gods will, as they that are elect and not yet called.

a Lib. 3. de Eccles. milit. c. 2.

b Cont. 1. q. 2. art. 2.

c Lib. 4. de Baptis. cont. Donatistas.

Cap. 45.

Electorum quidam adhuc in hæresibus aut Gentilium superstitionibus sunt: & tamen etiam illic novit Dominus qui sunt ejus. Aug. lib. 1. de Baptismo contra Donatist.

CHAP. 9.

Of the difference of them that are in, and of the Church.

BY that which hath beene said, that none but the elect are of the Church in that principall and high degree before-mentioned, we may easily understand their true meaning, and the truth of their meaning, who say that Hypocrites, wicked men, and castawayes, are in, but not of the Church.

^a De Baptismo li. 7. c. 51. & de Civitate Dei, lib. 20. cap. 9. Regnant cum illo qui comodo sunt in regno ejus, ut sint etiam ipsi regnum ejus.

^b Stapleton Relect. Contr. 1. de Ecclesia in se 9.2. art. 1. in explicat. articuli notabili tertio.

^c Aug lib. 5. de Baptismo, contra Donatistas. ca. 27. & ib. Est certus numerus Sanctorum predestinatus ante mundi constitutionem qui est tanquam lilium inter

Puto (saith Augustine) me non temerè dicere alios sic esse in domo Dei, ut ipsi etiam sint domus Dei; alios sic esse in domo Dei, ut non pertineant ad compagem domus, nec ad societatem frugifera pacificam, justitiam. I thinke I may very advisedly and considerately say, some are in such sort in the house of God, that they also are the house of God; and that some are so in the house of God, that they pertaine not to the frame and fabrick of it, nor to the society and fellowship of fruitfull and peaceable righteousness.

^b Of them that are in the Church there are three sorts. For there are some onely numero, some numero & merito, some numero, merito, & electione: that is, there are some, that only in externall profession; some that in profession and affection; and some that, in profession and affection with never altering resolution, joyne themselves to the companie of the beleivers, and have their hearts knit unto God for ever: As the elect of God called according to his purpose: these are intrinsecus & in occulto intus, as Augustine speaketh; and whosoever are thus in the Church, are most fully of the Church, and are of the speciall number of them that communicate in the most precious effects, and most happy benefits of effectuall and saving grace. In the two former sorts many are in the Church, which though they be also of the Church, in that they have fellowship in some outward things with the elect and chosen servants of God, yet principally, fully and absolutely are not of it, nor of that speciall number of those, that have part in the benefits of effectuall and saving grace.

^d spinas: multitudo verò spinarum sive occultis, sive apertis separationibus extrinsecus adjacet super numerum. Munera concessa divinitus partim sunt propria electorum sicut in hoc tempore insatigabilis charitas, & in futuro vita æterna, partim verò cum malis & perversis communia, sicut omnia cætera in quibus sunt & sanctosancta mysteria. Aug. ibid.

CHAP. 10.

Of the visible, and invisible Church.

HENCE it commeth, that we say there is a *visible* and *invisible* Church; not meaning to make two distinct Churches, as our Adversaries fallly and maliciously charge us, though the forme of words may serve to insinuate some such thing, but to distinguish the divers considerations of the same Church: which though it be visible in respect of the profession of supernaturall verities revealed in Christ, use of holy Sacraments, order of Ministerie, and due obedience yeelded thereunto, and they discernable that doe communicate therein; yet in respect of those most precious effects, and happie benefits of saving grace, wherein onely the elect doe communicate, it is invisible; and they that in so happy, gracious, and desireable things have communion among themselves, are not discernable from others to whom this fellowship is denied, but are knowne onely unto God. That Nathaniel was an *Israelite*, all men knew; that hee was a *true Israelite*, in whom was no guile, Christ onely knew.

^a Joh. 2. 47.

The persons then of them of whom the Church consisteth are visible; their profession knowne even to the profane and wicked of the world, and in this sort the Church cannot be invisible, neither did any of our men teach that it is

or

or may be. For seeing the Church is the multitude of them that shall bee saved, and no man can be saved unlesse hee make confession unto salvation; (for faith hid in the heart and concealed doth not suffice) it cannot be but they that are of the true Church, must by the profession of the truth make themselves known in such sort, that by their profession and practise they may be discerned from other men.

Notwithstanding, because the truth and excellencie of the faith, and profession of Christians, is not discerned by the light of Nature, but by Faith alone; the excellencie of this societie of Christians above other prophane companies in the world, and their happinesse that are of it, is invisible, hidden, and unknowne to naturall men, and is knowne only to them that are spirituall: and who they are that have fellowship among themselves, not onely in the profession of heavenly verities and outward meanes of salvation, but also in the benefits of effectuell and saving grace, is knowne neither to the naturall nor spirituall man, but to God alone.

If any man shall further urge, that *Luther*, and some other that were in the beginning of the reformation of the Church, did thinke the Church to bee sometimes invisible, not onely in those respects above specified, but even in the truth of profession, and practise of those things that to salvation are necessary, wee deny that any such thing can bee collected, out of any of their writings which they have left unto posterity. For how should there be a Church in the world, the perpetuity whereof they all most constantly defend, and none found to professe the saving truth of God, which all are bound to doe that looke for salvation? But this surely both they and we doe teach, that though alwayes the open, knowne, and constant profession of saving truth, bee preserved and found amongst men, and the ministry of salvation continued and knowne in the world, (For how should there bee a Church gathered without a ministerie?) that yet sometimes errors and heresies so much prevaile, that the most part not onely of them that apparantly are without, but even of them also that hold and possesse great places of office and dignity in the Church of God, either for feare, flatterie, hope of gaine, or honour, or else misse-led through simplicity, or directly falling into error and heresie, depart from the soundnesse of Christian faith, so that the sincerity of religion is upholden, and the truth of the profession of Christians defended and maintained but only by some few, and they molested, persecuted, and traduced, as turbulent and seditious men, enemies to the common peace of the Christian world. In this sense then, the Church is said to be sometimes invisible, not because there are none seene, knowne, or found that professe the truth of God; but because even in that company which is the true Church of God, many and those the greatest are carried into error, so that but some few, and they such, as (if wee should judge by outward appearance) are most unlike to uphold and maintaine the truth, are left to defend the same; multitude, authority, reputation and opinion of greatnesse in others, obscuring them in such sort, that they which measure things by outward appearance, can possibly take no notice of them. This was the state of the Christian world in the time of *Athanasius*, when in the ^b Councell of *Seleucia* and *Ariminum*; the *Nicene* faith was condemned, and all the Bishops of the whole world (carried away with the sway of time) fell from the soundnesse of the faith, only *Athanasius* excepted, and some few Confessors that *sub Athanasii nomine exulabant*, as *Hierome* noteth writing against the *Luciferians*; *Ingemuit totus orbis, & miratus est se factum esse Arrianum*: The world powred forth sighes, marveiling how it was become an *Arrian*. At that time it was, when *Hilarius* writing against *Auxentius* Bishop of *Millaine*, complained that the *Arrian* faction had confounded all, and therefore admonished all men to take heede, how they suffered themselves to be led with outward appearances: *Male vos parietum amor cepit; male Ecclesiam Dei in testis adificiisq; veneramini; male sub his pacis nomen ingeritis;*

^b Tunc Quis nomen abolitionis est, cum Nicene fidei damnatio conclamata est, ingemuit totus orbis & Arrianum se esse miratus est. Igitur alii intra suam communionem remanere, alii ad eos confectores, qui sub Athanasii nomine exulabant, coeperunt literas mittere, &c. Hieron. contra Luciferianos. ^c Hilarius contra Auxentium.

d Aug. ep 48.
Christi tempo-
re, deficienti-
bus in fide A-
postolis, inte-
gra & omnino
perfectissima
fides in sola
Virgine Domi-
ni Matre re-
manfit: & Ar-
rianæ hæreseos
fervente perfe-
cutione Atha-
nasia ferè so-
lus pro Catho-
lica fide agens
inventus est.
Francisc. Picus
Mirand. Theo-
rem. 13.
e Tom. 1. Con-
tro. 4. lib. 3.
cap. 13.

f Dialog. 1. 5.
2. part. c. 32.
g Quæst. Ve-
spertiarum de
Resumpta.
h Cælius lib. 4.
c. 5. ostendit
Turrecremat.
& alios putasse
in sola Virgine
fidem perman-
sisse, idque sig-
nificare dixisse
candelam quæ
in officiis eorum dictum sola non extinguitur, unde discipuli lumen quod amiserant receperunt. Idem Tur-
recremat. lib. 3. Summæque cap. 16. ait, Apostolos omnes fuisse infideles tempore mortis Christi. vid. Cæ-
lius ibidem.

anne ambiguum est in iis Antichristum esse fessurum: montes mihi, & sylva, & la-
cus, & carceres, & voragines sunt tutiores, in his enim Propheta manentes aut de-
mersi prophetabunt. It is not well, saith he, that you are in love with wals, that you
esteeme the Church in respect of houses and buildings, and in and under those
shewes and outward appearances, pretend and urge the name of peace: Is there any
doubt of Antichrists sitting in these places? The Mountaines, the Woods, the
Lakes, the prisons, the deepe pits and devouring gulfes seeme to mee more safe.
For in these the Prophets either remaining, abiding, and making them their
dwelling-places, or as it were drowned and overwhelmed in them, prophesied in old
time. And to this purpose it is that ^a Augustine writeth, most aptly distin-
guishing betweene the starres of heaven, and the sands of the sea, according to
the number whereof God promised Abraham that his seede should be. *Eccle-
sia aliquando obscuratur, & tanquam obnubilatur multitudine scandalorum, sed
etiam tunc in suis firmissimis eminet, qui sunt quasi stelle cæli in semine A-
brahe, at multitudo illa carnalium & infirmorum fidelium, quæ quasi arena ma-
ris est: aliquando tranquillitate temporis, libera & quieta apparet, aliquando
autem tribulationum & tentationum fluctibus operitur, atque turbatur.* The
Church of God, saith hee, sometimes is obscured, darkened, and, as it were, over-
shadowed with the multitude of offences and scandals that are found in it, yet
even then doth it appeare and shew it selfe in those Worthies of most strong and
constant resolution, which are as the starres of heaven among those of Abrahams
seede and posterity; but for the multitude of weake and carnall Christians,
which is like to the sand on the sea shore, in peaceable times they are free, and
quiet, but in dangerous times troubled, covered, and hidden with the waters, and
raging waves of tribulation and temptation.

This and no other thing our Divines meant, that affirmed the Church to bee
sometimes invisible, and therefore it is most true that ^a Bellarmine noteth, that
many of his companions have taken much needlesse paine, in proving against
us the perpetuity of the Church, which (as he confesseth) none of us ever de-
nied; but it is as true, that hee also laboureth in vaine, in proving that there is,
and alwayes hath beene a visible Church, and that not consisting of some few
scattered Christians without order of Ministry, or use of Sacraments; for, all
this we doe most willingly yeeld unto, howsoever perhaps some few have bin
of opinion, that though all others failing from the Faith, the truth of GOD
should remaine onely in some few of the Laitie, yet the promise of Christ con-
cerning the perpetuities of his Church, might still be verified.

This question was disputed by ^a Occham, & ^b Cameracensis, long before our
times, and who knoweth not that ^c Cardinall Turrecremata, and other great
Divines have beene of opinion, that during the time that Christ was touching
his body in the grave, all the Apostles being fallen from the faith, the same con-
tinued in the blessed Virgin alone; but these disputes wee leave to them that
are delighted in them, resting in the assured and undoubted perswasion of the
truth of these things which wee have delivered touching the visibility, and
invisibility of the Church; by which it may easily appeare, in what sense the
Church may bee said to be sometimes invisible, and how the same Church is at
the same time, both visible and invisible in divers respects.

C H A P. II.

Of the divers Titles of the Church, and how they are verified of it.

HAVING thus declared the divers considerations of the Church of God, and the different conditions of them that are of it; for our better directions, lest wee mistake and misapply those things that are spoken of it, we must further observe that the names and titles given unto it are of two sorts: for there are some that are verified of it in respect of the whole considered generally, and as it comprehendeth all those that con-
 curre in the same intire profession of heavenly verities, and outward meanes of saluation, though they be of very divers, different, and contrary condition; so it is named, ^a *a great house, wherein there are vessels of honour and dishonour,* ^a 2 Tim. 2. 20. *in^b which there are that walke according to the rule of Christianity, and^c worthy of God; and^d others that walke inordinately.* ^b Phil. 3. 16. It is named ^c *a field, in which is wheate mingled with tares:* ^d 1 Thes. 2. 12. *It is a^e floore, in which there are wheate and chaffe:* ^e 2 Thes. 3. 11. *It is a^f company of Virgins attending the coming of the bridegroom, whereof some are wise, having oyle in their lampes, others foolish, having none:* ^f Mat. 13. 25. *It is a^g net cast into the sea, that gathereth into it good fishes and bad.* ^g Mat. 3. 12. ^h Mat. 25. 2. ⁱ Mat. 13. 47. Other names and titles there are, which are not verified of the Church, considered generally in all her parts, but onely in respect of some parts, and those the best and principall; so it is named ^j *the spouse of Christ, and the wife of the Lambe;* ^k *a royall Priesthood, an holy nation, & a peculiar people;* ^l *the Love of Christ, all faire, undefiled, and without spot, the onely Dove, an orchard inclosed, a Well sealed up, a fountaine of living water, a Paradise with all precious, delectable, and desireable fruit, and that nothing may be added to the honour of it:* ^m *It is the mysticall body of Christ, which hee doth animate, formalize, and quicken with his owne spirit:* ⁿ *of this body the wicked are not members,* though they bee members of the body of the Church generally considered. It is therefore a vaine dispute betweene them that say, they are members of the mysticall body of Christ, though not living members, and them that say, they are parts, but not members: For they are neither parts, nor members, of the mysticall body of Christ,

quod sit civitas sancta Hierusalem, nova descendens de celo, à Deo parata, &c. Waldens. lib. 2. art. 2. c. 11. & Reve. 19. 7. 1 Pet. 2. 9. m Cantic. 1. 2, &c. n Distinguenda est Ecclesia Christi in sua latitudine à corpore Christi mystico propriè dicto. In primis enim etsi malus non sit membrum corporis Christi, in quo perpetuus est influxus, & participatio gratiæ, vivum, operativum, adeoque reipsa univocè dictum, tamen ipsius Ecclesiæ Christi, quæ ut est corpus Christi in uno sensu propter internam gratiam, ita est domus magna Christi, est area & ager Dominicus in alio sensu propter externam collectionem, professionem, & societatem per Sacramenta: hujus inquam Ecclesiæ in hoc sensu, qui etiam verus & proprius est, verè & propriè membrum est, Stapleton Controv. 1. quæst. 2. art. 1. notab. 3. Ad unionem corporis mystici, sive Ecclesiæ nunquam propriè pertinent existentes in peccato mortali, tamen refert dicere unitatem Ecclesiæ, & corporis Ecclesiæ. In unitate Ecclesiæ sunt boni & mali, unitas verò corporis Ecclesiæ non est nisi per fidem Charitate formatam. Alexan. de Hales part. 3. quæst. 12. memb. 3. artic. 3. Hieron. Non audeo eos peccatores & gehennæ reos negare membra magni corporis Christi, & grandis Ecclesiæ speciosæ, & fuscæ, quos Apostolus dicit: Cum eo omnes in uno spiritu baptizatos, ut unum corpus efficerentur in Christo & membra de membro, nec tamen scio introducere eos in Ecclesiam Electorum quam dicit Apostolus gloriosam ut membra ejus, quamvis inter eos corporaliter habitent: sed ut mali humores, non ut membra in corpore minus sano. Et August. Tom. 9. Quidam sic sunt in corpore Domini ut membra in non sano, quidam ut humores mali: Corpus non plenè curatur, nisi istos evomuerit, exierunt ex me humores isti, sed non ex me. Non sunt ergo membra in Christi corpore glorioso, qui forsan in Christi corpore magno illo regno cælorum sunt membra. Waldens. lib. 2. artic. 2. cap. 11. hæc verba Hieron. & Aug. citat. Augustinus de doctrina Christiana libr. 3. cap. 32. negat esse de corpore Christi qui cum illo non erunt in æternum: fatetur tamen esse in Ecclesia, idèoque Ecclesiam vocari posse permixtam, non autem corpus Christi permixtum aut bipartitum, Stapleton Relect. Cont. 2. q. 2. art. 1. notab. 5.

De Ecclesia
militante li. 3.
cap. 2.

though they be both in respect of the body of the Church considered generally. And it is false that "Bellarmine affirmeth, that we require inward qualities to make a man to be of the Church, thereby making it unknown, who are that Church, to whose authoritie and direction the Lord commandeth us to submit our selves. For we doe not require inward qualities in a man, before hee can be at all of the Church; but before hee can be fully, and of the mylticall body of Christ. Wee say therefore, that all they are of the Church, that outwardly hold the faith of Christ; and that that society wherein the sincere outward profession of the truth of God is preserved, is that true Church of God, whose communion we must imbrace; that happy mother, in whose wombe we are conceived, with whose milke we are nourished, & to whose censures we must submit our selves. And so it is untrue that the same Bellarmine imputeth unto us, charging us, that we affirme, that none of the priviledges, which Christ hath bestowed on his Church, do pertain to the Church generally considered, but only to that more speciall number of the Elect of God, who communicate in the benefits of effectuall and saving grace; which who they are is known to none, but God onely. For though wee know they were all granted for their sakes, and doe benefit them onely, yet wee say not that they pertaine onely unto them. For whereas there are foure sorts of things pertaining and belonging to the Church, to wit, First, the Promises of everlasting love and mercie; Secondly, the Knowledge of God, and meanes of salvation; Thirdly, the Ministry and dispensation of the Word and Sacraments; And fourthly, the performance of such duties as God requireth: The first sort of things pertaine onely to the more speciall number of the Elect of God; the second to the whole multitude of Christians in generall; the third; to such as are lawfully called thereunto; the fourth, if they bee generall duties, pertaine to all; if speciall, to speciall degrees and sorts of men in the Church, according to their severall differences. Thus then we see the divers considerations of the Church, and the different condition of them that doe pertaine to it, and of whom it doth consist; notwithstanding all which differences; for that they all concur in the same holy profession, and use of the same happy meanes of salvation, they make one holy Catholick Church, in which only the light of heavenly trueth is to be sought, where onely grace, mercie, remission of sinnes, and hope of eternall happiness are found. *Sola Catholica Ecclesia est qua verum Dei cultum retinet; hic autem est fons veritatis, hoc est domicilium fidei, hoc templum Dei, quod si quis non intraverit, vel à quo si quis exierit, à spe vita ac salutis aeterna alienus est.* It is only the Catholick Church that hath the true worship and service of God; this is the wellspring of trueth, the dwelling-place of faith, the temple of God, into which whosoever entred not, and from which whosoever departeth, is without all hope of life and eternall salvation.

Lactantius l.
4. cap. ultimo
divinarum in-
stitut.

CHAP. 13.

Of the divers sorts of them that have not yet entred into the Church.

They that have not entred into this society are of two sorts; Infidels & Catechumens; that is, infidels, and such as, though they be beleivers, are not yet baptized. The former are without, of whom the Apollle speaketh when hee pronounceth, *that he hath nothing to doe to judge them that are without.* The later, for that they make profession of the trueth of God, and with longing desires thirst after the full enjoying of the blessed communion of the Saints of God, wishing for nothing more, than by Baptisme to bee admitted into the family of Christ, and household of faith, are in vestibulo pietatis, as Nazianzen noteth, and are like children formed and fashioned in the wombe and come to the birth, though not yet brought forth.

Nazianzen.
Orat. panegy-
rica in san-
ctum Baptis-
ma.

And

And therefore the constant resolution almost of all Divines is, and hath beene, that if without contempt and neglect, by any unavoidable impediment, they bee hindered from enjoying the benefit of this sacramentall assurance of their adoption, they doe, notwithstanding the want thereof, live and die in the state of salvation. These therefore are *within*, as the Apostle speaketh, though not by that solemne, outward, and sacramentall admission which they doe desire, yet in desire, purpose and preparation fitting them unto, which is so farre forth necessary to salvation, that no man ever was, or shall bee saved, that either wilfully neglected or contemned the same.

And therefore it is not without great cause, that *Nazianzen* in the place above-mentioned taxeth the folly of some in his time, who for that they knew the greatnesse of the benefit of grace which is received in Baptisme, which, by no other meanes in so full and ample sort is bestowed on the sons of men, lest, by the evils they might through humane frailtie easily run into, they should fall from it, which could not in the same degree and measure bee recovered againe, deferred and put off their Baptisme as long as they could, so that some were lifted up to Bishops chaires, before by Baptisme they had set one foote within the doores of the house of God: not considering, as he wisely observeth, that while they sought so providently to avoide the danger of losing the benefits once received in Baptisme, they did run into as great or greater danger, never to receive the same: And that, if the feare of losing the benefit of the grace of Baptisme once received, may cause us justly to deferre the seeking and obtaining of it, we may with as good reason defer and put off to be Christians at all, lest happily in time of persecution and triall wee might fall away. This was the fault of sundry in the Primitive Church; & which was yet more to be condemned, many did therefore deferre and put off their Baptisme, that so whatsoever evill things they did in the meane time, might in that Laver of new birth bee washed away, thereby taking greater liberty to offend, for that they had so present meanes of full remission, and perfect reconciliation; so making that which was ordained against sinne, and for the weakning & overthrow of it, to be an encouragement thereunto, and to give life and strength unto it.

Seeing therefore we are but *in vestibulo pietatis*, while we remaine unbaptized, and our feete stand but in the outward courts of the Lord of hostes, wee must not rest till we enter into his holy habitation, till we may looke into the holiest of all, and behold his glorious presence in the midst of his Saints.

C H A P. 13.

Of the first sort of them, that after their admission into the Church of God, doe voluntarily depart, and goe out from the same.

They which, after their entrance and admission into the house of God, depart and goe out againe, are of two sorts; For either they depart of themselves, leaving the fellowship and forsaking the faith, as Schismatics, and Hereticks; or else they are cast out by the censures of the Guides of the Church, for their wicked, ungodly, and scandalous conversation, as *excommunicate persons*, and such as are enjoined publick penance.

Concerning the first sort, Schismatics are they that breake the unity of the Church, and refuse to submit themselves, & yeeld obedience to their lawfull Pastors and Guides, though they retaine an intire profession of the truth of God; as did the Luciferians & some others in the beginning of their Schisme, though for the most part, the better to justifie their schismaticall departure from the rest of Gods people, Schismatics doe fall into some error in matters of dissensionem ab Ecclesia separetur. Quod quidem in principio aliqua ex parte intelligi potest. Caterum nulum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresim ut rectè ab Ecclesia recessisse videatur. Hiero. in 3. ad Titum,

Joh. de Tur. recremata in summa de Ecclesia l. 1. cap. 8. ad arg. 8. & post eum Bannes in secundam secundæ q. 1. art. 10. docent Catechumenos non numero sed merito esse de Ecclesia: quod verum esse posse, ut Ecclesia est corpus Christi mysticum, agnoscit Stapleton, Controv. 1. q. 2. art. 2.

Nazianzenus O. ar. in sanctum baptismum, & Nicetas in Commentariis negant eos, qui vel per ignorantiam vel per tyrannidem à Baptismo exciderunt, celestis gloriæ aut supplicii à justo Judice afficiendos esse, nec ad vim Baptismi obtinendam ipsius cupiditate teneri fas esse censent.

In vita Ambrosii à Paulino Presbytero ad beatum Augustinum conscripta.

Inter hæresim & schisma hoc interesse arbitrantur, quod hæresis perversum dogma habeat, schisma propriam Episcopalem

of faith. This is the first sort of them that depart and goe out from the Church of God, and company of his people, whose departure yet is not such, but that notwithstanding their Schisme, they are and remaine parts of the Church of God. For whereas in the Church of God is found an intire profession of the saving trueth of God, order of holy Ministry, Sacraments by vertue thereof administred, and a blessed unitie and fellowship of the people of God, knit together in the bond of peace, under the command of lawfull Pastours and Guides, set over them to direct them in the wayes of eternall happinesse; Schismatics, notwithstanding their separation, remaine still conjoynd with the rest of Gods people, in respect of the profession of the whole saving trueth of God, all outward acts of Religion and Divine worship, power of order, and holy Sacraments, which they by vertue thereof administer, and so still are and remaine parts of the Church of God: but, as their communion and conjunction with the rest of Gods people, is in some things onely, and not absolutely in all, wherein they have and ought to have fellowship; so are they not fully and absolutely of the Church, nor of that more speciall number of them, that communicate intirely and absolutely in all things necessary, in which sense they are rightly denied to be of the Church; which I take to be their meaning that say, they are not of the Church.

C H A P. 14.

Of the second sort of them that voluntarily goe out from the people of God.

Hereticks are they, that obstinately persist in error contrary to the Churches faith; so that these doe not only forsake the fellowship, but the faith also; and therefore of these there may bee more question, whether, notwithstanding their hereticall division, they still continue in any sort parts of the Church of God. But this doubt, in my opinion, is easily resolved. For in respect of the profession of sundry divine verities, which still they retaine in common with right beleevers, in respect of the power of order, and degree of ministry, which receiving in the Church they carry out with them, and Sacraments which by vertue thereof they doe administer, they still pertaine to the Church. But for that they hold not an entire & full profession of all such saving truths, as to know and beleeve is necessary unto salvation, for that their Pastours and Priests, though they have power of Order, yet have no power of Jurisdiction, neither can performe any act thereof, for that they retaine not the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, they are rightly denied to be of the Church: not for that they are not in any sort of it, but for that they are not fully and absolutely of it, nor for that more speciall number of them, which communicate in all things wherein Christians should. This more speciall number of right beleeving Christians, is, for distinction sake, rightly named the Catholick Church, because it consisteth of them only, that without addition, diminution, alteration, or innovation, in matter of doctrine, hold the common faith once delivered to the Saints, and without all particular or private division or faction, retaine the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace.

a Propter characterem Baptismalem hæreticus quadantenus ad militantiem Ecclesiam pertinet: unde recedens à fide non dimittitur ut paganus, sed punitur ut transfuga: Reconciliatus non de novo initiatur ut proflus alienus, sed reparatione aliquâ factâ ad militiam sine novo Sacramento recipitur. Stapleton Contr. 1.

de Ecclesia in se, qu. 2. art. 3. notabil. 3. b Potest dici quod potestas quadruplex reperitur in Ministris Ecclesie. Quædam namque est fundata super ordinem principaliter, ut potestas conficiendi: quædam supra jurisdictionem Canonicam principaliter, ut potestas Excommunicandi: quædam supra ordinem & eminentiam, ut potestas Ordinandi: quædam supra ordinem & jurisdictionem, ut potestas Absolvendi & Ligandi in foro pœnitentiæ: & quoniam character auferri non potest, idè potestas, quæ consequitur characterem de facto, auferri non potest, sed quoniam jurisdictio descendit ordinatè à superiore, potest auferri: unde potest auferri potestas absolvendi & excommunicandi sed non ordinandi. Bonavent. lib. 4. distinct. 5. quæst. 2.

To this purpose is it, that Saint *Augustine* against the *Donatists*, (who therefore denied the Baptisme of Hereticks to be true Baptisme, and did urge the necessity of rebaptizing them that were baptized by them, for that they are out of the Church) doth shew, that all wicked ones, feined Christians, and false hearted hypocrites, are secluded from the Church of God considered in her best and principall parts, and in the highest degree of unitie with Christ her mytticall head, as well as Hereticks and Schismaticks. As therefore all they that outwardly professe the trueth, and hold the faith of Christ without schisme or heresie, are of the Church, and *are within*, as the Scripture speaketh, yet are not all of that more speciall number of them that are *intrinsecus & in occulta intus*, but in more generall sort: So likewise Hereticks and Schismaticks, though they bee not of that speciall number of them that in unity hold the entire profession of divine trueth, are of the Church generally considered, and of the number of them that professe the trueth of God, revealed in Christ. And this surely *Augustine* most clearly delivereth.

For when the *Donatists* did object that Heresie is an harlot, and that, if the Baptisme of Hereticks bee good, sonnes are borne to God of Heresie, and so of an harlot, than which, what can be more absurde & impious? his answer was, that the conventicles of Hereticks do beare children unto God, not in that they are divided, but in that they still remaine conjoynd with the true and Catholick Church; not in that they are Hereticks, but in that they professe and practise that which Christians should, and doe professe and practise.

It is not therefore to be so scornfully rejected by *Bellarmino*, *Stapleton*, and others of that faction, that we affirme that both Hereticks and Schismaticks are in some sort, though not fully, perfectly, and with hope of salvation, of the Church; seeing *Augustine*, in the just and honourable defence of the Churches cause against Hereticks, did long since affirme the same, not doubting to say, that Hereticks remaine in such sort conjoynd to the Church, notwithstanding their Heresie, that the true Church in the midst of them, and in their assemblies by Baptisme ministred by them, doth beare and bring forth children unto God. The not conceiving whereof gave occasion to *Cyprian* & the African Bishops, of error, and afterwards to the *Donatists* of their heresie, touching the rebaptization of them that were baptized by Hereticks. For seeing *there is but one Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme*, seeing God gave the power of the keyes, and the dispensation of his Word and Sacraments onely to his Church, if Hereticks be not of the Church, they doe not baptize.

This their allegation they amplified and enlarged from the nature and condition of heresie & Hereticks, and the high, precious, and divine quality, force, and working of the Sacraments; thereby endeavouring to shew, that so excellent meanes, pledges, & assurances of our salvation cannot be given by the hands of men so farre estranged from God. 'There is, say they, *one Faith, one Hope, one Baptisme*, not among Hereticks, where there is no hope, & a false faith, where all things are done in lying, false and deceiveable maner, where he adjureth Sathan, that is the vassall of Sathan, and possessed of the Devill. He proposeth the sacramentall demands and words of holy stipulation, whose mouth and words send forth a canker; He giveth the faith, that is himselfe an infidell; Hee giveth remission of sinnes, that is himselfe most wicked and sinfull; Antichrist baptizeth in the name of Christ; he blesseth, that is himselfe accursed of God; hee promiseth life, that is himselfe dead; he giveth peace, that is himselfe an enemy to peace; he calleth on the name of God, that is a blasphemmer of God; he admistreteth and executeth the holy office of Priesthood, that is profane; he preparereth, furniseth, and attendeth the Altar of God, that is a sacrilegious person.

lum rumpunt, si nonnulla eadem faciunt non se in iis separaverunt, & ex ea parte in texture compage detinentur in cetera scissi sunt. Proinde si quem sociaverint sibi, ex ea parte nectitur Ecclesie, in qua nec illi separati sunt. f Concilium Carthaginense habetur inter opera Cypriani.

All

g Bonaventur.
lib. 4. distinct.
13. qu. 1.
b Si quis ad
Hæreticos aut
Schismaticos
rejeſtus ab Ec-
cleſia tranſeat,
& ſi occiſus
propter nomen
Domini poſt-
modum fuerit
extra Eccleſi-
am conſtitutus,
& ab unitate
diviſus corona-
ri in morte
non poteſt.
Cyprian. lib. 4.
Epiſt. 2.
1 Cor. 13. 3.

All which objections, howſoever carrying a faire ſhew at the firſt ſight and view, yet are moſt eaſily answered, if wee conſider, that Hereticks, notwith- ſtanding their hereſies, doe in ſome ſort ſtill pertaine to the Church, and ſo con- ſequently have that degree, order, office, miniſterie, and calling which is holy, by vertue whereof they doe adminiſter the holy Sacraments; even as in the true and Catholick Church, many wicked ones are found, that are no leſſe the vaffals of Sathan, & poſſeſſed of the Devill, dead in ſinne, accuſed of God, pro- fane, ſacrilegious, and enemies of peace, than Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, who yet for that they have that order, office, and degree of miniſterie, which is holy, doe no leſſe, nor with leſſe effect, adminiſter the holy Sacraments, than they that are ſamplers of all ſanctitie, pietie and vertue.

Whereupon the Schoolemen rightly note, that there are foure ſorts of Mi- niſters, to wit, good; ſecretly bad; openly and apparantly wicked, but not put from their office and place, nor caſt out of the Church; and laſtly ſuch as are de- prived of their office and dignitie, and removed from the happie fellowſhip of right beleevers. The firſt adminiſter the Sacraments with benefit, profit, & good to themſelves and others. The ſecond with benefite to others but not to them- ſelves. The third with hurt to themſelves and ſcandall to others, but yet to the everlaſting good of them that receive them, if the fault bee not in themſelves. The fourth adminiſter thoſe Sacraments that are holy, and in their owne nature the meanes, pledges, and aſſurances of ſalvation, but without any benefit to themſelves or others, becauſe they are in diviſion and ſchiſme: Whereas no- thing, though never ſo good & excellent, is availeable to their good, that are out of the unitie, the people of God ſhould have among themſelves. *If I give my body to be burned, and have not charitie, it profiteth me nothing, ſaith the Apoſtle.*

C H A P. 15.

Of them whom the Church caſteth out by Excommunication.

Hitherto we have treated of ſuch, as, being once out of the Church, of themſelves goe out from the company of right beleevers, by ſchiſme, or hereſie. Now it remaineth to ſpeake of them whom the Church caſteth out by *Excommunication*. *Excommunication* is that ſentence of the Church, whereby ſhee ejeſteth and caſteth out wicked ſinners out of her communion. Which communion what it is, and wherein it conſiſteth, that we may the better underſtand, wee muſt obſerve, that communion is ſometimes taken for having the ſame things in common, and ſometimes for mutuall doing and receiving good to and from each other. In the former ſenſe the communi- on of the Church is of two ſorts; *outward* and *inward*. The *outward* conſiſteth in thoſe things, which all they that are of the Church have in common, as the profeſſion of the truth revealed in Chriſt, and the character of Baptiſme, which as a note diſtinctive ſeparateth Chriſtians from Infidels and unbeleevers. The *inward* conſiſteth in thoſe things, which only the beſt parts of the Church have in common, as faith, hope, love, and the like.

The Communion of the Church in the later ſenſe, conſiſteth in a mutuall and interchangeable courſe of action, whereby the parts thereof doe and receive good to and from one another, one ſupplying the want and defect of another. This is of two ſorts: *Publick* and *private*. The *publick* conſiſteth, firſt in the prayers which the Church powreth forth for every the leaſt and moſt con- temptible member thereof; thereby obtaining of God, the giving, ſupply, and continuance of all neceſſary good, joyned with a moſt happie protection, keep- ing them from falling into thoſe evils they are ſubject unto; Secondly in the diſ- penſation of Sacraments by the hands of her Miniſters: *Private*, in mutuall con- verſation of one man with another.

Excommu-

Excommunication doth not deprive the Excommunicate of the former kinde of communion. For, every sentence of excommunication is either *just*, or *unjust*. If it be *unjust*, they may still retaine all those things which the best parts of the Church have inward or outward, as sometimes it falleth out through the prevailing of factious, seditious, and turbulent men, that the best men are unjustly and undeservedly cast out of the true Church, as ^b *Austine* noteth; who though they never be permitted to returne againe and reënter, yet if they continue without gathering any conventicles, or broaching of heresies, and still love, professe, and seeke to promote what in them lyeth, the trueth of God which is holden and professed in the Church of God, from the assemblies whereof they are unjustly excluded and banished, who dare deny them to bee of the Church? And therefore ^c *Bellarmino* himselfe, though hee make shew as if hee meant to prove that excommunicate persons are not of the Church, as hee endeavoureth to doe that Hereticks and Schismatics are not, yet hee altereth the matter cleane, and saith, onely they are not in the Church *corpore & externâ communicatione*, as if hee would onely prove that they are excluded from the meetings and assemblies of the Church, and conversing with the people of God. There is therefore no doubt, but that they are of the Church, and that, if they patiently endure these indignities, injuries and wrongs, they shall be highly rewarded of Almighty God: but, saith *Bellarmino*, they are not of the Church *corporally, and in outward Communion*: than which, what could be more frivolously spoken? For who maketh any doubt, but that they are thrust out of the assemblies, so that they may not be bodily present when the people of God doe meete together, to performe the acts of divine worship; but that therefore they are not properly of the visible Church, who that advisedly considereth what he saith, would ever say? Seeing they have still the Communion, which onely is essentiall, and maketh a man to be of the Church, in that they have all those things, both inward and outward, which the best among them that remaine not ejected have, as faith, hope, love, and profession of the whole truth of God, the character of baptisme, obedient and humble submission to their lawfull superiours; which things and no other are required to make a man to be of the Church. For the performance of holy duties is an action of them that are already of the Church, and doth not make a man to be of the Church. Yea the performance of these duties is a thing of that nature, that by violence and the unjust courses holden by wicked men; we may be hindred from it without any fault of ours.

If the sentence of Excommunication be just, yet it doth not cut the excommunicate off from the mysticall body of Christ, but doth presuppose that they have already cut off themselves, or that, if this sentence being duely and advisedly pronounced make them not relent, but that still they hold out against it, they wil cut off themselves, and deprive themselves of all inward grace and uertue. From the *visible* Church of Christ it doth not wholly cut them off: for they may, and often doe retaine the intire profession of saving trueth, together with the character of Baptisme, which is the marke of Christianity, and so farre forth notwithstanding their disobedience still acknowledge them to be their lawfull Pastours and Guides, by whose sentence they are excommunicate, that they would rather endure and suffer any thing, than schismatically joyne themselves to any other communion. It doth therefore onely cut them off from communicating with the Church in the performance of holy duties, and deprive them of those comforts, which by communicating in the Sacraments, &c. they might have enjoyed.

This Excommunication is of two sorts; the *greater* & the *lesser*. The greater putteth the excommunicate from the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Blood, and depriveth them of all that comfort and strength of grace, which from it they might receive; it denieth to them the benefit of the Churches publick prayers, & so leaveth them to themselves as forlorne and miserable wretches, without that assistance,

^a Non ita ejicitur fidelis ab Ecclesia per excommunicationem, quin illi maneat subiectus ratione characteris & unitus per fidem si alioqui illâ non amittit; sed solum privatur dicto jure morali ad utendum ecclesiasticâ communicatione & participatione. Suarez. tom. 5. disp. 8. sect. 1. Quomodo excommunicatus privatur suffragiis Ecclesiæ, idem ostendit in eodem tom. disp. 9. sect. 3. 4. 5.

^b Aug de vera Religione. c. 6.

^c Bell. 1. Tom. 4. contr. l. 3. cap. 6.

assistance, presence, and protection which from God shee obtaineth for her obedient children. Whence it is, that they are said to be delivered unto Satan, because they are left (naked, and void of all meanes to make resistance) unto his will and pleasure: and as if this were not enough, they are denied that solace which they might finde in the company and conversation of the people of God; who now doe no lesse flye from them, than in old time they did from the Lepers, who cryed, *I am uncleane, I am uncleane*. The lesser Excommunication excludeth onely from the Sacramentall pledges, and assurances of Gods love, which, when it is pronounced against them that stubbornly stand out, and will not yeeld themselves to the Churches direction and disposition, is properly named Excommunication; but when it is pronounced against them that yeeld when they have offended, and seeke the blessed remedies of the evils they have committed, it is not so properly named Excommunication, but it is an act of the Discipline of Repentance, and of that power and authority which Christ left unto his Church, whereby she imposeth and prescribeth to her obedient children, when they have offended, such courses of penitencie, whereby they may obtaine remission of their sinnes, and recover the former estate from which they are fallen.

C H A P. 16.

Of the errors that are and have beene, touching the use of the discipline of the Church, in punishing offenders.

Touching this discipline of repentance, and power of the Church in ordering offenders, and the use thereof, there are, and have beene sundry both errors and heresies. The first of the *Pelagians* in former times, and the *Anabaptists* in our times, who for every the least imperfection cast men out of their societies, denying that any are or can bee in, or of the Church, in whom the least imperfection is found. Which if it were true, there should bee no Church in the world; all men being subject to sinne and sinfull imperfection, that either are or have beene. For it is a vaine dispute of the *Pelagians*, whether a man may be without sinne or not; whereof see that which ^a *Augustine* and ^b *Hierome* have written against the madnesse and folly of those men.

For confirmation of their error touching absolute perfection, they alledge that of the *Canticles*, *Thou art all faire my Love, and there is no spot in thee*: And that of the Apostle to the ^d *Ephesians*; that *Christ gave himselfe for his Church, that he might make it to himselfe a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, but that it should be holy and without blame*. For answer whereunto, first wee must remember that which formerly was observed, to wit, that sundry glorious titles are given to the Church, which agree not to the whole totally considered, but to some parts onely; so it is said to bee *faire, glorious, and without spot or wrinkle*, not for that all or the most part of them that are of the Church are so, but because the best and principall parts are so; and for that the end, intent, and purpose of the gift of grace given to the Church is to make all to bee so, if the fault bee not in themselves. Secondly, wee must observe that there is a double perfection, purity, and beauty of the Church *without spot or wrinkle*, to wit, *absolute*; and *according to the state of this life*. The first is not found in any among the sonnes of men, while they are clothed with the body of death. And therefore if wee speake of that absolute purity and perfection, the Church is said to be *pure, all faire, and to have no spot or wrinkle*, not for that actually, and presently it is so, but for that it is prepared to bee so hereafter, as *Augustine* fitly noteth. The second kinde of purity, which is *not absolute, but according to the state of this life*, consisteth herein, that all sinnes are avoyded, or repented of, and in Christ forgiven, and his righteousness imputed. In this sense the Church

^a Aug. de perfect. just. cont. Cælestinum.
^b Hier. cont. Pelagianos.
^c Chap. 4.7.
^d Chap. 5, 25, 26, 27.
^e Aug. lib. de perfect. justit.
^f Hoc agitur utique in hoc seculo, ut ad istam quam omnes Sancti cupiunt immaculatissimam puritatem Ecclesia sancta perveniat, quæ in futuro seculo neq; aliquo malorum hominum permixto, neque aliqua in se lege peccati resistente legi mentis, ducat mundissimam vitam in æternitate divina.
 Aug. cont. Pelag. de natura & gratia, c. 63.

Church is now presently pure, and undefiled, and yet not free from all sinfull imperfections, as the *Pelagians* and *Anabaptists* vainly and fondly imagine, contrary to all experience, and the words of the Apostle, *If we say we have no sinne, wee deceive our selves, and there is no trueth in us.*

The second error touching the power of the Church in the ordering of sinners, and the use thereof, was that of the *Novatians*, who refused to reconcile and restore to the Churches peace, such as grievously offended, but left them to the judgement of God, without all that comfort which the Sacraments of grace might yeeld unto them; and if any fell in time of persecution, and denied the faith, how great and unfained soever their repentance seemed to be, they suffered them not to have any place in the Church of God. The third, of certaine of whom *Cyprian* speaketh, that would not reconcile nor restore to the Churches peace, such as for adultery were cast out.

The fourth, of the *Donatistes*, who would not receive into the lap and bosome of the Church, such as having in time of persecution (to save their owne lives) delivered the Bookes and other holy things into the hands of the persecutors, did afterwards repent of that they had done, and with teares of repentant grieve seeke to recover their former standing in the Church of God againe; yea they proceeded so farre in this their violent and passionate zeale, that they abandoned the societie of them that did, held them not Christians, and rebaptized them which came from them, to their pretended purer societies.

The fifth, of the *Luciferians*, who received men returning from Heresie to the Catholick Faith without rebaptization, and enjoined them penitence, and gave them imposition of hands. But Bishops that had beene drawne into heresie, they would not admit, unlesse they forsooke their office and ministerie; against these *Hierome* writeth his Booke against the *Luciferians*. All these did erre, urging overmuch the Church discipline in casting off the wicked, and not admitting the unworthy to her happy fellowship.

Miror quosdam sic obstinatos esse ut dandam non putent lapsis poenitentiam, Cypr. l. 4. epist. 2. in eadem ep. ostendit Novatianos moechis, & fraudatoribus communicare qui libellaticis & sacrificatis deteriores sunt. Novatus refused onely to communicate with idolaters: the Novatians exclude men from the Communion for others sinnes, referring unto God alone the power of remitting them, Socrates lib. 7.

cap. 25. *b* Apud antecessores nostros quidam de Episcopis istic in provincia nostra dandam pacem moechis non putaverunt, & in totum poenitentiae locum contra adulteria clausurunt: non tamen a Coepiscoporum Collegio reefferunt, Cypr. in eadem epist. *i* Plusquam quadraginta anni sunt inter Cypriani passionem & divinerum codicum exultionem, unde isti calumniarum suarum fumos jactantes occasionem faciendi schismatis invenerunt. Aug. lib. 5. de Bapt. contra Donatistas. cap. 1. & Hier. contra Luciferianos.

CHAP. 17.

Of the Considerations moving the Church to use indulgence towards offenders.

BUt the true Church admitteth and receiveth all, that with sorrowfull repentance returne and seeke reconciliation, how great soever their offences have beene: not forgetting to use due severity, which yet shee sometime remitteth, either upon due consideration, or of negligence. The due and just consideration moving the Church to remitte something of her wonted severity, is either private, or publick perill. Private, as when the partie being of a tender, timorous, and relenting disposition, if hee bee proceeded with rigorously, is in danger to fall into despaire, or to bee swallowed up with overmuch sorrow. In this case the Apostle, having excommunicated the incestuous *Corinthian*, writeth to the Church of *Corinth* speedily to receive him againe, lest hee should bee swallowed up with overmuch grieve: and in this sort the ancient Bishoppes were wont to cut off great parts of enjoined penance; which remission and relaxation,

C

was

m Cajetan. o-
puscu. tom. 1.
tract. 15. cap. 2.
3. 4. 5. 6. Qui-
dam distinguē-
tes forum Dei,
& forum Eccle-
siæ, dixerunt
relaxationes
non fieri nec
intelligi quan-
tum ad forum
Dei, sed quan-
tum ad forum
Ecclesiæ: hoc
autem sic intel-
ligunt: sacri
canones pro
mortalibus
peccatis graves,
& diuturnas
poenitentias
quas pauci fi-
cere volunt, ta-
xant, & idcir-
co constitue-
runt relaxatio-
nes aliquando
fieri. Bonaven-
tura libr. 4.
dist. 20. quæst. 2. aliam ipse sequitur opinionem. Si contagio peccandi multitudinem invaserit, consilia sapientie rationis & inania sunt & perniciofa, atque sacrilega, quia & impia & superba sunt, & plus perturbant infirmos bonos quam corrigant animos malos. Aug. cont. Epist. Parmeniani. l. 3. c. 2. *o* 1 Cor. 5. 1. 2. *p* Auferte, inquit, malum ex vobis; ut si forte non possent auferre malos à congregatione suâ auferendo malum ex seipsis, id est, non cum ipsis peccando, nec iis ad peccandum consentiendo, aut favendo, integerrimi inter eos & incorruptissimi versarentur. Aug. lib. 3. cont. epist. Parmeniani cap. 1.

was called an indulgence. Out of the not understanding whereof, grew the Popish pardons, and indulgences. Publick perill is then, when the multitude, authority, and prevailing of the offenders is so great, as that if they be cut off, and separated from the rest, a schisme may justly bee feared, without hope of any good to bee effected thereby; in this case there is just cause why the Church forbearth to proceede to excommunication. For whereas the end of Excommunication is, that evill doers being put from the company of right beleeving Christians, and forsaken of all, may be made ashamed of their evill doing, and so brought to repentance, this cannot be looked for, when the multitude of offenders hath taken away all shame.

These are the due and just motives, which cause the Church sometimes to forbear to punish with that extremitie, which the quality and condition of the offenders fault may seeme to require. But sometimes of negligence, not led by any of these considerations, shee omitteth the due correction of such as have offended God and scandalized his people. So the *Corinthians* before the Apostles Letter written unto them, *suffered an incestuous person*, and seemed not much to bee moved with so vile a scandall. And the like negligence is often found in the Churches of God, which, notwithstanding their fault in this behalf, continue the true Churches of God still; and private men may communicate with them that through the Churches negligence are thus tolerated & suffered, and that both in publick acts of Religion, and private conversation, without being partakers of their sinnes, if they neither doe the same things, nor approve, like, and applaud them that doe, and if they neglect not by all good meanes, to seeke their correction and amendment.

C H A P. 18.

Of their damnable pride, who condemne all those Churches wherein want of due execution of discipline, and imperfections of men are found.

THere are and have beene alwayes some, who possessed with a false opinion of absolute sanctitie, and spotlesse righteousnesse, reject the societies and companies of them in whom any imperfection may be found; which was the furious zeale of the *Pelagians* in old time, and the *Anabaptists* in our time. Others there are, which, though they proceede not so farre, yet deny those societies of Christians to bee the true Churches of God, wherein the severitie of discipline is so farre neglected, that wicked men are suffered and tolerated without due and condigne punishment. These, while they seeme to hate the wicked, and flie from their companie for feare of contagion, doe schismatically rent, and inconsiderately divide themselves from the body of Gods Church, and forsake the fellowship of the good, through immoderate hate of the wicked. Both these doe dangerously and damnably erre; the first in that they dream of heavenly perfection to be found amongst men on earth, when as contrariwise the Prophet *Esay* pronounceth, that *all our righteousnesse is*

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But they will say, there may be Hypocrites, who, for that their wickednesse is not knowne, cannot be separated from them, who in sincerity serve and worship God; but if their wickednes breake forth, that men may take notice of it, either they are presently reformed, or by the censures of the Church cut off from the rest: which course if it be not so holden, but that wicked ones without due punishment be suffered in the midst of Gods people, those societies wherein so great negligence is found, cease to be the true Churches of God, and we may & must divide our selves from them. This was the error of the *Donatists* in former times, and is the error of certain proud and arrogant Sectaries in our time. But if the Church of God remained in *Corinth*,^b where there were divisions, sects, emulations, contentions, and quarrels, and going to law one with an other for every trifle, and that under the infidels; where that wickednesse was tolerated and winked at, which is execrable to the very heathens; where ^c *Paul*es name & credit was despitefully called in question, whom they should have honoured as a father; where the resurrection of the dead (which is the life of Christianity) was with great scorne denied; who dare deny those societies to be the Churches of God, wherein the tenth part of these horrible evils and abuses is not to be found? We see then the difference betweene the turbulent disposition of these men, and the milde affection of the Apostle of Christ, who writing to the *Corinthians* & well knowing to how many evils and faults they were subject, yet doth not thunder out against them the dreadfull sentence of *Anathema*, exclude them from the kingdome of Christ, or make a division & separation from them, but calleth them the Church of Christ, & society of Saints. What would these men have done, if they had lived amongst the *Galatians*, who so farre adulterated the Gospel of Christ, that the Apostle pronounceth, that they were bewitched, and if they still persisted to joyn Circumcision & the workes of the Law with Christ, they were fallen from grace, and Christ could profit them nothing; whom yet the Apostle acknowledged to be the Church of God, writing to the Church which is at *Galatia*.^b

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m Cajetan. o-
puscu. tom. 1.
tract. 15. cap. 2.
3. 4. 5. 6. Qui-
dam distinguē-
tes forum Dei,
& forum Eccle-
siaz, dixerunt
relaxationes
non fieri nec
intelligi quan-
tum ad forum
Dei, sed quan-
tum ad forum
Ecclesiaz: hoc
autem sic intel-
ligunt: sacri
canones pro
mortalibus
peccatis graves,
& diuturnas
poenitentias
quas pauci fi-
cere volunt, ta-
xant, & idcir-
co constitue-
runt relaxatio-
nes aliquando
fieri. Bonaven-
tura libr. 4.
dist. 20. quæst. 2. aliam ipse sequitur opinionem. Si contagio peccandi multitudinem invaserit, consilia sæpè ra-
tionis & inania sunt & perniosa, atque sacrilega, quia & impia & superba sunt, & plus perturbant infirmos bonos
quàm corrigant animos malos. Aug. cont. Epist. Parmeniani. l. 3. c. 2. o i Cor. 5. 1. 2. p. Auferte, inquit, malum
ex vobis; ut si fortè non possent auferre malos à congregatione suà auferendo malum ex seipsis, id est, non cum
ipsis peccando, nec iis ad peccandum consentiendo, aut favendo, integerrimi inter eos & incorruptissimi versarentur. Aug. lib. 3. cont. epist. Parmeniani cap. 1.

was called an indulgence. Out of the not understanding whereof, grew the Popish pardons, and indulgences. Publick perill is then, when the multitude, authority, and prevailing of the offenders is so great, as that if they be cut off, and separated from the rest, a schisme may justly bee feared, without hope of any good to bee effected thereby; in this case there is just cause why the Church forbearth to proceede to excommunication. For whereas the end of Excommunication is, that evill doers being put from the company of right beleiving Christians, and forsaken of all, may be made ashamed of their evill doing, and so brought to repentance, this cannot be looked for, when the multitude of offenders hath taken away all shame.

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^b Aug. in Psal. 142. in illa verba non justificabitur omnis vivens, sic habet: forte justificare potest se coram se, non coram te: quomodo coram se? sibi placens, tibi displicens: noli ergo intrare mecum in iudicium Domine, quantum libet rectus mihi videar: producis tu de thesauro tuo regulam coaptas me ad eam, & pravus invenior: ad te cum respicio nihil aliud meum quam peccatum invenio: nolo tecum habere causam, ut Ego proponam iustitiam meam, tu convinctus iniquitatem meam: commemorate iustitias vestras, ego novi facinora vestra, inquit Dominus. Aug. confes. l. 9. c. 13.
^c Math. 13. 47.
^d Math. 13. 24.
^e Math. 3. 12.
^f Genes. 7. 13.
^g Canus lib. 4. cap. 3.
^h 1 Cor. 33.
ⁱ 1 Cor. 6. 1.
^k 1 Cor. 5. 1.
^l 2 Cor. 10. 10.
^m 1 Cor. 15. 12.
ⁿ Galat. 3. 1.
^o Gal. 5. 4.



THE SECOND BOOKE, CONCERNING THE NOTES OF THE CHVRCH.

CHAP. I.

Of the nature of notes of difference, and their severall kindes.



Ow it remaineth that wee come to the second part of our principall and generall division, to finde out the Notes whereby the true Church may be knowne and discerned from all other companies and societies of men in the world. A note, marke, or character, is that, whereby one thing may bee knowne and differenced from an other. The Philosophers observe, that of things not the same, there are two sorts; some wholly divers, which have no common condition of nature wherein they agree and are the same. These cannot bee apprehended by us, but the diversitie of nature and condition, found in them, must of necessity be conceived and knowne likewise; so that no man, having any apprehension of the nature of a voyce or sound, enquireth wherein it differeth from a circle or line, not finding any thing wherein they are the same. These neede not any notes, or makes of difference whereby to be knowne one from an other.

Other things there are which have many things in common, wherein they agree and are the same, and some other, which are so found in one of them that are not in an other. These are not properly said to be wholly divers, as the former, having many things in common, wherein they agree and are the same; but to differ one from an other, in that some thing is so found in one of them, that it is not in an other. The distinction of these things thus differing, cannot be known by any other meanes, but by observing what is peculiarly found in each of them; neither is there any thing proper or peculiar to any of them, which may not serve for any note or marke of distinction, to discern one of them from another.

That which is proper to a thing, and peculiarly found in it alone, is of two sorts: For either it is said to be proper and peculiar respectively, and at some one time onely, or absolutely, and ever. Respectively that is proper to a thing, which, though it bee not found in it alone, but in sundry other, yet if wee take view of it, and onely some certaine and definite things besides, is so in it that in none of them, and serveth for a sufficient note of distinction to know it from any of them. So if we seeke to difference and discern the nature of man, onely

from those things that are void of life; sense and motion serve for notes of difference, and distinction, and are proper to man, for that they are not found in any thing void of life. But if wee seeke to difference the nature of man from all other things whatsoever; we must finde out that which is in man, and in nothing else; in which sort also a thing may be proper and peculiar at some one time, that is not perpetually and ever so, as weeping, laughing, and the like; which though not alwayes found in a man, (for sometimes hee neither weepeth nor laugheth) yet when they are, they bee notes of difference, distinguishing man from all other things, for that nothing else is at any time capable of any of these.

Perpetually and absolutely that is proper to a thing, which is inseparable and incommunicable, as never being not found in that to which it is proper, nor ever being found in any thing else. Those things which are thus and in this sort proper to a thing, either are of the essence of that to which they are proper, or that is of the essence of them: by both these, a thing may be knowne from all other whatsoever, but more specially by them that are of the essence of that which wee desire to know. These things thus generally observed touching the nature of the notes of difference, whereby one thing may bee discerned and knowne from an other, if we apply particularly to the Church, wee shall easily know which are the true, certaine, and infallible notes thereof, about which our Adversaries so tediously contend and jangle, delivering them confusedly without order, and doubtfully without all certainty.

Wherefore, seeing by that wee have already observed it is evident, that there is nothing not proper that may, nor proper that may not serve as a note of difference to distinguish one thing from an other; Seeing likewise of things proper and peculiar, there are two sorts, some respectively, and some absolutely; and of these againe, some not perpetually, but at some one time onely; and some perpetually and ever; and these either essentiall to that to which they are peculiar, or essentially depending of it, and flowing from it: Let us first see, what things are proper to the Church respectively considered; and secondly, what (without such respective consideration) absolutely, generally, and perpetually; which onely are perfect notes of difference, whereby the true Church may bee perpetually and infallibly knowne from all other societies of men, professions of Religion, and diversities of divine worship that are in the world; and thirdly, such as are generally and absolutely but not perpetually proper.

C H A P. 3.

Of the divers kindes of notes, whereby the true Church is discerned from other societies of men in the world.

THere are presently and were formerly, but three maine differences of Religion in the world, Paganisme, Iudaisme, and Christianity. Paganisme is, and was that state of Religion and divine worship, wherein men having no other light than that of nature, and the uncertaine traditions of their erring Fathers to guide them, ^a did and doe change the trueth of God into a lie, and worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Iudaisme is that state of Religion, wherein men imbrace the Law which God gave to the children of Abraham, & sonnes of Jacob, reforming heathenish impietie, teaching salvation to be looked for through one, whom God would send in the last dayes, and exalt to be Lord over all. Christianity is the Religion of them that beleeve *Iesus Christ* to be that Saviour promised to the Jewes, and ^b acknowledge him to be the sonne of the living God. They which hold this profession, are called the Church of Christ: neither is there any other society or company of men in the world, that professe so to beleeve but they onely.

If

If wee take a view of the Church respectively considered, seeking onely to difference and distinguish it from the society of Pagan Infidels, the profession of divine, supernaturall, and revealed verities is so found in the Church, that not amongst any of these; and so, *respective*, respectively, it is proper to the Church, and may serve as a note of difference, distinguishing it from these profane and heathenish companies; but from the Jewes it doth not sever it; for it is common to it with them; both holding the sacred profession of many heavenly and revealed verities. So that, if we will distinguish *Christians* from *Jewes*, we must finde out that which is so proper and peculiar to the companies and societies of *Christians*, that it is not communicated to the *Jewes*. Such is the profession of divine verities revealed in Christ, whom onely these societies acknowledge to bee the Sonne of God, and Saviour of the World. But for that, when neither heathenish superstition, nor the *Jewes* perfidious impietie, could any longer prevaile, or resist against the knowledge and glory of Christ, but that all the whole world went after him. Sathan, the enemy of mankind, stirred up certaine turbulent, wicked, and godlesse men, who professing themselves to bee *Christians*, under the name of Christ brought in damnable doctrines of errour, no lesse dangerously erring, than did the Pagans and *Jewes*. This profession of the faith of Christ, though it distinguish the *Christian* Church from the *Jewes* and Pagans, and is so farre proper unto it, that it is not found in any of them, yet doth it not separate the multitude of right beleiving *Christians* (which is the found part of the *Christian* Church, and is named the Orthodoxe Church) from seduced miscreants, being common to both.

We must therefore further seeke out that which is so peculiarly found in the more speciall number of right beleiving *Christians*, that is not in any other, though shadowed under the generall name of *Christianitie*. Such is the entire profession of divine verities, according to the rule of faith, left by Christ, and his first Disciples, and Schollers, the holy Apostles.

This entire profession of the trueth revealed in Christ, though it distinguish right beleivers from Hereticks, yet it is not proper to the happy number, and blessed company of Catholick *Christians*, because Schismaticks may, and sometimes doe, hold an entire profession of the trueth of God revealed in Christ. It remaineth therefore, that wee seeke out those things that are so peculiarly found in the companies of right beleiving and Catholick *Christians*, that they may serve as notes of difference, to distinguish them from all, both Pagans, *Jewes*, Hereticks, and Schismaticks. These are of two sorts; for either they are such as onely at sometimes, and not perpetually; or such as doe perpetually, and ever sever the true Church from all conventicles of erring and seduced miscreants. Of the former sort was multitude, largenesse of extent, and the name of *Catholick*, esteemed a note of the Church, in the time of the Fathers. The notes of the later sort, that are inseparable, perpetuall, and absolutely proper and peculiar, which perpetually distinguish the true Catholick Church from all other societies of men, and professions of religions in the world, are three: First, the entire profession of those supernaturall verities which God hath revealed in Christ his Sonne; secondly, the use of such holy ceremonies, and Sacraments as he hath instituted and appointed, to serve as provocations to godlinesse, preservations from sinne, memorials of the benefits of Christ, warrants for the greater securitie of our beleefe, and markes of distinction, to separate his owne from strangers: thirdly, an union, or connexion of men in this profession, and use of these Sacraments, under lawfull Pastours and Guides, appointed, authorised and sanctified, to direct and leade them in the happy wayes of eternall salvation. That these are notes of the Church, it will easily appeare, by consideration of all those conditions that are required in the nature of notes. They are inseparable, they are proper, and they are essentiall. and such things as give being to the Church, and therefore are in nature more cleare and evident, and such as

Christi adventu detectus & prostratus inimicus, sed videns ille idola derelicta, & per nimium credentium populum sedes suas ac templa deserta, excogitavit novam fraudem, ut sub ipso Christiani nominis titulo fallat incautos, hæreses invenit, & schismata, quibus subverteret fidem, veritatem corrumperet, scinderet unitatem. Cypr. de unitate Ecclesie.

that from them the perfect knowledge of the Church may and must be derived. Notwithstanding, for that our Adversaries take exception to them, I will first examine their objections, and secondly prove, that neither they, nor any other that know what they write and speake, can or doe assigne any other. And because *Bellarmino* and *Stapleton* have taken most paines in this Argument, I will therefore propose the objections I finde in them assuring my selfe that there are not any other of moment, to be found in the writings of any other of that side.

C H A P. 3.

Of Bellarmines reasons against the notes of the Church assigned by us.

*Bell. 1. tom.
4. contr. de
conciliis & Ec-
clesia militan-
te, lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Bellarmino his first objection is; *By these notes we know not who are elect; therefore by these we doe not certainly know which is the true Church.* The consequence of this reason we deny, as being most fond and false. He proveth it in this sort. *The Church, according to the doctrine of the Protestants, is onely the number of the Elect; and therefore if the elect be not known & discerned by these from the reprobate and castaways, the Church cannot be known by them.* But the Antecedent of this Argument is likewise false, as appeareth by that which I have formerly delivered, touching the nature and being of the Church: for we doe not say that the Church consisteth onely of the Elect, but principally, intentionally, and finally. For otherwise it consisteth of all that partake in the outward calling of Grace, and enjoying of the meanes of salvation, and so may bee knowne by these notes. For that society doubtlesse hath and enjoyeth the meanes of salvation, to which the notes above-specified doe agree.

*Relect. con.
1. q. 4. art. 5. ex-
posit. articuli.*

Secondly, he reasoneth thus; *The true and certaine notes whereby the Church is knowne, are inseparable; but there may be true Churches that hold not the entire & sincere profession of supernaturall truths revealed in Christ; therefore this profession is no note of the Church.* That there may be true Churches without the entire & sincere profession of the truth of God, appeareth by the examples of the Churches of Corinth, Galatia, and other, to whom Paul wrote, and gave them the titles and names of the Churches of God, and yet they erred in the matter of the resurrection, and the necessity of the Law of Moyses to be joyned with the Gospell. To the minor proposition of this argument, we answer by a double distinction: the first taken out of *Stapleton*; that a multitude or company of Christians may be said to be a true Church, either onely because it hath the true nature and essence of a Church, or because, besides that, it hath all those things that pertaine to the integrity, and plenitude thereof. The second, that there is a double sincerity, and purity of the profession of the truth of God, revealed in Christ; the first free from all damnable, fundamentall, and pertinacious error; the other from all error whatsoever. The former is an inseparable note of the true Church: For there is no being of a Church to be found, where that sincerity and purity of profession is not. The later is a note of a pure and perfect Church, and is inseparably proper unto it. So that proportionably, sincerity and purity of profession is alwayes inseparably proper to the Church: Absolute to the Church, that is absolutely perfect; and in an inferiour degree and sort, to that which is in any sort a Church. For seeing (as *Stapleton* rightly affirmeth) the true faith is the life of the Church, it cannot be the true Church, that pertinaciously erreth in the substance and maine grounds of the faith. What is a fundamentall error, and what that pertinacie, that cannot bee found in the true Church of God, I will then make manifest when I come to speake of the nature of Schisme and Heresie.

His third reason he proposeth in this sort: *Notes of the Church must be proper to the Church, and such things as are not to be found in any society or company of men besides; but this sincerity and soundnesse of profession may be found in other societies and companies of men besides, namely amongst Schismaticks, as appeared in the*

the Luciferians, and some others in the beginning of their Schisme, though for the most part, the better to justifie their schismaticall separation, they adde heresie to schisme. To the Major proposition of this Argument wee answer, that the notes of the Church are of two sorts; either absolute, full, and perfect, generally differing and distinguishing it from all other societies whatsoever; or onely from some certaine. Those notes that absolutely and generally distinguish the Church from all other societies and companies whatsoever, are so peculiar to the true Church, that they are not found any where else; but they which doe distinguish it but onely from certaine, are proper onely *secundum inuicem*, and respectively, that is, so that they are not found in any of those things, from which they doe distinguish it. Notes of the former sort are all those three things jointly concurring, whereof I spake in the beginning, to wit, entire profession of saving truth, and right use of Sacraments, and union under lawfull Pastours. These joyntly cannot bee found among Pagans, Jewes, Hereticks, Schismaticks, nor any other seduced or misse-led people whatsoever. But the entire profession of saving truth singly and by it selfe, is a note distinguishing the Church from Infidels & Hereticks onely, and so is not absolutely, but respectively proper to the true Church, so farre forth that it is not found in any of these.

Fourthly he reasoneth, that *purity of profession can be no note of the Church, for that absolute purity is not necessarily required to the beeing of a Church; for that the Church may be without it: and that other purity free from essentiall and fundamentall error, is no note, for that it doth not distinguish the Church from Hereticks; For there have beene, and may bee Hereticks, which erre not in any matter directly fundamentall.* But who seeth not that he reasoneth sophistically, from an imperfect division of the puritie of the Churches profession? For there are three sorts of it; the first absolute, and that is not necessarily required in the beeing of the Church; the second free from fundamentall and essentiall error, and that is necessarily required in the Church, and company of right beleevvers, but it is not peculiar to it; for it may be found among Hereticks; and a third free from pertinacious error, and that is ever found in the true Church, and never among Hereticks. It is this last kinde of puritie of profession, which wee make a note of the Church.

Lastly, hee endeavoureth to improve the notes assigned by us, for that *notes must not onely bee inseparable and peculiar, but they must be such as may not bee challenged or pretended by any other.* As if he should thus say, I may not direct my man to seeke out one whom I desire to speake with, being in company with two or three more, by this note that hee is the tallest man of the company, though evidently hee be so; if any one of the rest foolishly imagine himselfe as tall or taller: Or by wearing a garment of some certaine colour or die, because some one or other not exactly distinguishing the diversities of colours, may thinke himselfe to have the like. But, saith he, *they must be so proper, that no other must pretend or challenge them with any probability.* This likewise is false even in the notes which himselfe bringeth: for who knoweth not, that the Grecians and others pretend Antiquity, Succession, Universality, and the like, as well as the Church of Rome, and that not without all probability? Thus wee see how weakely this great Champion hath performed that which hee undertooke.

CHAP. 4.

Of Stapletons reasons against our notes of the Church.

^a Relect. con.
1. de Ecclesia
in seq. 4. art. 5.
refutatio nota-
rum in quibus
Hæretici con-
venire viden-
tur.

^b Non dico ubi-
cunque præ-
dicatur verbum,
illic fructum
mox exoriri,
sed nullibi re-
cipi, & statim
habere sedem,
nisi ut suam
efficaciam pro-
ferat: utique
ubi reverenter
auditur Evan-
gelii prædica-
tio, neque Sa-
cramenta ne-
gliguntur, illic
pro illo tempo-
re neque fal-
lax, neque am-
bigua Ecclesie
facies. Cal. in-
stit. lib. 4. cap.
1. & c. 10. idem
sentit Melan-
thon.

Let us see if Stapleton quit himselfe any better. His first reason is taken from the uncertainty of our doctrine, in this sort: *The doctrine of the Protestants is most uncertaine, doubtfull, and full of contradiction; therefore they doe unadvisedly make truth of doctrine a note of the Church; for the notes of the Church must be constant & perpetual.* The Antecedent of this Argument we reject as most false and calumnious. For the whole course of our doctrine is most constant and certaine, as shall appeare by that which followeth. That which he alleadgeth that we agree not touching the nature, qualitie, and members of the Church, is sufficiently refuted by that which I have already delivered touching that matter in the former part.

Secondly, he reasoneth from our confession; for, saith he, ^b *Calvin and Melancthon acknowledge these notes to be uncertaine.* This, who so taketh a view of the places cited by him, shall finde to be most false. Calvin indeede saith, that not the bare preaching of the truth, but the receiving, imbracing, and professing of it is necessary to the being of the Church; but touching the uncertainty of these notes hee saith nothing. That which hee objecteth, that wee make the Church to bee onely the number of the Elect, and that therefore it cannot bee knowne by these notes, is answered in the refutation of Bellarmines first reason.

His third allegation is this: *There are many that doe truly pertaine to the Church, to whom these notes agree not; therefore they are no notes of the Church.* The Antecedent we deny, He proveth it out of our owne doctrine. *Many not yet called pertaine to the Church; but these notes agree not to such; therefore there are many to whom these notes agree not, which yet pertaine to the Church.* To the major proposition we answer thus. Of them that pertaine to the Church, there are two sorts; for some pertaine to it actually, some potentially onely, and according to the purpose of Gods will. To both these, these notes agree, but in different sort and manner; To them that are actually of the Church, they actually agree, for they doe presently make profession of the truth of God, and joyne with the people in the use of holy Sacraments appointed by him: To them that potentially and according to the purpose of Gods will pertaine to the Church, as doe all the elect not yet outwardly called, these notes agree onely potentially, and according to the purpose of Gods will, for that in due time they shall come to the knowledge and profession of the truth, and use of those happy means of salvation, which others actually enjoy.

His fourth objection, that *the entire profession of the truth agreeth to schismatics*, is answered already, being likewise objected by Bellarmine.

Fifthly hee reasoneth thus; *The truth of heavenly doctrine and right use of Sacraments are no notes of the Church, because they doe not shew us which is the Church.* Wee answer that they doe: hee proveth they doe not, because *the true Church is knowne of us before we can know any of these.* This we deny, for we say, a man must know which is true doctrine, and what is the right use of Sacraments, before he can know which is the true Church. This he thinketh impossible, because wee seeke to learne the truth, of the Church; and therefore wee must in the beginning of our enquirie know, which is the true Church, and where assuredly truth is found, or else our whole search and enquirie is doubtfull, uncertaine, and often without successe. For the clearing of this doubt, wee must observe, that seeking is a motion of the minde, desiring to know where a thing is, or what it is, Hee that desireth to know where a thing is, either knoweth the place, within compasse whereof he is sure it is, or else his search is doubtfull, uncertaine, and often in vaine. What a thing is, wee desire

to

to know, either by our owne discourse, or by the instructions or directions of an other: He that seeketh after a thing, desiring to know it by the directions of an other, either knoweth not particularly and certainly of whom to enquire, with assurance that from him hee shall receive satisfaction, and this kinde of search and enquirie is alwayes doubtfull, and often without successe; Or else he knoweth particularly of whom to enquire with assurance of resolution and satisfaction. Now if we apply this which hath beene said, to that which *Stapleton* alleadgeth, wee shall easily answer his objection. For when Infidels, and men wholly ignorant of the trueth of God beginne first to seeke it, they doe not know certainly where they may finde it; and being left to themselves, would often seeke in vaine, as he saith: but being directed by divine providence, and the helpe of others, to the true Church which they know not, and beeing taught by her, they are established in the perswasion of the trueth taught by her, in such sort, as they make no doubt of it; and are further resolved, that that must needs be the Church of God, and company of them whom he loveth, where these truthe are in such sort knowne and taught, as they find them to be there. It is therefore untrue that *Stapleton* saith, that *the Church is better and sooner knowne than the doctrine of it*. For the doctrine is in some sort knowne, before wee can know the Church that teacheth us. For even as a man wholly ignorant, and knowing none of the precepts and principles of Geometrie, cannot possibly know who is learned in that kinde of knowledge, but either casually, or by direction of others meeting with one excelling therein, learneth of him, and then by that which he hath learned of him, knoweth him to be a skilfull professor thereof, and ever after resorts unto him, if in any thing he be doubtfull, with assurance of satisfaction; whose perfections when he began to learne, he knew not, but either casually mette with him, or by the directions of others, and not of his owne choise: So we know not the Church, what it is, which it is, nor how excellent it is, till we have learned some part of the doctrine it teacheth, and are directed to it without any certainty of our owne knowledge; but being once established in the certainty of the trueth of the things shee teacheth, we thereby know her to be the Church of God, beloved of him, led into all truth by him, and appointed a faithfull witnesse, and skilfull mistresse of heavenly truth; and then in all our doubts and uncertainities, we ever after resort unto her, with full assurance of satisfaction and resolution. Thus then wee see, how both the Church sheweth us the trueth of heavenly doctrine, and that againe the Church; but in different sort: the Church doctrinally proposing to us what we must embrace and beleieve; and the doctrine of the trueth beleived and embraced by us, really demonstrating to us that to be the Church, in which so pretious & saving truthe are taught and professed: and that the first repaire and resort of Infidels to the Church, proceedeth from the direction of others, or some thing which they see, that maketh them enquire farther after her; but not from their owne knowledge of her infallibilitie, and the pretious treasures of heavenly trueth which shee possesseth, as *Stapleton* vainely fancieth.

In his sixth objection first he saith; *Truth of doctrine and right use of Sacraments are things, without which the Church is not entire and full: contrary to Bellarmine,* who therefore excludeth them from being notes, because they are separable and the Church may be without them. Secondly, in the same place he saith, that *these things doe depend of the Church, flow from it, and are in order of nature after the being of it, not giving being to it, or concurring in the constitution of it; & therefore cannot be notes;* But else where he saith, *The things that give being to the Church, are the same with the Church, & so cannot be more evident, nor easie to be knowne than the Church it selfe.* Thirdly, in his seventh reason hee saith; *These are the notes whereby wise and spirituall men doe know the Church: and againe in his ninth, that to demonstrate the Church by these notes, is demonstrate idem per idem, to demonstrate the same by the same.* For, saith hee, *when we aske*

^a Eadem cont.
q. 4. art. 5. notabili, 3.

which

which is that societie that holdeth the true profession, &c. and they that assigne these notes, answer, it is that which holdeth the true profession, &c. If this man bee not possessed with a spirit of giddinesse, saying, and unsaying; affirming, denying the same things in the same page, and so indeede saying hee knoweth not what, let the Reader, how partiall soever he be, judge.

To that which he addeth, that *faith is knowne from infidelity, religion from superstition, a beleever from an infidell, and a Catholick from an Heretick, by true doctrine & right use of Sacraments, that they are essentiall to them, and give them their being, but that the whole collected multitude of right beleivers must bee knowne by those things which are proper and essentiall to such an united multitude, as universalitie and the like*: We say, that there is nothing, besides sincerity of profession & right use of Sacraments, essentiall to the Church as a collected multitude, but only order and orderly connexion or union of men concurring in these, while some authorised thereunto doe teach, direct, and command, others obey; which if we adde to the former two, we shall finde all & only those notes which wee assigne. Neither are sincere profession and right use of Sacraments so essentiall to beleiving and catholick men, that they doe sufficiently distinguish them from Schismatics, unlesse this be added, that they *hold the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace*: so that as they doe not sufficiently distinguish the whole body of the Church from the conventicles of Schismatics, unlesse an orderly connexion of men concurring in them bee added; which orderly union or connexion is essentiall to the Church as a collected multitude; so doe they not a Catholick from a Schismatick: but on the other side, who is so foolish as to deny, that the profession of truth, and right use of Sacraments are essentiall to the whole body of the Church? seeing, as *Stapleton* himselfe saith, *Reeta fides est anima Ecclesia, right faith is the very life and soule of the Church*; which is nothing else but an orderly multitude of right beleivers, and is collected and gathered in the true faith of Christ, and hope of eternall happinesse: which as it cannot be knowne and discerned from the conventicles of Schismatics, by right faith and due use of Sacraments onely, without the addition of orderly connexion: so likewise on the contrary side, it cannot be knowne without these, and therefore of necessity they must be notes, though not sole and only notes.

In the seventh there is nothing but that which refuteth that himselfe elsewhere saith, or is refuted by him. For when he saith, that *wise men doe know and discern the Church by the notes assigned by us*, he doth acknowledge that they doe acknowledge the Church in the perfectest sort that may be; which in his ninth hee denieth, saying, that *to demonstrate the Church by them, is to demonstrate the same by the same*: and in his eight maketh it savour of heresie at least, to thinke to finde out the true Church by them. Whereas in the same place he appropriateth these notes onely to the wiser sort of men, as not being within the compasse of ignorant mens conceit. Surely those which hee assigned are lesse obvious to the knowledge of the vulgar sort than these, as shall appeare in that which followeth.

His eight reason, that *the notes of the Church must be such as may not be challenged or pretended by the Hereticks*, is answered already in the refutation of the reasons brought by *Bellarmino*. That which hee addeth concerning their notes of *Antiquitie, Unitie, Succession, and Universalitie, that they are so cleerely proper and peculiar to the Church of Rome, that we doe not deny them to agree to it, but deny them to be notes of the true Church*, is wholly false. For wee peremptorily deny any of these notes to agree to the Romish Church; and with such explication, as they (forced with our Arguments) now make of them, wee most willingly admit them, and will prove, that they differ not really from them assigned by us.

His ninth, that *the notes assigned by us are no notes of the Church, because to demonstrate the Church by them, is to demonstrate the same by the same, (for that*
when

d Cont. 1. de
Ecclesia in se.
q. 3. art. 6. ex-
pof. art. nota-
bili 3.

when wee aske which is the true Church, wee aske which is the Church that holdeth the true profession and right use of the Sacraments ;) is a meere sophistical cavillation. For the better manifestation whereof, wee must observe, that hee that seeketh to finde out the true Church, at the first is wholly ignorant of whatsoever pertaineth to the nature and being of it, as Infidels that know not what the very name of the Church importeth; and then surely the first thing, that he, that is thus wholly ignorant, enquireth after, is not, which is that society that holdeth the profession of saving truth, as *Stapleton* saith ; (For hee knoweth not that there is any such profession, or societie so professing ;) But about the signification of the word, and meaning of the name of the Church: whom wee satisfie, if we say no more, but that it is a societie or companie of men called by the working of grace to the hope of eternall happinesse. But if, when hee knoweth thus much, and is not ignorant what the word importeth, hee do farther desire to know which among all the societies of men in the world it is, that hath this happie and precious hope; We satisfie him by shewing him, that things are so peculiar and proper to it, that wheresoever he findeth them, hee may assure himselfe, that that company and societie of men hath the assured hope of eternall happinesse, and is the true Church of God; as namely, the entire profession of revealed truth, according to the rule of faith left by Christ, and the right and due use of Sacraments. under lawfull pastours and guides appointed to conduct the sonnes of God, in the waies of their eternall blisse and happinesse. Now when hee knoweth the entire profession of saving truth &c. to be proper and peculiar to the true Church, if yet still hee know not truth from errour, and the right use of Sacraments from the profanation of them, and therefore aske of us in the third place which is the true profession, & which is the multitude that hath it, wee will not tell him, as *Stapleton* vainly fancieth, that it is that which holdeth and embraceth the truth; but wee will shew him how to know truth from falshood; that so, wheresoever hee findeth it professed and taught, he may know that societie that so professeth, as he now knoweth the truth in Christ to bee, is the true Church of God. Even as, if one aske of us, how hee may know such a noble mans servant in the Princes Court, we satisfie him, if wee tell him they are cloathed with scarlet, if none other but they onely be so cloathed; but if hee know not scarlet, and aske of us in the second place, which is scarlet, and who they are that weare it, wee will not tell him, they that weare it, but shew him how he may know it, that so when hee seeth it, he may assure himselfe he hath found the men he enquired after.

C H A P. 5.

Of their notes of the Church, and first of antiquitie.

THus having answered the reasons brought by our adversaries against the notes of the Church assigned by us, let us proceede to take a view of such as are allowed by them, and see if they be not the very same in substance with ours. The notes that they propose unto us, are antiquitie, Succession, Unitie, Universalitie, and the very name and title of Catholicke, expressing the Universalitie. Antiquitie is of two sorts; primary, and secondary. Primary is proper unto God, who is eternall. whose being is from everlasting; who is absolutely the first, before whom nothing was, & from whom all things receive being, when as before they were not. This kind of Antiquity is a most certaine prooffe, and demonstration of truth and goodnesse. Of this they speake not, who make Antiquitie a note of the Church. Wherefore letting this passe, let us come to the other; which for distinction sake, wee name secondary Antiquitie. This is of two sorts: the first wee attribute to all those things, which began to be long agoe, and since whose first beginning there hath beene

*2 Bell. 1. rom.
cont. 4. lib. 4. &
alii.*

Epist. 63.

Epist. ad
Quint. 7.

Epist. 74.

In his booke of
prescript against
hereticks. Con-
tra Praxean; id
verum quod-
cunque pri-
mum: id ad ulte-
rum quodcun-
que posterius.

a long tract of time. This is no note, or prooffe of truth or goodnesse: For the di-
vell was both a lyer, and a murtherer long agoe, even immediately after the be-
ginning. And there are many errorrs, & superstitions which began long since;
yea before the name of Christians was once named in the world: and sundry
heresies, that were coetaneall and as ancient as the Apostles times, and that be-
gan before the most famous Churches in the world were planted. This kinde
of Antiquity it is, that Cyprian speaketh of; *Non debemus attendere quid ali-
us ante nos fecerit, aut faciendum putaverit; sed quid, qui ante omnes est, Christus
prior fecerit. Neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi oportet, sed dei veritatem.
Et alibi; Non est de consuetudine prescribendum, sed ratione vincendum. Et
ad Pompeium; Consuetudo sine veritate, vetustas erroris est: Wee must not regard
what any other did before us, or thought fit to be done, but what Christ did, who
was before all. Neither must we follow the customes of men, but the truth of God.
And in another place; We must not prescribe upon custome, but perswade by rea-
son* And writing to Pompeius; *Custome without truth is nothing else but invete-
rate errorr.* There is therefore another kind of Antiquitie, which is not long
continuance, or the being before many other, but the prime first, and originall
being of each thing: this is a sure prooffe of goodnesse, and perfection. For all
defects, found in things are swarvings, declinings, and departures from their o-
riginall, and first estate. For truth is before falshood and good before evill, and
the habit before privation. *Veritas* saith Tertullian, *in omnibus imaginem ante-
cedit, postremo similitudo succedit. The truth is before any counterfeit similitude,
or representation; the truth is first, and then afterwards there are imitations.* That
therefore that is first in any kind, or sort of things, is truest and best: and conse-
quently, that Church that hath prime and absolute Antiquitie, is undoubtedly
the true Church.

This Antiquitie. a Church may be said to have, three waies, either onely be-
cause the first constitution of it was most auncient, as taking beginning from
the first publishers of heavenly knowledge, the Apostles of Christ, the imme-
diate, indubitate, and prime witnesses of the truth of God, whatsoever her de-
clining have beene since; Or because as her first constitution was most auncient,
in that she received the faith from the Apostles; or such as shee knew undoubt-
edly to hold communion with them, so she is not since gone from it, in whole,
or in part, but still hath the same being she first had or thirdly, because the pro-
fession it holdeth is the same that was delivered by the prime immediate, and
indubitate witnesses and publishers of the truth of God, though it began to be
a Church but yesterday. The Antiquitie of the first constitution of a Church
is no sufficient prooffe or note of the truth or soundnesse of it: Neither do they
that plead most for Antiquitie, thinke any good prooffe for any company or
societie of Christians, to demonstrate themselves to be the true Church of
God, because they have had the profession of Christianitie ever since the A-
postles times, by whose meanes they were first converted to the faith, & esta-
blished in the profession of the same For then the Church of Ephesus might at
this day prove it selfe a true Church of God; yea many Churches in Ethiopia
are yet remaining, which have continued in the profession of Christianity, e-
ver since the Apostles times. But this is all they say, that if any Church founded
by the Apostles, or their coadjutors, and left by them in the true profession, as
were the Churches of Rome, Antioch, Ephesus, & the like, can demonstrate that
they have not since departed from their first, and originall estate, they thereby
do prove themselves to be the true Churches of God And if any other that began
since, as innumerable did, can shew that they have the faith first delivered to the
Saints, they thereby prove themselves no lesse to be the true Church of God then
the former, which had their beginning from the Apostles themselves, and have
continued in a state of Christianity ever since. Do we not see then, that it is truth
of doctrine, whereby the Church is to be found out, even in the judgement of
them

them that seeme most to say the contrary? they admit no plea of Antiquitie on the behalfe of any Churches whatsoever, though established by the Apostles, unlesse they can prove that they have not left their first faith. So that this is still the triall, if they may be found to have the truth of profession, &c. Whereupon Stapleton saith,

Ad notam antiquitatis sibi vendicandam, non satis est quod aliqua societas sub titulo Ecclesie diu perduraverit, aut prior extiterit, sed prater ea necesse est quod sanam doctrinam semper, & prius retinuerit. Hoc autem contra veteres hereses, maxime ipsis Apostolis coetaneas, notandum est. It is not a sufficient reason for a societie of Christians to challenge to it selfe the note of Antiquitie, because it hath long continued, and beene before others in the profession of Christianitie; but besides it is required, that it have aunciently, and ever holden the doctrine of truth: This is specially to be noted against old heresies, whereof some began in the Apostles times. And he saith of the Churches of Greece, Ethiopia, and Armenia, that, though their Antiquitie did reach as high as the Apostles times, yet notwithstanding *propter doctrina novitates postea inventas, veram antiquitatem non habent: because they have brought in new doctrine, they have no true Antiquitie.*

f Contr. 1. de Eccles. q. 4. art. 1. exposit. art. notabili. 3.

g Ibidem in solutione argumentorum.

CHAP. 6.

Of Succession.

Hitherto wee have spoken of antiquitie, which they make the first note of the Church. It followeth in the next place that wee speake of Succession. The ministerie of pastours and teachers is absolutely, and essentially necessary to the being of the Church. For how should there be a Church gathered, guided, and governed without a ministerie? Therefore the ministry of those whom God sanctified to himselfe to teach, instruct and governe his people, is an essentiall marke and note of the Church, as wee have already shewed. Now because the Church is not to last onely for some short time, and so to cease, but to continue to the end of the world, this ministrie must continue likewise; which because it cannot continue in the same persons (all being subject to death) it is necessarie, that when some faile, others possesse the places they formerly held, which is to Succeede: Neither is this Succeeding of one into the place of another, necessary, onely by reason of that failing which is by death, but because the places of sacred ministerie must not be unfurnished; if either the wickednesse of them that are in place, cast them out, or their weakenesse cause a voluntarie relinquishment of their office, and standing, others must succede. Lawfull and holy ministry therefore is an inseparable, and perpetuall note of a true Church; for no Church can be without it; but Succession not so; For the Churches in the first establishment in the Apostles time had it not, and many Churches, which in sundry ages since have beene founded, had none, their Bishops being the first and succeeding none, in those Episcopall chaires wherein they sate. If wee therefore should cavill against them as they do against us, wee might deny succession to be a note of the Church, because there have beene and may be true Churches without it; as all at the first in the beginning of Christianitie, and all other since newly founded, in their first beginning. But because wee know they make not Succession of Pastours and Bishops a note of the Church absolutely considered, but of that which being formerly established, is still to be continued, by multitudes of men and people continually succeeding, and comming into the places of others that went before them, in the same profession of Christianitie; Let us see whether succession of Bishops, and pastours may truly be said to be a note of the Church.

a Bell. i. To n.
cont. 4. l. 4. c. 8
Ecclesia Con-
stantinopolita-
na habet suc-
cessionem à
tempore Con-
stantini sed ar-
gumentum à
successione af-
fertur ad pro-
bandum non
esse Ecclesiam
ubi non est, &c.
b Contr. de Ec-
clesia in se. q.
4. art. 2. expof.
art. notabili. 5.
c Neque qui
per vim irrupit
fuffeffor ha-
bendus est, fed
qui vim perfec-
tus: nec qui
contrariam
fententiam tue-
tur, fed qui eà
dem fide præ-
ditus est, nifi
quis fortassis i-
ta fuffefforem
dicat, quemad-
modum mor-
bum fanitati,
tenebras luci,
tempeftatem
tranquillitati,
dementiam
prudentiæ fuc-
cedere dicimus.
Nazianz. in
laudem Atha-
nafii.

Absolutely and without limitation, doubtlesse it is not: For there may be a continued Succession of Bishoppes, where there is no true Church, as at this day amongst the *Grecians, Armenians, and Ethiopians*, which yet are not the true Churches of God, in the opinion of them that plead for succession.

Bel- larmine therefore saith, that succession is inseparable, so that there can be no Church without it; but that it is not proper, so that wheresoever it is found, we may assure our selves that there is the Church; so forgetting himselfe, who requireth in the notes that they be proper, and rejecteth our note of puritie of doctrine free from pertinacious error, because it may be found among schismatickes, though it be inseparable, and the true Church cannot be without it.

But *Stapleton*, handleth this point of Succession much better. For hee saith, that Succession is an inseparable, and proper note of the true Church: but not every Succession, but that which is true and lawfull. Let us therefore see what hee requireth to make a true and lawfull Succession. First, there must be a place void, by resignation, deprivation, or death; Secondly, they that succcede must have election, and ordination from them to whom it appertaineth to elect, and ordaine. Thirdly, they must not depart from the faith that was formerly holden, by them that went before, unlesse any of them did first decline, and goe aside from the way of the first, and most auncient, that held those places before: and therefore in the catalogue of Bishops succeeding one another in each severall See, wheresoever any first began to teach any new and strange doctrine, different from that which was formerly delivered, the thread & line of succession was by him either wholly broken, or somewhat endangered, according to the qualitie of the error, and the manner of defending, and maintaining the same. So that this is all which *Stapleton* saith, that wheresoever wee finde a Church once established, under a lawfull ministerie, in the undoubted profession of the trueth, if afterwards there be a Succession of Pastours and Bishops in the same place, & that none of them depart from the faith of the former, that so, it may be evident, that what faith was first holden is still holden, by them that presently are in place, there we may assure our selves to finde the true Church.

Thus still wee see, that truth of Doctrine, is a necessary note whereby the Church must be knowne and discerned, and not ministry, or Succession, or any thing else without it.

But saith hee, the people must not judge, which is true doctrine and which is false, by the particular consideration of the things themselves, but onely by the newnesse, strangenesse, contrarietie it hath with that which they have learned of their pastours, guides, and forefathers. He allowed then a kind of judgement to the vulgar sort, who must discern which is the true doctrine, & which is the false, though not by particular consideration of the things themselves that are taught, yet by the newnesse and strangenesse of them. Touching the judgement the people of God ought to have of the doctrine of Christianitie, I will speake when I come to the fourth part of my first and generall division. In the meane while it sufficeth, that not bare and naked Succession, but true, & lawfull, wherein no new, or strange doctrine is brought into the Church, but the ancient religiously preserved, is a marke, note, or character of the new Church.

C H A P. 7.

Of the third note assigned by them, which is Unitie.

THe third note of the Church assigned by them is Unitie. There are many sorts and degrees of Unitie found in the Church: The first, in respect of the same beginning, and originall cause, which is God that hath called us to the fellowship of his Sonne, and to the hope of eternall life. *Jo. 6. No man cometh unto me, unlesse my father draw him.* The 2^d, in

in respect of the same last end, whereunto all they that are of the Church doe tend, signified by that *pennie given to every one of the labourers.* *Matth. 20.* The *b* *Matth. 20. 8.* third is in respect of the same meanes of salvation, as are Faith, Sacraments, holy *9. 10.* lawes and precepts according to that *Ephesians 4. One Faith, one Baptisme, &c.* *c* *Ephes. 4. 5.* The fourth in respect of the same spirit, which doth animate the whole bodie of the Church: *There are diversities of Graces, but the same Spirit.* *d* *1. Cor. 12. d* *1. Cor. 12. 4.* The fift in respect of the same head Christ, and Guides appointed by him, who, though they are many, yet are all holden in a sweete coherence and connexion amongst themselves, as if there were but one Episcopall chaire and office in the world Which Unitie of Pastours and Bishops, though they be many and joyned in equall commission, without dependance one from another, Christ signified by directing his words specially to *Peter, Feede my sheepe, feede my lambes,* as *Cyprian* most aptly noteth. The sixt is in respect of the connexion, which all they of the Church have amongst themselves, and with Christ, and those whom he hath appointed in his stead to take care of their soules. *Rom. 12. Wee are one* *e* *Cypr. de unitate Ecclesie.* *f* *Rom. 12. 5.* *body and members one of another.* These being the diverse kindes, and sorts of Unitie in the Church, let us see what Unitie it is, which they make a note of the Church. The Unitie which they make a note of the Church is, first, in respect of the rule of faith, and use of the Sacraments of salvation; secondly, in respect of the coherence and connexion of the Pastours and Bishops amongst themselves; thirdly, in the due and submissive obedience of the people to their Pastours.

This is it then which they say, that wheresoever any company, and societie of christians is found in orderly subjection to their lawfull Pastours not erring from the rule of faith, nor schismatically rent from the other parts of the Christian world, by factious, causelesse and impious division, that societie of men is (undoubtedly) the true and not offending Church of God. This note thus delivered, is the very same with those assigned by us. But if any of them shall imagine that any unitie, and agreement whatsoever of Christian people amongst themselves, doth proove them to be the Church of God, wee utterly denie it. For the Armenians, Aethiopians, and Christians of *Muscovia*, and *Russia*, have every of them an agreement amongst themselves, though divided each from other, more perfect than they of the Church of *Rome* have; which yet in the judgment of the Romanists, are not the true Churches of God.

C H A P. 8.

Of Vniuersality.

THe next note assigned by them is Universalitie. Concerning Universalitie, *Bellarmino* observeth three things: First, that to the Universalitie of the Church is required, that it exclude no times, places, nor sorts of men; in which consideration the Christian Church differeth from the Synagogue, which was a particular Church tyed to one time, being to continue but to the coming of Christ; to a certaine place, to wit. the Temple of *Hierusalem*, out of which they could not sacrifice; and to one familie, the sonnes of *Jacob*. Secondly, hee noteth out of *Augustine*, that to the Universalitie of the Christian Church it is not required, that all the men of the world should be of the Church, but that at the least there should be some. in all provinces of the world, that should give their names to Christ. For till this be performed, the day of the Lord shall not come, *b* *Mat. 24.* Thirdly, he noteth out of *Driedo*, in his fourth booke, chap. 2. part. 2. *de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, that it is not required, *b* *Matth. 24. 14* that this should be all at once, so that at one time necessarily there must be some Christians in all places of the world; For it is enough, if it be successively. Whence, faith hee, it followeth, that though but onely one Province of the world, should retaine the true faith, it might truly and properly be named the

Catholique Church, if it could clearely demonstrate it selfe, to be one with the Church and company of beleevers; which if not at one time, yet at divers times hath filled the whole world. This it cannot demonstrate, but by making it appeare, that it hath neither brought in any new and strange doctrine in matter of faith, nor schismatically rent it selfe from the rest of the christian world.

This note of Universalitie, thus understood, wee willingly admit: for it is the same with those wee assigne. For wee say, what Church soever can prove it selfe to hold the faith once delivered to the saints, and generally published to the world, without hereticall innovation, or schismaticall violation, and breach of the peace, and unity of the Christian world, is undoubtedly the true Church of God. But out of this which *Bellarmino* hath thus truly, wisely, and fitly observed touching Universalitie, wee deduce many corollaries of great consequence in this controversie touching the Church.

The first, that it may be the true and Catholique Church, which neither presently is, nor ever hereafter shall be, in all or the most parts of the world, if it can continue it selfe, and prove it selfe one, with that Church which formerly at some time or times, hath beene in the most parts thereof. From whence it is easie to discern the vanitie of that their sillie objection against us, who say our Church began not at *Hierusalem*, in the feast of Pentecost, but at *Wittenberg*, or *Geneva*, in this last age of the world; and that it is not likely, beginning so late, that ever it will so farre enlarge it selfe, as to fill all the whole world, and so become Catholique, or Universal. For wee do not imagine, that the Church began at *Wittenberg*, or *Geneva*, but that in these and sundry other places of the Christian world, it pleased God to use the ministerie of his worthy servants, for the necessary reformation of abuses in some parts of that Catholique Church, which beginning at *Hierusalem*, spread it selfe into all the world, though not at all times, nor all places, in like degree of puritie, and sinceritie. So that though the reformed Churches neither presently be, nor perhaps hereafter shall be, in all, or the most part of the world, yet are they Catholique, for that they doe continue themselves with that Church, which hath beene, is, or shall bee, in all places of the world, before the coming of Christ, and undoubtedly already hath beene in the most part thereof. The second, that the true Church is not necessarily alwaies of greater extent, nor the multitude of them that are of it greater, than of any one company of Heretickes, or mis-beleevers. The third, that the true Church cannot be at all times infallibly knowne from the factions of heretickes, by multitude and largenesse of extent. The fourth, that this contrarieth not the saying of *Augustine*, and others of the Fathers, who urge the ample extent of the Church as a proove of the truth thereof; For that they lived and wrote in those times, when the Church was in her growth, and wee are fallen into the last and worst times, wherein she is in her declining.

Aug. Psal. 101
conc. 2. reprehendit Donatistas dicentes Ecclesiam in sola Africa remansisse. hunc locum Augustini explicat Bellarminus loco superius notato.

C H A P. 9.

Of the name and title of Catholique.

Bell. 1. Tom. cont. 4. lib. 4. cap. 4.

THe fift note assigned by them is the name and title of Catholique; which they say, is an undoubted proove of the true Catholique Church wheresoever it is found. And because our adversaries do not more insolently boast and glorie of any thing; than of the bare and emptie name, and title of Catholique; I will therefore make it evident to all them, that know their right hand from their left, that howsoever it was in the daies of the Fathers, it is not now proper to the true Church, but common to Schismatickes, and Heretickes; and therefore, that it cannot now serve as a marke or note distinctive, whereby the true Church may be knowne from mis-beleevers. This therefore is to be reckoned amongst those things that are proper and peculiar to

to the true Church, but not perpetually proper; and so amongst those notes that may difference the true Church from the false, at some times and not at others.

The title of Catholicke doth most fitly expresse those, both Christian men and societies of Christians, which hold the common faith, without particular divisions from the maine body of Christianity. While therefore there was but the maine body of Christianitie at unitie within it self, and such portions of seduced and misle-led people, as apparantly divided themselves from it, the name of a Catholicke was a note and distinctive marke, or character to know and discern a Catholicke from an Hereticke, or Schismaticke by, and the naming after the name of any man, a note of particularitie, and Hereticall or Schismaticall faction. Whereupon one of the auncient said fitly to this purpose, *Christian is my name, and Catholicke is my surname: by the one I am knowne from infidels, by the other from Hereticke and Schismaticke*. But when the maine body of the Christian Church divided it selfe, partly by reason of different ceremonies, uses, customes, and observations; partly through the ambitious strivings of the Bishops, and Prelates of the greatest, richest, and most respected places; partly by occasion of some different opinions; the name of Catholicke remained common to either of the parts thus divided, sundred, and rent one from another, though on the one side rested not onely error, but heresie also in the opinion of the other. For who knoweth not, that the Christians of the *Greeke*, and *Orientall* Church, are and have beene as generally named Catholickes, as the friends and followers of the *Welterne* or *Latine* Church? Neither have they any name, or note of faction, as all auncient Hereticke had, but as in former times before this schisme began, for distinction sake, the whole christian Church was divided into two moities, the one called the *Occidentall*, or *Latine*: and the other the *Orientall*, or *Greeke* Church: so are they by the same notes of difference and no other knowne at this day. Yet are the *Grecians*, *Armenians*, *Aethiopians*, and other in the East parts of the world, in the judgement of the *Romanists*, not onely Schismatickes, but Hereticke also.

b Pacianus in epist. ad Sempronianum citatur à bellar. loco superius notato.

It was therefore more then ordinary impudencie in *Bellarmino* to affirme, that the name of a Catholicke is a note of true Catholicke profession, when hee knew it to be common to such as himselfe pronounced Hereticke. And it is yet more intollerable that he saith, there is no heresie which receiveth not her name from some particular man the author and beginner of it: and that whosoever are named after the names of men are undoubtedly Hereticke. For of what man had the *Apostolici* their name, whose author and first beginner was never knowne, (as *Bernard* saith) that we might assure our selves the Divell was author of that damnable Sect? and who dare pronounce all the *Thomists*, *Scotists*, *Benedictines*, and the like, to be Hereticke? That wee may therefore make his follie to appeare in that hee saith concerning Hereticke, and the naming after the names of men, as wee did in the former part, touching the name and title of Catholicke, wee must observe, that Hereticke sometimes have their names from the matter wherein they erre, as the *Monothelites* in old time, and the *Anabaptists* in ours; the first affirming, that there is but one will in Christ, whence they were named *Monothelites*; the other urging rebaptization of such as are baptized by Hereticke, whence they are named *Anabaptists*, that is, rebaptizers: sometimes of that they arrogantly challenge to themselves and make pretence of, as the *Apostolici*, for that they challenged themselves more than ordinary perfection, as equalling the Apostles, or coming nearer to their examples, and presidents, than other men: sometimes of the place where they began and most prevailed, as the *Cataphriges*: sometimes of the first author of their heresie, as *Marcionites*, *Donatistes*, and the like. Thus then wee see all Hereticke have not their names from men.

c 1. Tem. cont. 4 lib. 4. cap. 4. d Cetera hujusmodi pestes singula singulos magistros, homines habuisse noscuntur, à quibus originem duxere, & nomen: quo nomine istos tituloque censuris nullo: quoniam non ab homine illorum hereses &c. Bernardus in cant. ser. 66. e Nempe jactant se esse Apostolorum successores, & Apostolicos nominant, nullum tamen Apostolorum sui signum valentes ostendere. Ber. in Cant. serm. 66.

But they will say, they were all Hereticke that were named after the names

of men. Surely is it not to be denied but that the naming after the names of men was in the time of the Primitive Church, peculiar and proper to Heretickes and Schismatickes onely.

Neither were there any Christians in the first ages of the Church called after the names of men but such as followed wicked seducers in Schisme, or Heresie: whereupon it was a sure rule in auncient times, that whosoever professing themselves Christians, were named after the names of men (as *Novatians* of *Novatus*, *Pelagians* of *Pelagius*) they were to be holden for Heretickes. This rule is delivered by *Hierome*, against the *'Luciferians, sicubi &c.* If any where thou finde men professing Christianitie, called after the particular names of men, know them to bee the Synagogue of Antichrist, and not the Church of Christ. But as the honorable title of Catholicke, sometimes a note of the true and Orthodoxe Church, is now ceased to be so; in like sort the naming after the names of men, sometimes a note of Heresie, is now ceased to be so: which to be most true sundrie, manifold and divers names of *Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, Augustinians, Thomists, Scotists*, and the like, do make it most apparant. And besides this, there are at this day innumerable Christians in the East parts of the world; that are called *Nestorians*, that hold not the Heresie of *Nestorius*, nor any other speciall Heresie, whence they might have any such name of division, faction, or particularitie.

f Contra Luciferianos prope finem.

g Onuphrius in supplemento Platini in vita Julii. 3.

For the better clearing of whatsoever may seeme doubtfull in this matter of names, titles, and appellations, wee must observe, that they, which professe the faith of Christ, have beene sometimes in these later ages of the Church, called after the speciall names of such men, as were the Authors, devisers, and beginners of such courses of monasticall profession, as they made choice of to follow, as *Benedictins* and the like; sometimes of such principall men, whose judgement and opinion they embraced, and followed, in sundry matters of great moment in the controversies of religion, not yet determined by consent of the whole universall Church; and so in our times amongst the schoole Divines, some following *Thomas*, and others *Scotus*, and many and sundry maine contradictorie opinions, some were named *Thomists*, others *Scotists*; sometimes of such men, whose new, strange and private opinions contrarie to the Churches faith, they pertinaciously embraced and followed, as *Arrians*, of *Arrius*, *Eutichians* of *Eutiches*: yea, sometimes of some arch-heretickes, whose opinions and heresies they hold not, as at this day the greater part of Christians that are in *Assyria, Persia*, and the rest of the Easterne provinces, are called *Nestorians* by all other Christians in those parts, as the *Jacobites, Maronites, Cophi*, and the like; yet do they hold nothing that savoureth of *Nestorius* heresie, as *Onuphrius* reporteth in the life of *Julius* the third, in whose time sundrie of them came to *Rome*.

h Onuphrius in vita Julii. 3.

i In Concilio Florentino in decreto Eugenii 4.

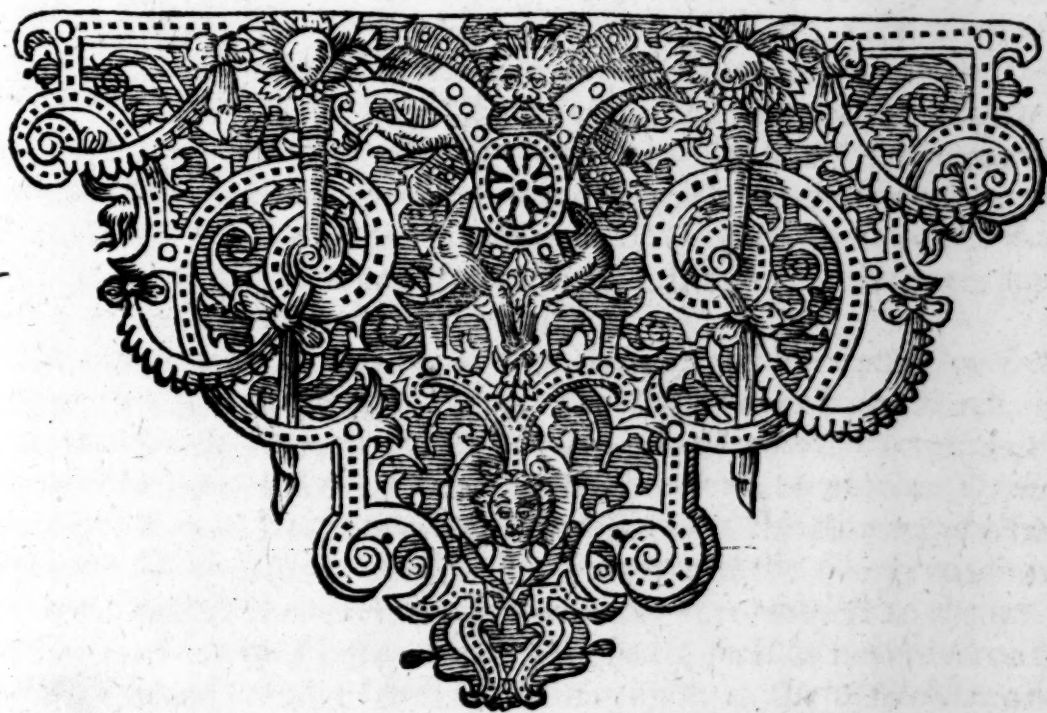
k In Ecclesia Gregoriana est hzc forma, per istam sanctam unctionem &c. in Ambrosiana est hzc, ungo te &c. Bonavent. lib. 4. dist. 33. q. 4. de sacramento unctionis. Cassander in prefat. in l. ord. Rom. Petrus Voragienensis in legenda Gregorii. 1.

These in likelihood are called *Nestorians*, for that in former times the heresie of *Nestorius* prevailed much in those parts of the world: which now beeing clearly banished, the right beleeving Christians of those parts are still notwithstanding called by that odious and hatefull name: or else it is by wrong and unjust imputation: as the *Armenians* are judged by many to bee *Eutichians*, for that they receive not the Councell of *Chalcedon* which they refused to subscribe unto, upon a false suggestion and apprehension, that in it the heresie of *Nestorius* condemned in the Councell of *Ephesus*, was revived againe: sometimes of such as collected, gathered, and brought into a certaine Order, for the better direction of Gods people in his service, the prayers of the Church, and formes of administering the Sacraments, and other holy things, or else augmented, altered or reformed those that were before: so when there grew a division among the Churches of this part of the world, some following the forme of Divine administration left by *Ambrose*, others embracing that prescribed by *Gregory*, some were called *Ambrosian*, and some *Gregorian* Churches: as likewise

wise

wife in our times when *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other worthy servants of God had perswaded some states of Christendome to reforme correct, and alter some things that were amisse, and to remove and take away sundry barbarismes, errors, and superstitions crept into the prayers of the Church, with many grosse abuses and grievous abominations formerly tolerated in the midst of the Church of God; those States, people, and Churches, which reformed themselves, abandoning superstition, and error, were by some called reformed Churches; by other *Lutherane* Churches. Neither was it possible that so great an alteration as the corrupt state of the Church required, should be effected, and not carrie some remembrance of them by whom it was procured. Wee see the sinceritie of our Christian profession concerning the Sonne of God, (whom we acknowledge coëssentiall, coëquall and coëternall with the Father,) cleared, and published in the *Nicen* Councell, was ever after, for distinction from the manifold turnings and windings of Heretickes, endeavouring to obscure, corrupt, alter, and adulterate the same; called the *Nicene* faith.

That the Church needed reformation when *Luther* began, and that it was not necessary, nor behoovefull to expect the consent of the whole Christian world in a generall Councell, I will make it evident when I come to the third part of my generall division. In the meane while, it is most cleare and evident, that the naming after the names of men is now no certaine note of Heresie, or Schisme. For if the naming after the names of men were a certaine note of Heresie, or Schisme, then should all orders of Monkes and Friars, that are named after the names of their first authors, be proved Heretickes: yea, the followers of *Thomas*, and *Scotus*, should be convinced of Heresie: and all the Christians that are named *Nestorians* should be found Heretickes; which they which know them best, do denie; yea then, all the *Ambrosian* and *Gregorian* Churches, must be charged with Heresie and Schisme.





THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE TRVE CHVRCH DEMONSTRATED BY THE NOTES BEFORE AGREED UPON.

CHAP. I.

Of the division of the Christian world into the Westerne, or Latine Church, and the Orientall, or East Church.



Hus then having sufficiently examined those things which concerne the notes of the Church, so that it is evident to all not wilfully contentious, which are the true notes whereby the Church may be knowne: it remaineth, that by application of them wee seeke out, which among so many diversities, and contrarities in matters of religion, as are at this day found in the World, is the true, & Orthodox Church of God. And because our controversies are not with *Jewes*, nor Pagan Infidels, as in the times of the fathers, but with such as together with us profess themselves Christians, letting passe all those notes which serve to prove the truth of Christian profession in generall, against heathenish and Jewish errors, let us come to take a view of the diversities that are found among Christians, and by the direction of the notes agreed upon, see which is the true Church of God.

The Christian Church is divided at this day into the Westerne, or *Latine* Church, and the Orientall or East Church. The Orientall or East Church is divided, into the *Greeke* Church, the *Nestorian* or *Assyrian* Churches, and the Churches of the supposed *Monophysites*, as the *Jacobites*, *Armenians*, *Cophti* or Christians of *Egypt*; the *Aethiopians* or *Abissens*, and the *Maronites* who are thought to be *Monothelites*. The Christians that are of the *Greeke* religion are of two sorts. First such as presently are, or lately were subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. Secondly such as never were under that jurisdiction and yet are of the same Communion: as the *Melehites* of *Syria*, and the *Georgians*. Of the first sort are all the Christians of *Natolia* except *Armenia* the lesser, and *Cilicia*; the Christians of *Circassia* and *Mengrellia*, and *Russia*, in *Europe* the Christians of *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Epirus*, *Thrace*, *Bulgaria*, *Rascia*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Podolia*, and *Muscovia*, together with all the Ilands of the *Aegean* sea as farre as *Corfu*, besides a great part of the

king

Prope finem.

Lib. 3. p. 31.

king of *Polonin* his dominions and those parts of *Dalmatia*, and *Croatia* that are under the Turke. The reason of this large extent of the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was. First the decree of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, subjecting unto him all *Thracia* and *Anatolia* except *Isauria*, & *Cilicia* belonging to *Antioch*, 28 Roman Provinces. Secondly, the voluntary submission of the *Grecians* upon the separation of the Churches. For thereby not only *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Epirus*, *Candie*, and the Iles about *Greece*, in all about 7 Provinces came under him, but *Sicily* also, and *Calabria* fell from *Rome*, and for a long time were subject to the jurisdiction of *Constantinople*. Whereupon in *Cyropalates* the Metropolitans of *Syracusa* and *Catana* in *Sicilia*, of *Rhegium*, *Severiana*, *Rosia* and *Hydruntum* in *Calabria* are registred amongst the Metropolitans of that jurisdiction. Thirdly the conversion of sundry nations and people to the Christian faith by his suffragans and ministers wrought a great enlargement of his jurisdiction. The first of the *Slavons*, saith *Cromerus*, that were converted to the faith, were those of *Bulgaria*, who became Christian the yeare 860. in the time of *Nicholas* the first. About these there was much contention a long time betweene *Rome* and *Constantinople*, either of them clayming jurisdiction over them as having wonne them to the true knowledge and worship of God. But in the end the *Grecians* prevailed, and they were wholly put under the jurisdiction of *Constantinople*. Some thirty yeares after these, they of *Rascia*, *Servia*, *Bosnia*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia* and *Illiricum* received the Christian faith from their neighbours the *Grecians*, and *Italians*, in the time of the raigne of *Suatoplugus* amongst the *Moravians*, who gave his name to Christ, and was the meanes of the conversion of *Borivoius* Duke of the *Bohemians* about the yeare 900. Not long after the conversion of the *Bohemians* about 980 yeares after Christ in the time of the raigne of *Basilus* and *Constantine* Emperours of *Constantinople*, the *Russes* began publikely to professe the Christian faith, *Volodomirus* their Prince having married the Emperours sister and received teachers from the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. This prince after he became a Christian, placed a Metropolitan at *Kiovia* an Archbishop at *Novograd*, and in other citties of Bishops consecrated by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. Since which time the *Russians* adhere most constantly to the *Greeke* religion, & rites. After this the *Polonians* possessed themselves of sundry parts of *Russia*, but the *Russians* not long enduring that subjection, cast off the yoke and became free againe; yet continued not long so: for within short time after *Russia* in a great part became subject to the *Lituanians* partly by conquest, and partly by marriages, and from them was passed over againe to the *Polonians*. For *Ludovicus* King of *Hungary*, & *Poland*, had two daughters, of which the younger named *Hednigis* succeeded him in the kingdome of *Polonia*, who was married to *Jagello* prince of *Lituania*; and thereby all *Lituania*, and that part of *Russia* also that was subject to *Lituania*, was joyned to the kingdome of *Polonia* for ever. But the histories report that while the *Russes* were divided into many principalities, which fell out immediately after the death of *Volodomirus*, one *John* the son of *Daniel*, a prince amongst them, taking a good liking of the river, and tower of *Mosqua* repaired the towre, before meane and base; and made it the seat of his principallitie. So that the *Russes* subject to him were named *Moscovites* from the river and tower of *Mosco*. And when long after they of the posteritie of *John*, having joyned unto them partly by marriages, partly by fraud, partly by force such people of that nation and language as lay neare unto them formerly weakened by the incursions of the *Tartars* and others, and so enlarged their principallitie. All such *Russes* as were joyned to that empire, though much more noble and mightie then the *Moscovites*, were content to be named *Moscovites*, and yet still retained the name of *Russes* also, as the *Podolians* are *Russes* and yet have a peculiar name. These *Muscovites* by conquest obtained *Novograde*, and after that, those *Russes* that were called *Severianen-*

ses fell from the subjection of the *Lituanians* to the *Moscovites*, either moved so to doe by the injuries they had received from them as they pretended, or rather by reason of the difference in Religion betweene them; and the good correspondence they held with the *Moscovites* in this respect, so that the principality of *Mosco* grew to bee exceeding great. The Duke of *Mosco* growing thus great, obtained of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to have a Metropolitan of *Mosco*, who was named Metropolitan of *Russia*, both by the Patriarch and others as well as the Bishop of *Kiovia*, who was long before so named, and continueth yet still so to bee. In that part of *Russia* that is subject to the King of *Polonia* there are seven Bishopricks, whereof the Bishoppe of *Kiovia* is the Metropolitan. In the other which is subject to the great Duke of *Mosco* there are eleven Bishopricks, whereof the Bishop of *Mosco* is Metropolitan, the Bishop of *Novograde* and *Rascavium* are Archbishops, the rest ordinary Bishops. All these as being at the first consecrated and placed by the Patriarch of *Constantinople* were under his jurisdiction. Fourthly, The *Turkes* conquests have beene an occasion of the enlargement of the Constantinopolitan jurisdiction; for when sundry parts of the Christian world, formerly subject to *Rome*, were brought under the bondage of the *Turkes*, the Bishops and Pastours like hirelings forlooke their flocks, over which the Patriarch of *Constantinople* pitying their case, placed Bishops and Pastours of the *Greeke* Religion, who by little and little won them to the liking of the same. Thus wee see how farre the Constantinopolitan jurisdiction spreades it selfe, so that I thinke it will bee found, that the number of Christians under that Bishop with the *Melchites* and *Georgians* that are joyned in communion with him, though never under his jurisdiction, doth farre exceede them of the *Roman* communion, unlesse they draw in their new converts in the *Indies* to fill up the number. The division and separation betweene the *Greeke* and *Latine* Churches grew out of the ambitious contentions of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Patriarch of *Constantinople* in this sort. In the time of the *Nicen* Councell and before, as appeareth by the ^d acts of the Councell limiting their bounds, there were three principall Bishops or Patriarchs of the Christian Church; namely, the Bishop of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. After which time, *Constantinople* before named *Bizantium* made great by *Constantine*, and being the seate of the Emperours, the Bishop of this See not onely obtained to have the dignity of a Patriarch among the rest, but in the second generall Councell holden at *Constantinople* was preferred before both the other of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and set in degree of honour next unto the Bishop of *Rome*. In the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, hee was made equall with him, and to have all equall rights, priviledges, and prerogatives, because he was Bishop of new *Rome*: as the other of old. But not long contenting himselfe with this equality; the magnificence and glory of his Citie daily increasing, making him proud and insolent, hee challenged to bee superiour, and would be named universall Bishop, not challenging to himselfe to be Bishop alone, but incroaching upon the right of all other, and thereby declaring himselfe greater and more honourable than any of the rest, and the chiefe Bishop of the whole world, because his Citie was the chiefe Citie of the world.

^b About this was the contention betweene *Gregorie* the first. and *John* of *Constantinople*, which not being ended in the dayes of *Gregorie*, because the Emperour *Mauritius* was averse from him, favouring the claime of his Adversary, ⁱ *Bonifacius* obtained of *Phocas* to have the matter in such sort concluded between them, that the Bishop of *Rome* should have the first and chief place in the Church of God, and the Patriarch of *Constantinople* the second: which conclusion was not of such force, but that the succeeding Bishops of *Constantinople* continued the same challenge their predecessors made, & as any opportunity was offered, sought to advance their pretended title, till at length there growing some difference between the in the matter of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, who

^c Annotatio Oauphi in vit. Bonifacii, apud Platina, d Nicen. Concil. c. 11. 6.

^e Sub Theodoro seniore can. 3. & Socrates l. 5. cap. 8.

^f Acti. 16. can. 28. in Graecis Codicibus.

^g Ceterarum sedium privilegia, & earundem Episcoporum consecrationem ad se unum revocare, eosque in ordinem cogere, & sibi subdere conatus est, Leo Epist. ad Antiochum; post consecrationem Antiocheni Episcopi quam tribimet contra canonice regulam vindicasti, &c. epist. 53.

^h Greg. lib. 4. ep. 76, 78, 82. li. 6. epist. 168, 169.

ⁱ Beda in lib. de temporum ratione. Platina in vita Bonifacii, 3.

the *Latines* affirmed to proceede from the Father and the Sonne, the *Greekes* from the Father onely, either pronounced the other to bee Hereticks and Schismatics.

Wherefore let us see what the Religion of the *Greeke* Church is, and whether these Christians bee so farre forth orthodoxe, that wee may account them members of the true Catholick Church of God, or so in error, that wee may reject them as Schismatics and Hereticks, though in number never so many.

^l De confid. ad Eugenium, l. 3. cap. 2. ^k Bernard speaking of them, saith, *Nobiscum sunt & non sunt, juncti fide, pace divisi, quanquam & fide ipsa claudicaverint à rectis semitis*: that is, they are with us and they are not with us, they are of the same profession with us touching matters of faith, but they hold not the unitie of the Spirit in the band of peace; although they have halted also, and in some sort declined from the straight pathes, in matters pertaining to the Christian faith. Touching the state of these Christians, the *Romanists* lay downe these Propositions. First, that there is a double separation from the Church of God, the one by heresie overthrowing the faith, the other by schisme breaking the unity. The second, that Schismatics, though they fall not into heresie, are out of the Church, cut off from being members of the same, and consequently in state of damnation. Beleeve certainly, and no way doubt, saith *S.^t Augustine*, that not onely all Pagans, but all Jewes, Hereticks, and Schismatics also, dying out of the communion of the Catholick Church, shall goe into everlasting fire. The third, that the *Grecians* are schismatically divided from the *Roman* Church, that they have long continued so, that they are excommunicate with the greater excommunication thundred out against all Schismatics in *Bulla cœna Domini*, and consequently are in state of damnation. ^m But whether they bee not onely Schismatics but Hereticks also, as some feare not to pronounce, they are not yet agreed. ⁿ *Azorius* thinketh, they are not to be censured as Hereticks; and yeeldeth a reason of his so thinking: because in those Articles of the faith where they are thought to erre, they differ verbally onely, and not really from those that are undoubtedly right beleivers; and giveth instance first in the question touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, wherein hee thinketh they differ but in forme of words from them that seeme to bee their opposites: and secondly, in the questions touching the Pope, his power, priviledges, and authority, concerning all which hee affirmeth, they have no other opinion than *Gerson* and the *Parisians*, who were never yet pronounced Hereticks, for they yeeld a primacie to the Bishop of *Rome*, but no supremacie. They acknowledge him to bee Patriarch of the West amongst all the Patriarches in order and honour the first as long as hee continueth orthodoxe, and seeketh not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of others. But they deny as also the *Parisians* doe, that his judgement is infallible, or his power and authority supream and absolute, they teach that hee must doe nothing of himselfe in things pertaining to the state of the universall Church, but with the concurrence of others his colleagues, and that hee is subject to a generall Councell. All which things were defined in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, and the contrary positions condemned as hereticall. Neither want there at this day many worthy Divines living in the Communion of the *Roman* Church, who most strongly adhere to the decrees of those Councils, and peremptorily reject those of *Florence* and *Trent*, wherein the contrary faction prevailed. For the whole kingdome and state of *France* admit those and reject the other, and would no lesse withdraw themselves from all communion with the *Roman* Bishop than the *Grecians* doe if they should once bee pressed to acknowledge that his power and authority is supream and absolute, that hee cannot erre, and that hee may dispose the kingdomes and depose the Kings and soveraign Princes of the world, as the Jesuites and other the Popes flatterers affirme and defend. Whence it will follow that they are not onely free

^l De confid. ad Eugenium, l. 3. cap. 2.

^l De fide ad Petrum, c. 38.

^m Tho. à Jesu l. 6. c. 8. p. 281.
ⁿ Institut. moral. l. 8. c. 20. q. 10.

free from heresie, as *Azorius* resolveth but from schisme also. So that after so great clamours, and so long contendings they must of necessity be forced in the end to confesse, they have done them infinite wrong, and sinned grievously against God, in condemning to hell for no cause so many millions of Christian soules, redeemed with the most precious blood of his dearest Sonne. There are, saith *Andreas Fricius*, who thinke, that the *Russians*, *Armenians*, and other Christians of the East part pertaine not to the Christian Church; but seeing they use the same Sacraments which wee doe, seeing they professe to fight under the banner of Christ crucified, and rejoyce in their sufferings for his sake, farre bee it from us ever to thinke, that they should bee cast off and rejected from being fellow-citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God, having borne the burthen, and indured the heate of the day, so many ages in the Vineyard of the Lord. Nay rather I thinke there can be no perfect consociation and union of the whole Church without them. For the *Latine* Church alone cannot be taken for the universall Church, that which is but a part cannot be the whole. But some man happily will say, whatsoever wee thinke of these differences touching the power and authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, yet in the Article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost they erre damnably, and so are Hereticks, and that *Azorius* was deceived when he thought otherwise. Wherefore for the clearing of this point, first I will make it evident, that not only *Azorius* but sundry other great and worthy Divines thinke the difference about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost to be meerely verball. Secondly, I will shew how the seeming differences touching this point may be reconciled. Thirdly, I will note the beginnings and proceedings in this controversie. The *Grecians*, saith *Peter Lombard*, affirme, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father only, and not from the Sonne, yet wee must know, that the *Greekes* doe acknowledge the Holy Ghost to be the Spirit of the Sonne as well as of the Father, because the Apostle saith, the Spirit of the Sonne: And truth it selfe in the Gospel, the Spirit of truth. Now seeing it is no other thing to be the Spirit of the Father and the Sonne, than to bee from the Father and the Sonne; they seeme to agree with us in judgement touching this Article of Faith, though they differ in words. *Grossthead* the famous and renowned Bishop of *Lincolne*, writing upon a part of *Damasen*, delivereth his opinion touching this controversie, in these words. The *Grecians* are of opinion, that the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of the Sonne, but that hee proceedeth not from the Sonne but from the Father onely, yet by the Sonne; and this opinion seemeth to be contrary to ours: for wee say the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne. But happily if two wise and understanding men, the one of the *Greeke* Church, the other of the *Latine*, both true lovers of the truth, and not of their owne sayings, because they are their owne, might meeete to consider of this seeming contrariety, it would in the end appeare, that this difference in deede and in truth is not real, but verball onely. For otherwise either the *Grecians*, or wee that are of the *Latine* Church are truly Hereticks. But who dares charge this Authour [*John Damascen*,] or those blessed ones [*Basil*, *Gregorie the Divine*, or *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Cyril*, and other *Greeke* Fathers of like esteeme] with heresie. And againe on the other side, who dares brand blessed *Hierome*, *Augustine*, *Ambrorse*, *Hilarie*, and other like *Latine* Fathers with the note of heresie. Therefore it is likely, that though there bee contrariety in the words of these Fathers, so that they seeme to bee contrary one to an other, yet in judgement and meaning they agree. *Stanislaus*, *Orichovius*, as *Andreas Fricius* reporteth, a man renowned for wit, eloquence, and profound science in divers kinds, hath written of the opinion of the *Russians*, and in an Epistle to *Peter Gamrat* an Archbishop in *Polonia*, hee sheweth how the differences touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, where they seeme especially to bee contrary unto us, may bee agreed and composed. *Thomas a Jesu* resolveth cleerely, that this que-

De Eccl. lib.
4. cap. 2.

Lib. 1. d. 11.

Galat. 4.

q In notula
quadam super
finem Epistolæ
de trisagio a-
pud Scorum li.
1. d. 11. q. 1.

De Ecclesia
1. 4. c. 2.

Lib. 6. p. 248.

tion touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost is onely *de modo loquendi*, and that the difference is not reall, which hee sheweth to bee true in this sort. The *Greeks*, who deny the Holy Ghost to proceede from the Sonne, acknowledge that hee is the Spirit of the Sonne, and that hee is given unto us by the Sonne. Wee doe not say (saith *Damascen*) that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Sonne, but wee name him the Spirit of the Sonne. If any man, saith the Apostle, have not the spirit of Christ, hee is none of his. And wee affirme, that hee appeared by the Sonne, and was given unto us by him, for hee breathed upon his Disciples, and said unto them, receive yee the Holy Ghost; but wee never say that the Sonne is the Sonne of the Holy Ghost, or proceeded from him. They teach therefore, that the Spirit is, and proceedeth from the Father by the Sonne: as the brightnesse is from the Sun by the beame. And that (as wee may say) the brightnesse is the brightnesse of the Sun-beame, as well as of the Sonne, but not that the beame is the beame of that brightnesse; so the Spirit is the Spirit of the Son, but the Son is not the Son of the Spirit. So then wee say, the Holy Ghost proceedeth or receiveth essence and being from the Father only, as from the originall and fountaine, but by the Son as a middle person in order of subsistence betweene them, receiving being immediatly from the Father, and so mediately deriving and communicating it to him. Neither *Greekes* nor *Latines* therefore deny the Holy Ghost to receive being and essence from the Sonne, and consequently to proceede from him as from a middle person in order of subsistence betweene the Father and him, in such sort, as the brightnesse that floweth from the Sun is from the Sun-beame betweene the Sun and it. Neither of them deny the Father to be the fountaine, and the originall: as the Sonne is the fountaine whence floweth both the beame, and brightnesse of light. And both agree, that the Father from whom, and the Sonne by whom the Spirit receiveth being, are one cause, or one beginning: and that by one eternall breathing the Spirit receiveth essence or subsistence from them both, in such sort, as the Sonne and beame are one cause, and doe by one action send forth that shining brightnesse that floweth from them. By that which hath beene spoken, saith *Thomas à Jesu*, it is easie to understand that those *Greekes* which seeme to differ from the *Latines*, differ but in words only, and that the Churches may easily bee brought to a reconciliation and agreement, if they will but endeavour to understand each the other: But the *Latines* and those *Greekes* that agree with them speake more fitly, and expresse the thing whereof they speake better than the other. Howsoever it is certaine, that some of the Fathers expressed, that they conceived of this mysterie in one sort, and some in an other. ^a *Tertullian* saith, The holy Spirit is from the Father by the Sonne; his words are, *Spiritum non aliunde puto quam à Patre per Filium.* ^b *Hilarie* saith, hee is from the Father and the Son, his words are, *De Patre & Filio authoribus consistendus est, &c.* When the holy Spirit is sent, saith ^c *Hierome*, hee is sent of the Father and the Sonne; and in Scripture hee is called sometimes the Spirit of the Father, sometimes of the Sonne. And ^d againe *Spiritus à Patre egreditur, & propter naturæ societatem à filio mittitur*: that is, the Spirit proceedeth from the Father, and in that he is of the same nature and essence with the Sonne hee is sent of him. Why should we not beleieve, saith ^e *Augustine*, that the holy Spirit proceedeth from the Sonne also, seeing hee is the Spirit of the Sonne. The *Greekes* say not expressly, that hee proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne; for in the Creede of *Athanasius*, as it is found in the *Greeke*, the words are, *The Spirit is of the Father not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding*; without the addition of the Sonne. ^f But some of them say hee is, or received being from the Father, that hee appeared by the Sonne, and is a perfect image of the Son, ^g Others, that not only the Father but the Son also sendeth the holy Spirit. ^h Some that hee proceedeth from the Father, and receiveth of the Sonne. And ⁱ others that hee is from the Father by the Sonne. In all which diversitie of words and

^a Contr. Praxe-
am.

^b Lib. 2. de tri-
nitate.

^c In epist. ad
Hedibiam.

^d Esai. 5. 7.

^e Tract. in Jo-
an. 99.

^f Nyssen in vi-
ta Greg. Thau-
maturg.

^g Chrys. hom.
76. in Joan.

^h Epiphani. hæ-
re. 69.

ⁱ Maxim in
Zich. 4. citat.
à Bessario.

Thar. in epist.
ad Patriarchas

orient. habetur
in 7. Synodo

actio. 3.

and formes of speaking there was one and the same meaning, and therefore no exception was taken by one against an other. But the controversie that now is touching this point began in this sort. The first publishers of the Gospel of Christ delivered a rule of Faith to the Christian Churches which they founded, comprehending all those Articles that are found in that *epitome* of Christian Religion, which wee call the Apostles Creede. But in proceſſe of time, when *Arrius* and his complices questioned the Deity of Christ, and denied him so to be the Sonne of God as to be coequall, coeternall, and coessentiall with the Father; *Constantine* called a Councell and assembled the Bishops of the Christian world at *Nice*, a Citie in *Bithinia*; these Bishops cleared the point in controversie, and with unanimous consent composed a Symbole, containing a full explication of whatsoever might bee questioned touching the Deity of Christ. This forme of Christian profession was called the *Nicen* Creede, and was received as a most excellent rule of faith by all right beleivers throughout the world. In this Creed there was nothing expressly put down touching the holy Ghost, more than was found in the Apostles Creede, *that wee beleieve in the Holy Ghost*. But when *Macedonius* and *Eunomius* denied the deity of the holy Spirit, the Fathers assembled in the first Councell of *Constantinople*, added to the *Nicen* Creede these words: *I beleieve in the Holy Ghost the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who together with the Father and the Sonne is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the Prophets*. So expressing his proceeding from the Father, without any mention of the Sonne. This Creede, or forme of Christian profession was confirmed in the Councell of *Ephesus*, and all they accursed that should adde any thing unto it: meaning as it may well bee thought to condemne such addition as might make any alteration, and not such as might serve for more full and definite explication. But howsoever this *Nicen* Creede thus enlarged in the Councell of *Constantinople*, without any farther addition was confirmed, and proposed to the Christian world for a rule of Faith in all the generall Councils that ever were holden, and was so publickly received in sundry Christian Churches in their Liturgies. But in time the Bishops of *Spaine* began to adde the proceeding from the Sonne, saying; *Wee beleieve in the Holy Ghost the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne*. And the *French* not long after admitted the same addition; but the *Romans* admitted it not: Whereupon *Charles* the great in his time called a Councell at *Aquisgrane*, in which it was debated, whether the *Spaniards*, and after them, the *French* had done well in adding to the Creede the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Sonne. And whether supposing the point of doctrine to bee true, it were fitte to sing and recite the Creede in all publick service of the Church with this addition, the Church of *Rome* and some other Churches refusing to admitte it. Besides this, some were sent to *Leo* the third about that matter, but hee would by no meanes allow of this addition, but perswaded them that had given way unto it, by litle and litle to put it out, and to sing the Creed without it. The same *Leo* caused the Symbole to be translated and written out in a table of silver, in such sort as it had beene delivered in the Councils, placed the same behinde the Altar of Saint *Peter*, and left it to posterity, out of the carefull desire of preserving the true Faith as hee professed. And in this Symbole in the Article touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, the Father onely is named in this sort: *and in the Holy Ghost the Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father*. Neither was this the private fancie of *Leo* only, for after his time *John* the 8th shewed his dislike of this addition likewise; for writing unto *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, he saith these words. *Reverend Sir, that wee may give you satisfaction touching that addition in the Creede [and from the Sonne] wee let you know, that not onely wee have no such addition: but also wee condemne them as transgressours of the direct word, and were the first authours of this addition*. And afterwards hee addeth,

addeth, wee carefully labour and endeavour to bring it to passe, that all our Bishops may thinke as wee doe; but no man can suddenly alter a thing of such consequence, and therefore it seemeth reasonable to us: that no man bee violently constrained by you to leave out this addition. But in the yeare 883, the *Romans* also made the same addition to the Creede, in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the first. Heere by the way wee may note the inconstancie, irresolution, and uncertainty of the *Roman* Bishops, one of them admitting that as right and good, which an other not long after condemned as a transgression of the direct Law. And farther, that in matters of great importance other Bishops have gone before them, and drawne them to doe that in the end which at first they misliked, so that all directions in former times was not sought from *Rome*. By that which hath beene said it appeareth, that the difference betweene the Churches touching this point is not such, as it should cause any division or breach. Yet was this addition no sooner made, but so great dislikes grew upon it, (many thinking nothing might bee added, at least without a generall Councell, to the Creede formerly published in so many generall Councils as a rule of Faith:) that though the difference in trueth and in deede were but verball, yet either side endeavoured to shew the other erred dangerously; and so this verball difference was an occasion, amongst other things, to cause a schisme & separation between them.

Thus having cleared this point, wherein, if in any thing, the *Grecians* may bee thought to have erred, let us see what other errors are imputed to them. ^f *Guido Carmelita*, and after him *Prateolus* impute unto them sundry errors, which ^g *Lucinianus* of *Cyprus* a learned *Dominican* and a worthy man, as hee is accounted by *Possevine*, sheweth to be falsely ascribed unto them. As first, that simple fornication is no sinne. Secondly, that they condemne second marriages which hee sheweth to bee untrue likewise, though the Priestlesse onely in the first, and not in the second. Thirdly, that they thinke the contract of marriage may bee broken, and the bands dissolved at the pleasure of the parties. Whereas contrariwise, hee affirmeth, they allow no divorce so as to permit a second marriage, while both the parties live. Fourthly, they are said to affirme that the Sacrament consecrated on maundy Thursday, is of more force, vertue, and efficacie, than consecrated any other day. Wherein hee sheweth, that they are no lesse wronged than in the other imputations. Fifthly, they are charged to teach that it is no sinne to lend upon usury; and which is worse, that it is not necessary to make restitution of things unjustly taken away. In both which imputations hee saith, they are much wronged. For they thinke usury to bee sinne, and urge the necessity of restitution. Sixtly, they are said to thinke, if a Priests wife die, hee ceaseth to bee a Priest any longer, which is as meere a slander as the rest were. So that it is true that *Tho: à Jesu* hath, that one of the principall things that maketh the *Grecians* so averse from the *Latins*, is, that they are wronged by them, by untrue reports and unjust imputations. The things wherein they differ indeed from the Church of *Rome* are these. First, they deny the Pope to be head of the universall Church, or to have any supream commanding authority in the Church and over other Bishops: they say that there are five Patriarches, or chiefe Bishops of the Christian Church; to wit, the Bishop of *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Hiernusalem*, & amongst these they yeeld a primacie of order and dignity to the Bishop of *Rome*. So that in all Councils and meetings, he is to have the first place in sitting, or giving voyce, in subscribing, or defining and determining things concerning the faith and state of the Church, but not any power or commanding authority over them. Wee, saith *Marcus Ephesinus*, thinke the Pope to bee one of the five Patriarches if hee bee Orthodoxe. But they that mette in the *Florentine* Councell and subscribed to the union there made, doe teach, that hee is the Vicar of Christ, the Father and teacher of all Christians. Secondly, in the

^f Citatus à
Prateolo.
^g Apud Possev.
Bibl. l. 6. c. 1.

the ministring of Baptisme they differ much from the *Roman Church*. For first the words of forme with them are; let the servant of the Lord bee baptized, in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost: and not I baptize thee as in the *Latine Church*. 2^{ly}, They dippe the baptized thrice in the water, whereas many among the *Latines* doe onely powre water upon the top of the head. 3^{ly}, They use not Salt, Spittle, and the like as the *Latines* doe. 4^{ly}, They anoynt them with Chrifom or holy Oyle in the forehead, so as in the *Latine Church* they are anoynted in confirmation. And in some other parts also, saying, *Sigillum & obfignatio domi Spiritus Sancti*, that is, the seale and obfignation of the gift of the Holy Ghost, and use no other confirmation. Whereas the *Latines* make it a Sacrament to bee ministred by none but a Bishop. 5^{ly}, According to the old custome used in the Primitive Church they minister the Sacrament of the Eucharist to children when they baptize them. 6^{ly}, They differ much more from the *Latines* touching the Sacrament of the Eucharist. For first they use leavened bread, and some of them proceede so farre, as that they thinke it no Sacrament if it bee ministred in unleavened bread. 2^{ly}, They consecrate one loafe, which they divide into many parts, and give to the communicants. 3^{ly}, They keepe the bread and wine covered untill they come to blesse, and then drawing aside the curtaine, they bring them into sight, and lift them up from the mysticall table, that the people may see what heavenly foode is prepared for them. And to this purpose with them serveth the elevation. 4^{ly}, They thinke the consecration is made by the prayers and blessing, and that the reciting of the words of Christ, *this is my body, &c.* serveth onely to put us in minde what was then done when hee first instituted this Sacrament, and to give a power or aptnesse to the sacramentall Elements, to bee changed mystically into his body and blood, whereas the *Latines* thinke the bare recitall of the words of Christ doe worke the consecration. 5^{ly}, They pronounce the words of Christ aloud, that all may heare and understand; the *Latines* so that they are not heard. 6^{ly}, They give the Sacrament to the hands of the communicants, the *Latines* put it in their mouthes. 7^{ly}, They condemne private masses, as appeareth by *Marcus Ephesus*, who saith, The Priest in the *Latine Church* eateth all, and drinketh all himselfe, giving no part to any that are present, no not to the Deacon that assisteth him, and yet cryeth aloud take and eate. So doe they many things, saith hee, in the celebration of this holy mysterie, contrary to the tradition received from the Fathers, contrary to the words of Christ, and contrary to themselves, and their owne words. 8^{ly}, They minister the Communion in both kindes to all Communicants, and thinke it necessary so to doe, the *Latines* minister it onely in one kinde to the Lay people, and such Priests and Clergie-men as consecrate not, but are present onely to communicate. 9^{ly}, They teach, that there is a conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. But such as that is, whereby the iron is turned into fire, or rather into a fiery nature and beeing; whence it becommeth burning iron. In which there is no abolishing of the substance, but such a change, that it is no longer meere ly iron, but the nature and properties of fire appeare in it, rather than of iron: So that as iron is turned into fire, not by an absolute ceasing to bee, or losing of former properties, but by a suspension of them for a time, so that they appeare not, and by becomming one in such sort with the fire, that it hath all the properties and actions of it: so the bread is turned into the body of Christ, not by an absolute ceasing to bee, but by becomming one in such sort with Christs body thorough the presence of the Spirit descending and comming downe upon it, as that the communicating in the one, is the partaking in the other, and an imparting of all such graces as may, or doe flow from any union with the same. The bread and wine, saith *Damasen*, are so changed into the body and blood of Christ, by the presence of the Spirit descending and comming downe upon them, as that they are no longer two, but one and the same thing. And as the coale is no longer

b Cyrill, Catech. pag. 524.

Orthodoxa
fid. lib. 4. c. 14.

4 Catech. 3 p.
525.

1 Dialog. in
confus.

m Orthodoxæ
fidel. 4 c. 14.

m De cenâ
Domini.

longer meere wood or iron, but so united to the fire, that it is become one with it; so the bread wherein wee communicate is no longer meere bread, but united unto the deity. Hee doth not say, the bread ceaseth to bee, or is abolished, but that it ceaseth to bee that it was: meere bread. What kinde of conversion this is, wee may learne out of *Cyrill*. *Vos uncti estis*, saith hee, *unguento, facti participes & consortes Christi, ceterum vide ne illud putes unguentum tantum. Quemadmodum enim panis eucharistia post Sancti Spiritus invocationem non amplius est apt & λιτός, sed corpus Christi; sic sanctum hoc unguentum non amplius est unguentum nudum post invocationem, neque, si quis ita malit appellare, commune, sed donum Christi*. Heere wee see, he maketh the consecrated & holy Oyntment to bee the gift of Christ, as the bread is the body of Christ; and so to cease to be meere oyle or oyntment: as the bread which wee breake ceaseth to be meere bread, whereas yet no man imagineth any such transubstantiation of the oyle, or holy oyntment, as to abolish the nature and substance of it. But that the *Greekes* never dreamed of any such conversion of the bread and wine as should utterly abolish the former substance, it is evident¹ by *Theodore* in his Dialogues. For whereas the *Eutichian* Heretick objects, that as the outward signes in the Sacrament of the Eucharist are changed after they are consecrated, so the body of Christ after it was assumed, was changed into the divine substance: The Orthodoxe and right beleever answereth, that hee is taken in that snare which hee laid for others. For the mysticall signes doe not change their nature after consecration, but remaine and continue in the same substance, figure, and shape, and are visible, and may bee handled as before, but they are conceived and beleaved to bee that which now they are made, and are adored, as being that which they are beleaved to bee. Heere wee see is no such change of the mysticall signes, as to abolish their substance and former being, for then the conversion in the Sacrament had beene such as the Heretick imagined it to bee in the body of Christ assumed; and so *Theodore* could not truly have said, hee was taken in the snare which hee laid for others. Wherefore to conclud this point, the *Grecians* teach, that there is a conversion of the sacramentall elements, but of that kinde which I have before shewed, that abolisheth not the things which were, but maketh them to be that they were not. Which may farther appeare, in that they say likewise, there is a change of the communicants into the being of Christ, and make the end of the Sacrament to bee nothing else but *μετεσώα χειρὶς* a transubstantiation into Christ, *ἡ μετεχόντων ἐκθέωσις*, the making of them that communicate partakers of the divine nature, according to that of the Apostle, who saith, Wee are made the body of Christ; and yet is not our former being abolished, but wee are made to bee that which wee were not, in a divine and supernaturall sort, according to that of *Damasen*: Let us come and receive the body of him that was crucified, let us partake of that divine burning coale that the fire of desire being kindled in us by that coale, may burne up our sinnes, and lighten our hearts, all that being changed into that divine fire, wee may become fire, and be in a sort deified, and made partakers of the divine nature. All which changes neither abolish nor confound substances. For as *Cyprian* saith well, *Nostri & ipsius conjunctio, nec miscet personas, nec unit substantias. sed affectus consociat & confederat voluntates*: that is, *The union and conjunction that is betwixt Christ and us, neither causeth any mixture of the persons, nor maketh them to bee substantially the same, but joyneth affections and confederateth the wils*. Lastly, touching the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood, they teach that it is a sacrifice, and that wee may the better conceive what they meane, they lay downe these propositions. First, that under the Law, two sorts of things were presented unto God, gifts, and sacrifices. Gifts, as vessels of gold, or silver, and things of like nature: which they dedicated unto God, and set apart from prophane, and ordinary uses. Sacrifices, as Sheepe, Oxen, and the like things, when they were slaine and their blood

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In Hebr. 10.

p. Cap. 10.

4 Catech. 3 p.
325.

1 Dialog. in
confus.

m Orthodoxæ
fidei. 4 c. 14.

m De cenâ
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In Hebr. 10.

Cap. 10.

len from that wee were. The third, that out of this faith must flow a dislike of those sinfull evils, into which wee are fallen, and a feare of wofull consequents, if wee bee not freed from them. The fourth, that hence must grow a desire of remission of that which is past, of grace that we may cease to doe evill & learne to doe well, and of assistance of the same grace that wee may goe on, continue, and not bee turned out of the good way when wee are entred into it. The fift, that no man obtaineth remission of sinnes without dislike of sin, and desire and purpose to leave off to doe evill. The sixt, that being thus converted unto God, in longing desires of reconciliation, we must not doubt but assure our selves of the obtayning of it. The seventh, that being justified, no man can bee saved without the studie and care of well doing, and that workes are necessary unto salvation. The eight, that when we have done all, wee must confesse wee are unprofitable servants, that in many things we sinne all. That if God doe marke and observe our defects, we cannot abide it. That wee must not trust in our workes, but in Gods mercy. That even those things which seeme small to us, deserve great punishment if God enter into judgement with us. And that it is not our well doing, but his mercie that maketh us escape condemnation. So that they differ from the *Romanists* touching the perfection of inherent righteousness, the merit of congruence, and condignity, and workes of supererogation. Seventhly, The *Romanists* teach, that sins committed after baptisme, are not so remitted for Christs sake, but that wee must suffer that extremity of punishment which they deserve, & therefore either we must afflict our selves in such sort & degree of extremity as may answer the desert of our sinne, or bee punished by God heere or in the world to come, in such degree and sort that his iustice may bee satisfied. But they that are Orthodoxe teach, first, That it is injustice to require the payment of one debt twice. Secondly, That Christ suffered the punishment due to all sinnes committed before and after Baptisme, and therefore so satisfied the iustice of God, that they are partakers of the benefit of his satisfaction, so farre forth as they are made partakers of it, are freed from the guilt of punishment. Thirdly, That the satisfaction of Christ is applied and communicated unto us upon the condition of our faith and repentance without suffering the punishment that sinne deserveth. Fourthly, That it is no lesse absurd to say, as the Papists doe, that our satisfaction is required as a condition, without which Christs satisfaction is not appliable unto us; then to say, *Peter* hath paid the debt of *John*, and heeto whom it was due accepteth of the same payment, conditionally if hee pay it himselfe also. Fiftly, that as one man payeth an other mans debt, and the payment of it is accepted upon condition of his dislike of former evill courses, and promise of amendment, and not otherwise: so it may be truly said, that neither Christ hath paid our debt, or God the Father accepted the payment of it for us, but upon condition of our sorrowfull conversion and repentance. Sixtly, That the penall and afflictive courses which the sinner putteth himselfe into, may bee named satisfaction *dispositive*, in that they put us into an estate wherein wee are capable of the benefit of Christs satisfaction, freeing us from the punishment of sinne. In this sort the *Greekes* urge the necessitie of satisfactions, and not as the *Romanists* doe, which appeareth by the reasons and causes which they deliver. Whereof the first is, that correcting our selves, and amending that which otherwise God by his chastisements must drive us to doe, we may escape punishment. The second, that wee may pull up the roote of sinfull evils, that is, the inordinate desire and pleasure wee had in things which either we should not desire, or not so as we doe. The third, that this correction may serve us as a bridle to restraine us from running into the like or worse evils hereafter. The fourth, that wee may frame ourselves to labour and a strait course of life, vertue being a laborious thing and requiring painefull endeavours. The fift, that wee may make it appeare to ourselves and others that wee hate sinne truly and from the heart. These are true
reason

reasons why men should put themselves into penitentiall courses, and these only are assigned by the *Grecians*; but they never give any such reason thereof as the *Romanists* fancie. And as they receive not the *Romish* doctrine of satisfactions: so they never admitted any use of such indulgences as are granted in the *Roman Church*, nor ever dreamed of any power in the Church of communicating the overplus of one mans satisfactions and sufferings, to supply the want of another. Eightly, Touching the estate of the departed; First they thinke, that neither the Saints are already entred into the kingdome prepared for them, nor that the sinners are already cast into hell: but that both are in an expectation of that lot that remaineth for them, and shall so continue till the resurrection and judgement. This opinion prevaileth generally amongst all the *Eastern Christians*, and it was the opinion of many of the ancient Fathers. Secondly, They beleeve that the soules of such men as excell in vertue, are worthy of eternall life, and such as meerely embrace this present world, of eternall punishment. But that they who were in a course of vertue, yet not without sundry defects, and die in the same, are not to bee punished eternally, nor yet to bee made partakers of Gods glory till they have obtained remission of those sinfull defects in which they die without particular repentance. So that they beleeve there is remission of some sinnes not remitted heere, obtained after this life. But whether they, whose sinnes are so remitted, bee subject to any punishment after their departing hence, or God doe freely, without inflicting any punishment, remitte them out of his mercifull disposition, and at the entreaty of the Church they doe not so cleerely resolve. Though they incline to thinke that this remission is free, and amongst many other reasons for prooffe of the same alleadge, that as some few good things in them that are generally and principally evill, shall have no reward in the world to come; so some few evill things in them that principally embrace vertue, shall not bee punished. But if they bee subject to any punishment, they all agree, that it is onely the wanting of the cleere light of Gods countenance that shineth upon others; or the being in a strait or restraint, or the sorrowfull dislike of former evils, and not any punishment inflicted from without, to give satisfaction to the justice of God, or to drive them to dislike that which they formerly liked well; and so to purge them from the impurity of sinne, as they of the Church of *Rome* imagine. Thirdly, They pray for the dead, not as the Papists, to deliver them out of Purgatorie, but for their resurrection, and the remission of their sinnes, and publick acquittall in the day of judgement, the perfecting of whatsoever is yet wanting unto them, the possessing of them of heavenly happinesse, and in the meane while the placing of them where in best sort they may expect till they bee perfected. Lastly, touching the Saints departed, they lay downe these propositions. First, that truely and properly God onely is to bee invocated. Secondly, that Saints are invocated improperly and by accident onely. Thirdly, that *Peter* and *Paul* heare none of those that invoke them, but the grace and gift that they have, according to the promise, *I am with thee till the end of the world*: meaning (as it may bee conceived) that the Saints heare not them that invoke them, but Christ the Sonne of God who was given unto them, and promised to bee with them: and the Holy Ghost which is likewise given unto them, and abideth and dwelleth in them for ever. So that whatsoever their words seeme to import when they speake to the Saints, their meaning is, to direct their petitions to that God that promised to bee with them, and to heare the petitions, and grant the requests of all such, as by them should bee converted, and should seeke to him, in hope to obtaine such things as by them hee made them promise of. The question is proposed, saith *Hugo de sancto Victore*, whether the Saints when wee intréate them to intercede for us, doe pray for us and how? The answer hereunto is, that the Saints are no otherwise said to pray for us; but in that the favour and ac-

9 Apologia
Græcorum de
Purgatorio.

Damascen.
lib. 4. cap. 17.

ception they have with God, induceth him to doe good to such as he findeth well affected towards them for his sake. So that it is nothing, whether they heare us or not; for it sufficeth that God heareth us to whom wee principally direct our selves. Ninthly touching Images. First they differ from the Church of *Rome*, in that they allow no Image of God. Who can make an Image, saith *Damascen*, of God, who is invisible, incorporeall, incircumscribable? It is great folly and impiety to seeke to have any representation of him that is an infinite and incomprehensible Spirit. Secondly, they admit no graven, carved, or molten Images, of gold, silver, wood, or stone, but thinke they savour of Heathenish superstition. Thirdly, they have the Pictures of the Saints, not onely for history and ornament, which might bee allowed, but so as in reference to Christ and his Saints, to bow and incline themselves before them; this they doe following the second *Nicen* Councell, which though it condemne all religious adoration of the Saints, and their pictures, and seemeth to permit no other acts of outward reverence and respect to bee done to pictures of Saints, than they yeeld to all sacred and holy things, as Bookes, Vessels, Veltiments, and places dedicated to the service of God; nor the expressing of any other affections towards them, or remembrances of them, than holy men heere in this world beare one towards another, and so come farre short of the concept of the *Romanists*; yet the *Westerne* Church in the time of *Charles the Great*, & a long time after, condemned that Councell, and the Image-worship, which they that met in that Councell, sought to bring in; neither can the *Greekes* bee excused from superstition in this point. Tenthly, they permit such as are to be Priests, if they like not to live single, to marrie wives before they be ordained and made Priests, & to live with them after they are entred into that degree and order; knowing that God hath ordained marriage, that it is honourable amongst all men, and that they that condemne Priests marriage, are the occasion of much sinfull impurity. The *Romanists*, saith *Photins*, doe so presse the law of single life, that many grievous scandals follow the same. For with them many Virgins become mothers that never were wives, and many mothers are found to nurse the Children of such Fathers as may not be known. And yet these endeavour to make the true Priests of God, that live in lawfull marriage, to bee odious and hatefull. So then the *Grecians* leave it free to them that are to be ordained Priests to take unto them wives before their ordination, and to live with them afterwards: but if they then refuse so to doe, they permit them not to marrie afterwards. Yet if any doe, they dissolve not the marriage, but put them from the execution of their office and minilterie. Lastly, touching abstinence they differ not a little from the Church of *Rome*: for they fast Wednesday, because on that day *Judas* agreed with the *Jewes* to betray Christ, and Friday, because on that day Christ was crucified. But they fast no Saturday in the whole yeare, but onely Easter Eve. In the Lent they abtaine on Saturday from flesh, but all the yeare besides they freely eate flesh that day. They keepe foure Lents in the yeare. The first, that which the *Westerne* Christians observe. The second from the Octaves of Whitsonide untill the holidayes of *Peter* and *Paul*, which they call the fast of *S. Peter*. The third from the first of *August* untill the assumption of the blessed Virgin. The fourth, six weekes in the *Advent*, beginning presently upon the feast of *S. Philip*, according to the Kalender of the *Russians*, and therefore call it the Fast of *S. Philip*. Their Monkes and Bishops, as having beene Monkes, doe never eate flesh. Lastly, they all abstaine from things strangled, and blood, observing (as they suppose) the Canon of the Apostles. Thus wee see the extent of the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and the Religion of them that are under the same. This jurisdiction hath beene greatly straightned within these few yeares, for both the *Russians*; both that under the *Moscovites*, and the other subject to the King of *Polonia* are fallen from the same. But the number of them that professe the *Greeke* Religion is not diminished. For all those Christi-

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With these Christians that presently are, or lately were subject to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the *Melchites* of *Syria*, & the *Georgians* hold communion, and are of the same Religion with them. Touching the *Melchites*, wee must observe, that after the ending of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, there grew a very great distraction in the East part of the world, for many disliked and questioned the proceedings in that Councell, and would not consent to the decrees of it. Amongst those that thus refused to admit the Councell, some ranne into dangerous errors and heresies, the Emperour *Leo* therefore for the remedying and preventing of evils of this kind, required the Bishops of those parts by their subscription, to confirme the Faith established in that Councell; and they that so did at the Emperours command, were by the rest in scorne and contempt called *Melchites*, as if you would say, men of the Kings Religion, of *Melchi*, which in the *Syrian* tongue signifieth a King, but they were indeede, and were reputed right beleevers by all the sounder parts of the Church throughout the world. These fell from the Communion of the *Roman* Church when the *Greekes* did, and are wholly of the same Religion; yet were they never subject to the Patriarch of *Constantinople* but of *Antioch*, these for their number are reputed the greatest sort of Christians in the Orient. Their Patriarch resideth at *Damascus*, whither the Patriarchall Seate was translated; *Antioch* it selfe, (where they that beleeved in Christ were first called Christians, and which was therefore named *Theopolis*, the Citie of God;) lying in a manner waste, or broken and dissevered into small Villages, of which onely one of about threescore houses, with a small Temple belonged to Christians; but in *Damascus* there are above a thousand houses of Christians. The *Maronites* which inhabite Mount *Libanus* have a Patriarch of their owne, whom they honour as Patriarch of *Antioch*; as likewise the *Jacobites* of *Syria* have a Patriarch of their owne residing in *Mesopotamia*, whom they account Patriarch of *Antioch*. But the *Melchites*, who retaine the ancient Religion of *Syria*, acknowledge none for Patriarch but their owne chiefe Bishop residing at *Damascus*, and reject the other as having departed from the faith, obedience, and communion of the true Patriarch. The *Georgians* inhabite *Iberia*, they are, saith *Volateran*. great warriors, and cruell to their bordering neighbours. They are named *Georgians*, as some thinke, from Saint *George*, whose

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3. lib. 2. cap. de
Melch.

Thom. 2. Je.
Cuj. 7. c. 21.

whose banner they carry when they goe to war against Infidels. But hee rather inclineth to thinke they were the same that were named *Georgians* by *Plinie*, before Saint *George* was borne; and that it is not a name of Sect, but of their Country named *Georgia* and *Iberia*. They follow the opinion of the *Grecians* touching matters of Religion, and in their divine service and writings, they partly use the *Greeke* tongue, and partly the *Chaldee*. They have an Archbishop residing in Mount *Sina*, in a Monasterie of S. *Katherin*, whom they obey without any further relation, or dependance. Betweene these and the River *Tanais* along the coast of *Meotis* and the *Euxine Sea*, lye the *Mengrellians* and the *Circassians*, who are not onely of the *Greeke* Religion, but subject also to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*.

Thus having spoken of the Christians of the *Greeke* Religion, it remaineth, that wee come to the rest. Amongst whom the first that offer themselves to our consideration are the *Assyrians*, commonly named *Nestorians*. What the Heresie of *Nestorius* was, is knowne to all. For hee professed to beleieve, that the Sonne of *Mary* is a divine Man, and that GOD is with him, but would not acknowledge that hee is GOD, and therefore would not yeeld, that it may bee truly said, that *Mary* is the Mother of GOD. But they that are now named *Nestorians* acknowledge, that *Christ* was perfect GOD, and perfect Man, from the first moment of his conception, and that *Mary* may rightly bee said to bee the Mother of the Sonne of GOD, or of the Eternall WORD; but thinke it not fit to call her the Mother of GOD, lest they might bee thought to imagine that shee conceived and bare the divine Nature of the three Persons, the Name of GOD containing Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost. This scruple might bee tolerated in them; but they have an other leaven that sowreth the whole lump. For they are said to affirme, that the nature of man is imperfect without personalitie, and therefore that the Sonne of GOD who assumed not an imperfect humane nature, assumed the nature of man, together with the personality of the same. Whence it seemeth to follow, that there are two persons in *Christ*. For the clearing of this point it is to bee noted, that personality is nothing but the existence of nature in it selfe; which is in two sorts, potentially, or actually. The humane nature which the Sonne of GOD assumed, potentially existeth in it selfe, and would have existed actually, if it had beene left unto it selfe. And in this sense they say the Sonne of GOD assumed the nature of man, together with the personality of the same, that is, with a potentiall aptnesse to exist in it selfe. But it was not left, but prevented before it might actually exist in it selfe, and assumed into the Divine Person, and so suspended from actually existing in it selfe. In which sense wee rightly say the Son of God assumed the nature of man without the personality of the same, and that it must not bee granted, that there are two persons in *Christ*, as there are two natures. Neither doe these Christians so say there are two persons in *Christ*, as if the humane nature did actually exist in it selfe, but onely to imply, that there is a potentiall aptnesse in it so to exist, if it were left unto it selfe. Yet the forme of words which they use is not to be allowed: for it savoureth of Heresie, and tooke beginning from Heresie. But that they have no hereticall meaning it is more than probable, because otherwise they should contrary and overthrow their former true Confession: that *Christ* was perfect GOD and perfect man from the first moment of his conception. And that *Mary* that conceived and bare him, may truly bee said to bee the Mother of the Sonne of GOD. And also because the Archbishop of the *Indians* was permitted to retaine his ancient Religion, when first hee submitted himselfe to the Church of *Rome*: which hee might not have beene suffered to doe, if hee had erred in the Article of the incarnation. These *Nestorians* inhabite (though mixed with *Mahumetans* and Infidels) a great part of

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deny the supremacie of the Pope. The specialties of the Religion of the *Indians* or *Christians* of *S. Thomas* before they admitted any alteration were these. First they distributed the Sacraments in both kindes. Secondly they used bread seasoned with salt, and in steade of wine (*India* affording none) the juice of Raisins softened one night in water, and so pressed forth. Thirdly, they baptized not their children till they were forty dayes old, except in danger of death. Fourthly, their Priests were married, but excluded from the second marriage. Fifthly, they had no Images in their Churches, but the Crosse only. Sixthly, they denied the supremacie of the Pope.

From the *Assyrians* and *Indians* unjustly named *Nestorians*, let us passe to those *Christians* that are supposed to be *Monophysites*, as the *Jacobites*, *Armenians*, *Cophiti* or *Christians* of *Egypt*, the *Ethiopians* or *Abissens*. These beleeve that the natures of God and man were so united in the person of Christ, that he is truly God & truly man, and that after the union they remain distinct in their being of essence & property, so that the Divinity is not of the same essence, substance, & nature with the humanity: for the Divinity is infinite, incomprehensible, and increated, and the humanity is finite & a created essence, yet because they are united & conjoynd in the unity of the same person, they say they are but one nature, and will not acknowledge as we do, that there are two natures in Christ. That we may the better know what we are to thinke of these *Christians* differing thus from us, I will first historically shew how this difference grew: 2^d, more largely refute their opinion: and 3^d make it appear, that in respect of this difference they are not to be rejected as hereticks.

There lived at *Constantinople* a certaine man whose name was *Eutyches*, a Priest & an Abbot. This *Eutyches* in opposition to *Nestorius*, who divided the person of Christ, proceeded so far that he confounded the natures, imagining a conversion of the divinity into the humanity, or of the humanity into the divinity, or a kind of mixtion of them. This *Eutyches* was well acquainted with *Eusebius* B. of *Dorileum*, who understanding by conference with him that he was fallen into such a damnable heresie, made the matter known to *Flavianus* the B. of *Constantinople*, wishing him to call *Eutyches* unto him & sharply to rebuke him, lest the Faith might be endangered. *Flavianus* as soone as he understood thus much, called together 30 of his Bishops, & in their presence asked of *Eutyches*, whether hee did beleeve that Christs body is of the same substance with ours: He answered he had never said so hitherto, but would seeing they would have it so: to whom *Flavianus* replied, that not they but the Fathers required him so to professe, & therefore if he did so beleeve, he should anathematize all that thought otherwise: to whom *Eutyches* answered, he had never hitherto professed so to beleeve, yet would now for their sakes; but would never be induced to anathematize them that thinke otherwise, for that if he should, he must, as he supposed, accurse the holy Fathers and Scriptures, which doe so speake, that they deny Christs body to be of the same substance with ours. When *Flavianus* heard him thus speake, he put him out of the order of Presbyters, and removed him from his office and dignity of an Abbot. *Eutyches* thus degraded and deprived, resorted oft to the Emperour, complaining that he was wronged by *Flavianus*; whereupon *Theodosius* then Emperour, called a Councell at *Ephesus*, that it might be there examined whether *Eutyches* were duely proceeded against or not, & made *Dioscorus* B. of *Alexandria* President of the Councell: who caused the proceedings of *Flavianus* to be read, but suffered him not to say any thing in his own defence, neither would he give him leave to aske any question if any doubt arose; and for *Eusebius* who was to accuse *Eutyches*, he would not so much as suffer him to speak. The conclusion was, he deposed *Flavianus*, & restored *Eutyches*. Things being thus violently carried, they that supplied the place of the B. of *Rome*, returned home, made all known to *Leo* the B. Hee presently went to *Valentinian*, who wrote

wrote to *Theodosius* to call an other Councell, but he refused so to doe, thinking *Dioscorus* had duely proceeded. But after his death, *Martianus* called a Councell at *Chalcedon*. In the first Session of this Councell *Dioscorus* appeared, where he clearly anathematized those that bring in either a confusion, conversion, or commixtion of the Natures of God & man united in Christ, so condemning *Eutyches*, whom out of partiality and sinister respect he had formerly acquitted. But yet professed, that after the union we must not say there are two Natures, but one Nature of the Sonne of God incarnate, & told them he had to this purpose sundry testimonies of the holy Fathers *Athanasius*, *Gregorie*, and *Cyril*. For confirmation of this his saying, *Eustathius* Bishop of *Beretum* produced an Epistle of *Cyril* to *Acacius* Bishop of *Melitinum*, *Valerianus* of *Iconium*, and *Succensus* Bishop of the Province of *Diocæsarea*, wherein more fully explaining certaine things contained in his former Epistles, he saith expressly, We must not say, there are two natures in Christ; but one nature of the Sonne of God incarnate. Which when they of the East disliked, he brought forth the booke, & read the very same words unto them, and after the reading of them, brake forth into these words. Whosoever saith there is one nature, to deny the flesh of Christ which we beleeve to be consubstantiall with ours, let him be *anathema*: and whosoever saith there are two natures to make a division in Christ, let him be accursed also; adding, that *Flavianus* admitted this doctrine of *Cyril*, and therefore that hee was unjustly condemned by *Dioscorus*. But *Dioscorus* answered, that he condemned him, because hee affirmed that there are two natures in Christ after the union, whereas the Fathers tell us, wee must not say there are two natures after the union, but one of the Word incarnate; and after this time hee refused to appeare any more in the Councell. Whereupon for his former violent, & sinister proceedings, and for his present contumacie he was condemned and deposed; & not for heresie, as is expressly delivered by *Anatolius* in the Councell. For wherasthere was a forme of confession composed, which *Asclepiades* recited in the Councell; wherein was contained, that Christ consisted of two natures: there arose presently a great doubt amongst the Bishops; the Nobles & great men therefore that moderated, spake unto them in this sort: *Dioscorus* saith, that Christ consisteth of two natures; *Leo* that he consisteth in two natures, without mutation, confusion, or division, whom follow yee? to whom the Bishops rising up, answered with one voyce, as *Leo* so we all beleeve: accursed be *Dioscorus*. At the hearing hereof *Anatolius* said, *Dioscorus* was not deposed for erring in faith, but because he excommunicated *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, & refused to come into the Councell when as he was required so to do. Neither was the forme of confession recited by *Asclepiades* rejected as ill, but as imperfect. That which some alledge, that *Dioscorus* had beene condemned as an Heretick if hee had appeared, is childish. For if the Fathers there assembled, had judged his sayings hereticall, they might, and no doubt would have condemned him as an Heretick though absent, as well as the Councell of *Ephesus* condemned *Nestorius* though absenting himself, and as much as in him lay declining their judgement. So the Councell of *Chalcedon* condemned *Eutyches* as an Heretick and deposed *Dioscorus* for his contumacie, and other sinister, violent, & disordered proceedings in that second Councell, wherein he was President, & so ended. But after the ending thereof there arose wofull distractions & divisions in the Christian world. For besides those that followed *Eutyches* in his heresie there were many found; who though they were far frõ adhering to cursed *Eutyches*, yet disliked the proceedings against *Dioscorus*, & stilly maintained that forme of confession that was published by *Asclepiades*, not only as good, but as perfect & sufficiënt; affirming that 2 natures were united in Christ without mutatiõ, conversion, commixtiõ, or confusion but that being united, they are no longer two but one: so that we may say, Christ consisted of 2

natures, but we must not say he consisteth in two natures as *Leo* & the Councell. Urging to this purpose that authority of *Cyril*: That wee must not say there are two natures in Christ, but one of the Word incarnat: his words are: *Post unionem, sublata in duo divisione, unam esse credimus Filii* ὅσον ἀσπρόμην, καὶ ἑνωθῆναι. *Nestorianus agnoscit Verbum incarnatum, sed dum duas nominat naturas, dividit & sejungit ab invicem.*

This opinion prevailed mightily in those times, and continueth in many Christian Churches till this day. For the Christians of *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, *Armenia*, and the *Jacobites* of *Syria* defend the same, accusing *Eutiches* as an Heretick; and acquitting *Dioscorus*, yea honouring him as a good and holy man. Wherefore seeing it is against the law of charity to condemne so many millions of soules to hell, unless they be cleerely convinced of heresie, let us more exactly consider what it is they say. First therefore they teach, that Christ is truly God and truly man, that hee received his divine nature of his Father before all eternity, his humane nature from his mother in the fullness of time. Secondly, they accurse all them that spoile him of either of these natures. Thirdly, they say that these natures were so united, that there was no confusion, mixtion, or conversion of one of them into an other; nor such composition as that a third nature might arise out of them. Fourthly, that the deity and humanity of Christ are not all one. Fifthly, they confesse, that it may truly be said, the Divinity of Christ is *aliud natura*; that is, a thing of different condition and nature from his humanity. Sixthly, that they are not of the same nature and substance. Seventhly, that their properties are not the same, the one being finite, and the other infinite. So that this is it which they say; that the two natures which were united in Christ remaine after the union, without mixtion, confusion, or conversion in their distinct being of essence, and properties: but are become one, first in the being of subsistence; secondly in respect of mutuall inexistence; and thirdly in communion of mutuall operation, in that the one doth nothing without the communion and concurrence of the other. And in this sort is that saying of *Cyril* to be understood, when he saith, there are not two natures in Christ, but one nature of the Word incarnate, that is, the two natures united are not two and distinct, but one in subsistence. For the nature of man hath no subsistence, but that of the Word communicated unto it, in which they are one. And so it is expounded in the 8 Canon of the fifth generall Councell. ^a *Leonardus* Bishop of *Sidonia* reporteth, that when he conferred with the Patriarch of the *Jacobites* to this purpose, hee cleerely accursed *Eutiches* confounding the natures of God and man in Christ; but yet affirmed that they are so united, that there is one personated nature, arising out of two natures not personated. Professing that they thinke as the *Latines* doe touching the thing it self, but differ from them in forme of words, more aptly expressing the thing, as they suppose. ^b *Tecla Abyssen* saith, the *Ethiopians* thinke, there is but one nature in Christ: being asked whether they thinke there is one nature resulting out of the two natures that were united: he answereth, that they say no such thing: but that they professe simply that there is one nature, and that is the divine nature, meaning, as it seemeth, that the divine nature only subsisteth in its own subsistence, and that the humanity is drawn into the unity of the same. ^c *Thomas a Jesu* reporteth, that in the time of *Gregorie* the 13, there were certaine learned men sent into *Egypt* to winne the Christians of those parts, to joyne in communion with the *Roman* Church. And that in the yeare 1582, a Synod was holden at *Cair*, where at the third meeting after six houres disputation touching the two natures of Christ, all with one consent by Gods happie direction decreed, as the truth is, touching the thing it selfe: anathematizing all them that should spoile him of either nature; who being God and man received his Deity from the Father, and his Humanity from his mother. And though

^a Apud Thom.
à Jesu, l. 7. par.
1. c. 14.

^b Apud Thom.
à Jesu, l. 7. p. 1.
c. 13.

^c Thom. à Jesu,
l. 7. c. 6.

though the Christians of *Agypt* refuse to say there are two natures in Christ, yet they confesse him to bee God and man. " *Nicetas* saith, the *Armenians* are *Monophysits*, and that *Immanuel* the Emperour, in the yeare 1170 sent *Theorianus* to conferre with their Catholick or chiefe Bishop, & to reclaime them if it might bee, from that heresie. The disputation betweene them hee setteth downe at large. But *Genebrard* feareth not to censure him, pronouncing, that both hee and *Theorianus* were deceived, if that bee indeede the answer of the *Armenian* Bishop to the objections of *Theorianus*, as is there put downe. For nature being sometimes taken for a part, sometimes for the whole consisting of the severall parts; as in *Aristotle* sometimes it importeth the whole, sometimes the parts of which the whole consisteth; the *Armenian* Bishop said truely, the things whereof Christ consisteth are of different nature, or different in nature, and that they are but one nature in that they are so joyned and put together, that they are one in the beeing of subsistence, that one of them inexisteth in the other, and either of them hath a communion of operation with the other. But hee in no sort imagineth that they are so one, as if a compounded nature did arise out of the putting of them together, in such sort as the nature of man is a compound nature, arising out of the putting together of the soule and body. So that these Christians are unjustly charged with the heresie of the *Monophysits* anciently condemned. For they imagined, that the two natures united in Christ are become one in the beeing of essence and propertie, but these confesse them to remain distinct in both these respects, and to become one onely in respect of the beeing of subsistence, mutuall existence, and the communion the one hath with the other in action and operation: comparing this union to that of the iron and fire. Neither is it to bee marveiled at, that they are thus wronged. For as *Genebrard* noteth, the *Greekes* often wrong the orientall Christians, laying an imputation of heresie upon them out of sinister respects: so that they are to be suspected as often as writing of the *Syrians*, *Maronits*, *Aethiopians*, *Persians*, *Indians*, *Georgians*, *Agyptians*; they call them *Jacobits*, or *Nestorians*. For they that travell into these parts, finde them to bee orthodoxe and right beleivers, differing from other parts of the true Church rather in certaine ceremonies than in substance. Having thus cleered these Christians from the imputation of heresie undeservedly laid upon them: let us proceed more particularly to consider of the specialties of religion professed by them, and first of the Religion of the *Jacobits*.

The *Jacobits* have their name from one *Jacobus* of Syria surnamed *Zanzalus*, living about the yeare of our Lord 530. Who, amongst others that rejected the Councell of *Chalcedon*, laboured greatly to perswade the people of Syria to refuse the same; and taught them to beleieve, that the two natures which were united in Christ, after the union are become one, not in such sort as *Eutyches* imagined, who confounded them into one, but as *Dioscorus* taught, who made them to bee one by adunation without mixtion, or confusion. That this was his opinion, it is evident by his followers, who honour *Dioscorus* as a Saint, and condemne *Eutyches* as an Heretick. These, as *Leonardus* Bishop of *Sidonia* reporteth, are dispersed thoroughout the Cities, regions, and townes of Syria, *Mesopotamia*, and *Babylon*, mixt with other sects, and their number is so great, that there are fiftie thousand families of them. They chiefly inhabite in *Aleppo* of Syria, and in *Caramit*. They have, and long have had a Patriarch of their owne; to whom they yeeld obedience. For wee reade of the Patriarch of the *Jacobits* in the time of *Heraclius* the Emperour. This Patriarch resideth in *Caramit*, but the Patriarchicall Church is in the Monastery of *Zafra*, without the Citie *Moradin* in *Mesopotamia*. They were before the breach subject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, but when they fell off from other Christians in opinion, they departed from

Lib. 17. Orthodoxia citatus à Genebrardo Chron. ad annum 1153.

the Patriarch that then was, and entitled one of their own making to that honour: supposing the other to be in error, and themselves right. And even to this day they account their chiefe Bishop Patriarch of *Antioch*, calling him alwayes *Ignatius*. And to him the Metropolitan of *Hierusalem*, whom the *Jacobites* call the fifth Patriarch, is subject. As anciently the Bishops of *Hierusalem* were before the Councell of *Chalcedon*, which tooke from *Antioch* the three Provinces of *Palestina*, and assigned them to the Bishop of *Hierusalem* for his Patriarchicall jurisdiction. Besides the B. of *Hierusalem* who acknowledgeth him for his superiour, hee hath under him 7 Archbishops, with many Bishops. Let us therefore take a view of their Religion. Touching the two natures in Christ, they beleeve as I have already delivered. The other particulars of their Religion are these. First, they confesse their sinnes to God only, & not to the Priest, or but very seldome; so that many communicate without confession. Secondly, they admit not Purgatory, nor prayers for the dead. 3rd, their Priests are married. Fourthly, they consecrate the Eucharist in unleavened bread. Fifthly, they minister the Eucharist in both kinds. Sixthly, they use Circumcision even of both sexes. Seventhly, they signe their children before Baptisme, with the signe of the Crosse, imprinted with a burning iron, some in the arme, some in the forehead, that they may be known to bee Christians, and that if ever they fall away, they may by this marke be known to be Apostataes. Hence grew the false report, that they baptized with fire. Eighthly, they adde to the *trisagium* this Appendix, [*qui crucifixus est pro nobis*.] And hereupon are charged to attribute the passion of death to the Divinity, and consequently to the whole Trinity: which is made more probable, because they acknowledge but one nature in Christ. Touching this Hymne it is to be noted, that in the time of *Theodosius* the Emperour there was a most fearefull Earthquake, which specially appeared in *Constantinople*, where the wall with 57 Towres fell down, so that the people were forced to goe out of the City, & to abide in the fields, to avoide the danger of the ruines. While they were crying *Curie eleeson*, a childe was suddenly taken up into the aire, & upon the prayers of the godly, let down againe to the ground without any hurt, who when hee was come downe, told them he had heard a Quire of Angels singing, ἀγιος ὁ Θεός, ἀγιος ἰσχυρός, ἀγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμῶν, willing them so to sing, that the Earthquake might cease. When *Proclus* the Bishop heard this, he commanded the whole Congregation to sing, and the Earthquake ceased, & immediatly the childe died. Hereupon *Theodosius* the Emperour commanded this Hymne to be sung in all Christian Churches throughout the world. so that it grew to be in great request. *Petrus Gnaphens* Bishop of *Antioch* added to this Hymne, *qui crucifixus est pro nobis*, and was bitterly reprov'd by many B. for so doing. *Ephraim* B. of *Antioch* finding, that certain were divided frō the communion of other Christians in respect of this addition, telleth them, that they of the East understand this Hymne of Christ, and so sin not in adding *qui crucifixus est pro nobis*. But they that inhabit *Constantinople*, and the *Nestorian* parts understand it of the Trinitie, and therefore endure not this addition, because it is impious to attribute the passion of death to the blessed Trinity. The Vicar of the Patriarch of the *Jacobites* being conferr'd with by some Western Christians about this addition, told them, that they understand this Hymne of Christ, & so apply the passion of death on the crosse to Christ only, & not to the holy Trinity. 9th, They deny the supremacie of the Pope. Next to these in order are the *Armenians*, these inhabit *Asia* in that part which lieth betweene the Mountains *Taurus* & *Caucasus*: their country *Armenia* reacheth from *Cappadocia* to the *Caspian* Sea. They are subject to two Patriarchs: for the greater *Armenia* is subject to one, and the lesser to another. The Patriarch of the greater *Armenia* resideth in the Monastery and Church of *Ecmeazin* neere the Citie *Ervan* in *Persia*. The Families that are subject

e Cent. 5. pag.
1486.
f Phot. Bibl.
p. 403.

subject to this Patriarch, are more than 150000, besides exceeding many Monasteries, Bishops, Priests, religious men, and Deacons. There are also certaine Primates, or rather Patriarches of this *Armenian* Nation in the remotest parts of *Persia*, and in *Constantinople*: who though of right they should be subject to this Patriarch, yet sometimes acknowledge no such thing. The Patriarch of the lesser *Armenia* resideth in the Citie *Sis* in *Cilicia* named at this day *Caramania*. This Patriarch hath under him 24 Prelates, Archbishops, and Bishops, besides three hundred Priests, and exceeding many Deacons & Clerkes, living of almes and their owne labour, and about twenty thousand families of Christians, which live in Cities, Villages, & Castles of *Syria* & *Cilicia*: and twenty Monasteries, in every of which there are an hundred religious persons. These *Armenians*, both the greater and the lesser are lately taken by the *Persians* from the *Turke*, and added to the *Persian* Empire. Touching their Religion, *Nicephorus* attributeth unto them sundry damnable heresies concerning the Trinitie, and the incarnation of Christ, but most untruly according to *Generbrards* observation before-mentioned, as may appear by their own confession extant, sent by the mandate of the Catholick of *Armenia* to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, not 50 yeares agoe: by which it is evident that they are Orthodoxe in these points. The specialties of their Religion are these: First touching the two natures in Christ, they are of the same opinion with the *Jacobites* formerly expressed. 2^d, They admit only three generall Councils; they reject that of *Chalcedon*: they condemne *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*: they accurse *Eutyches*, and honour *Dioscorus*. 3^d, They adde to the *Trisagium* as the *Jacobites* also doe, *qui crucifixus est pro nobis*: but in the same sense as they doe. & without any hereticall meaning. 4th, They affirme with the *Grecians*, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father only. 5th, They thinke the soules of the iust shall not enjoy heaven happinesse till after the resurrection. 6th, They deny Purgatory, and pray not for the dead. 7th, They deny marriage to be a Sacrament. 8th, They deny the locall presence of Christs body and blood in the Sacrament. 9th, They deny that the Sacraments give grace. 10, They thinke, that the Eucharist is to be given to all that are baptized together with their baptisme. 11, They mingle not water with wine in the holy Eucharist. 12, They condemne the adoration of Images. 13, They admit married Priests, & as some say, admit none to be secular Priests except they be married, and yet exclude the second marriage. 14, They fast Wednesday and Friday, and on those dayes eate neither oyle nor fish, neither doe they drinke wine, and they abstain in like sort the whole Lent; save that on Saturday and Sunday they eate butter, cheefe, and egges. 15, In the Lent they never consecrate but on Saturday and Sunday, what dayes they fast not. 16, Out of Lent they eate flesh on all Saturdayes throughout the yeare. 17, From Easter till Whitsontide they fast not any Friday, but freely eate flesh. 18, They know not the Ember Fast. 19, They solemnize not Christmas day on the 25 of December, but fast that day, and in steede of it keepe the day of the *Epiphany* as Christs birth day, according to an ancient^s Custome, as we may reade in *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome*. 20, On Saturday before Easter they eate egges and cheefe in the evening, saying, that Christ rose in the evening. 21, They eate not of such beasts as are judged unclean in the Law. 22, They admit not the Sacrament of auricular confession as it is in the *Roman* Church, neither of confirmation or ex-treame unction. 23, They deny the supremacie of the Pope. Lastly, they are charged to deny originall sin, but unjustly as it seemeth. seing they teach that the childre of infidels not baptized go to hell with their unbeleeving parents.

g See Casaub.

b Thom à Je-
su, l. 7. c. 23.c Thom. à Je-
su, l. 7. c. 17.

Having spoken of the *Jacobites* & *Armenians*, it remaineth that we come to take a view of the religion and rites of the *Cophti*, and *Abyssens* or *Ethiopians*. The word *Cophti* is not a name of sect, but of countrie, importing no more than an *Egyptian* Christian. The particulars of the Religion of the *Cophti*

Cophti are these: First they reject the Councell of *Chalcedon*, they condemne *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, they accurse *Eutyches*, and honour *Dioscorus* and *Jacobus Syrus* as holy men; and touching the incarnation, teach as the *Jacobites* and *Armenians* doe: refusing to acknowledge two natures in Christ, and yet confessing him to bee truly God, and truly man: and accursing them that spoile him of either nature, or deny that they remaine in him distinct and unconfounded, in being and property, in sort before expressed. Secondly, they adde to the *Trisagium* as the former, but in the same sense, and without all touch of heresie. Thirdly, they permit none to baptize but a Priest in what necessitie soever, nor any where else but in the Church, nor before the fortieth day. Fourthly, they dip the baptized into the water after the manner of the *Greekes*, but pronouncing the words as the *Latines* doe. Fifthly, they presently anoynt the baptized and Minister the Eucharist to them in both kindes. They sometimes used Circumcision, but now have abrogated that custome at least in *Alexandria* and *Cair*: happily since the Synod there holden, whereof I spake before. Sixtly, they minister the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kindes; the Priests never celebrate without the assistance of the Deacons, and the Subdeacons: and these alwayes communicate with the Priest, but the Lay-people seldome, but onely at Easter. Seventhly, they consecrate in leavened bread. Eightly, they neither minister extreame unction, nor the Eucharist to the sick. Ninthly, they give the inferiour holy Orders even to children, so soone as they are baptized. 10, They acknowledge that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son, yet leave out those words, [and from the Sonne] in the Creede. 11, They contract Marriage in the presence of the Priest, and in the face of the Church, after the manner of the *Roman* Church, but with more ceremonies. 12, They sometimes dissolve Marriage, and permit a second Marriage. 13, They admit married Priests. 14, They admit not Purgatory nor prayer for the dead. 15, They reade in the Churches certaine fabulous things, as the Booke called *Secreta Petri*, and the Gospel of *Nicodemus*. 16, They denie the supremacie of the Pope, and thinke him no lesse subject to error than other Bishops. They condemne the *Latine* Church, as erring in sundry points of Religion, and thereupon refuse to communicate with the Christians of these parts. And though *Baronius* have a large narration of an embassage, sent from the Church of *Alexandria* to *Clement* the eight; wherein is reported, that *Marke* the Patriarch, & with him all the Bishops and people subject to that jurisdiction, submitted themselves to the Bishop of *Rome*, as to the head of the Church: yet afterwards it was found to be a meere imposture, and coustenance, as *Thomas à Jesu* reporteth. But *Casaubone* tellethus, that the Patriarch of *Alexandria* wrote a most pious letter to the now Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, desiring to joyne in communion with the Churches of *England*, &c. Which Letter under his Patriarchicall seale is to be seene: besides an other Letter to the same purpose from a Bishop of *Asia*. To this Patriarch are subject all the Christians of *Egypt*, the Christians of *Habassia*, that small remainder of Christians that are found about the Bay of *Arabia*, and in *Mount Sina* Eastward, or in *Africk* as farre as the greater *Syrtes* Westward. And under this jurisdiction, the *Nubians* also were, as some thinke, before their defection from Christianity. *Nubia* being a part of *Habassia*, which was put under the Bishop of *Alexandria* by the ^k *Nicen* Councell. The number of Christians in *Egypt* is greatly diminished. For whereas ^l *Burchardus* reporteth, that in his time about 330 yeares since, there was found in *Cair* alone above fortie Christian temples, ^m now there are but three in *Cair*, and no more in *Alexandria*; and the number of Christians is esteemed to bee about fiftie thousand in that great and populous Countrie, but in *Habassia* almost innumerable. For the Kingdome of *Habassia* subject to that great Monarch, whom wee by error call *Praester John*, they *John Encoe* or *Belal*,

⁊ Concilii Nicen. l. 3. c. 36.

l Descrip. terr. sanctæ, part 2. c. 3.

m Bar. tom. 6. in fine.

is as large in circuit and compasse of ground, as *Italy, Germany, France, and Spaine*, but nothing so populous, nor without mixture of *Mahumetans* and *Pagans* in some parts of it.

The *Habassines* have a Patriarch of their owne, whom in their Language they call *Abuna*, that is, our Father. This Patriarch was to have the seventh place in sitting in generall Councils next after the Bishop of *Seleucia*,ⁿ as appeareth by the *Arabick* Booke of the *Nicen* Councell, translated by *Pisanus*,^{cen 1.3. Can. 36.} but he is subject to the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and being elected by the *Habassine* Monkes of *S. Antonies* Order residing at *Hierusalem*, he is consecrated and confirmed by him, and so sent to *Habassia*. And answerably hereunto in their Liturgie they pray for the Patriarch of *Alexandria* before their owne Patriarch, tearming him the Prince of their Archbishops. Wherefore let us descend to take a view of their Religion. First, touching the holy Trinitie they are orthodoxe professing as wee doe. Concerning the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, they thinke as the *Jacobites, Armenians, and Egyptians* before-mentioned; teaching that two natures were united in Christ: but that after the union they are become one, not by mixtion, conversion, confusion, or such a composition, as that a third should arise, and result out of them, but by coadunation only in sort before expressed. So that they may be said to be one nature not in the beeing of essence or property, which cannot be conceived without confusion: but in respect of the beeing of subsistence, the mutuall inexistence of one of them in an other, and the communion of action or operation, one of them doing nothing without the other.^p Thirdly, they reject the Councell of *Chalcedon*, they condemne *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, they accurse *Eutyches*, and honour *Dioscorus & Jacobus* his Disciple. Fourthly, they are baptized in the name of the Father, Sonne, & Holy Ghost, in such sort as other Christians are, but they are also circumcised both Male and Female, which may seeme to cut them off from the fellowship of true Christians, and the hope of salvation: according to that of the Apostle, *If yee be circumcised yee are fallen from grace, and Christ shall profit you nothing.*

ⁿ Concil. Nicen. 1.3. Can. 36.

^o Liturg. Æthiop. tom. 6. Biblioth. Patrum.

^p Tecla Abiss. apud Thom. à Jesu. 1.7. c. 13.

For the clearing of this point, *Thomas à Jesu* delivereth these propositions. First, that Circumcision and other legall observations were so abrogated after the promulgation of the Gospel, that the continuing of the became not only a dead thing, and of no force but deadly also. So that *Cerintus & Ebion* thinking otherwise, were condemned as Hereticks.² That some legall observations, though not as legall, may be, nay are retained and continued amongst Catholick Christians. For the better understanding of this proposition he noteth, that legall and ceremoniall things may be observed foure wayes. First, as they are legall, that is, with an intention to keepe the Law, and to do as the Law prescribeth, and in this sort Christ submitted himselfe to be circumcised. Secondly, that things prescribed or forbidden in the ceremoniall Law may be done or omitted, not onely in respect of obedience to the Law, but as figuring the coming of Christ, or as figures of Christ to come, as *Thomas Aquinas* sheweth. So the holy Fathers that lived before Christ kept this observation. Thirdly, wee may doe or omit such things as are commanded or forbidden in the ceremoniall Law, neither as figures of Christ to come, nor as being bound by the Law so to doe, or not to doe, but onely to make it knowne that such Lawes were not evill but of God, howsoever they are now no longer to have any binding force. Thus the Christians after the resurrection and ascension of Christ, before the full promulgation of the Gospel, retained circumcision for a time, that they might bury the Synagogue with honour. Fourthly, such things may be done or omitted as the Law forbiddeth or prescribeth, *materialiter sine ulla formalitate vel respectu ad legē veterē*; that is, though the same thing be done that is there prescribed, yet it is not done as there prescribed, but for other ends; as we keepe the feast of *Pentecost* which the *Jewes* observed, but not because

^q Lib. 7. c. 12.

^r 13 22 q. 104. art. 3.

J Apud Dami-
an: a Goes.

cause it was prescribed in the Law, nor for the same reasons for which they kept it; for it was therefore a solemn day with them, because as on that day the Law was given unto them upon Mount *Sina*, but with us because on that day the Law of the spirit and life was given: so in like sort some Christians consecrate in unleavened bread, yet are they not to be condemned as *Jewish*, seeing the reasons of their observation are very different from those motives the *Jewes* had: so that to omit or doe such things as are forbidden or commanded in the ceremoniall Law, *materialiter tantum*, that is, without any of the former respects, is undoubtedly lawfull: as if a man should be circumcised, or should abstaine from Swines flesh for physicall considerations, or keepe Saturday holy as many Christians doe: but to omit or doe such things as are forbidden or prescribed in the ceremoniall Law, because they are there forbidden or prescribed, or as figures of Christ, is hereticall: wherefore let us see in what sort the *Abyssens* use Circumcision. *Zagazabo* professeth, that they use it only as an ancient observation of their Countrey, which they had received before they became Christians, even from the time that the Queene of *Sheba* went to see *Salomon*, and that they retaine it onely for the honour of their nation, that they may thereby shew, that they are of the stock of *David*: and indeede *Herodotus* speaking of certaine nations that were circumcised before the coming of Christ, amongst the rest hee numbrell the *Ethiopians*: which being so, I see not why wee should censure them as hereticks for this observation. *William Reynolds* speaking of the *Abyssens* hath these words. The *Abyssens* Christianly, and as wee that beleeve as Christians should, doe baptize their infants, and that they may shew from how noble a stock they are come, circumcise them also, but not as if Circumcision were of any force, or a man might put any trust in it as the *Jewes* doe: which being so, I would no more condemne them in respect of Circumcision, than a man that should abstaine from Swines flesh which was forbidden by the Law, upon the advise of his physician onely. *Caietan* and *Bartholomeus de Medina* thinke, they sinne not in retaining this observation, but supposing it to bee lawfull, whether it bee fit they should be tolerated still so to doe, many taking offence at it; I had rather (saith *Caietan*) heare the Church speake, than other particular Authours. Some impute to them that they are not circumcised onely or principally for the causes before expressed, but in imitation of Christ, & consequently to fulfill the Law, which was the end of Circumcision, and thereupon condemne them as observers of the Ceremoniall Law. But first it will hardly be proved, as I thinke, that they use Circumcision in imitation of Christs Circumcision. And secondly it will not follow if it be so, that they are circumcised to the same end hee was: but only that they desire to be like unto him in the outward act, and to have that done unto them in the honour of him. So that I rather encline to the opinion of *Caietan* and *Bartholomeus de Medina*, who acquit them; then to that of *Soto* and others that condemne them upon this supposall. The particular points of their religion are these. First, they thinke that the soule is *extraduce*. Secondly, they use the same forme of words in baptizing that the *Latines* doe: saying, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, & of the Son, & of the Holy Ghost. 3^{ly}, None baptizeth with them but the Priest, or in his absence the Deacon. 4^{ly}, Their males are not baptized till the 40 day, their females till the 80: till which time the mother is not purified, nor entereth into the Church, but if there be danger of death they are baptized sooner: but they must not suck the breasts of the mother untill shee be purified. They are unjustly charged, that they baptize with fire, for there is none amongst them that do so, but in some Provinces they¹ signe themselves in the forehead, either that they may differ from the *Mahumetans*, or for the cure of diseases incident to the eyes. 5^{ly}, On twelfth day in memory of the Baptisme of Christ they goe forth in great multitudes

Novacula.

tritudes to the river, and after many prayers said by the Priests they put themselves into the water, but no man is newly baptized. 6, They thinke that the infants of beleeving parents are sanctified in the wombe, as *Jeremie* and *John* the Baptist were: and therefore if they die without Baptisme dare not pronounce of them as the *Romanists* doe. 7, They deny confirmation and extreame unction to bee Sacraments. 8, Touching the Eucharist they consecrate ordinarily in unleavened bread, but on Maundy Thursday in unleavened bread and in wine; or the juice of raisons moistened in water and so pressed out. They minister the Communion in both kindes to all, both Clergy-men, and Lay-men. The Priest ministreth the Bread, and the Deacon the Wine in a spoone. They give this Sacrament to Infants when they are baptized in this sort. The Priest dippeth his finger into the consecrated wine, and putteth it into the mouth of the childe. They have neither elevation, nor reservation, nor circumgesation, as the *Roman Church* hath. They all communicate twice every weeke, but the Sacrament is never ministered in private houses, no not to the Patriarch or Emperour himselfe. 9 Touching Purgatorie, they beleeve that soules after death are detained in a certaine place, named in their tongue *Mecan aarast*, (*idest*) *locus alleviationis*, that is, a place of refreshing: in which the soules of such as die, not having repented of their former sinnes in such full and perfect sort as was fitting, are detained, and so whether the soules of good men doe enjoy the vision of God before the resurrection they resolve not. 10 They say no Masses of the dead; they bury them with crosses and prayers, but specially they use the beginning of *S Johns Gospel*. The day following they give almes and so a certaine number of dayes and make Feasts also. 11 They grant no indulgences. 12 They have no cafes reserved. 13 They beleeve that the Saints doe intercede for us; they pray unto them; they have painted images, but none molten or carved: they much esteeme them in respect of those holy ones they represent, and make sweete perfumes before them. 14 Their Priests receive no tythes, but they have lands on which they live. 15 Their Bishops and Priests are married, but may not marry a second wife and continue in those degrees and orders, unlesse the Patriarch dispence with them. 16 They thinke it unlawfull to fast on Saturday or Sunday: and urge to that purpose the Canon of the Apostles. 17 They keepe Saturday holy as well as Sunday, following the ancient custome of the East Church, they eate flesh on that day throughout the whole yeare, except onely in Lent: and in some Provinces they eate flesh in that day even in the Lent also. 18 They fast Wednesdays and Saturdays till the Sunne setting, and celebrate not on those dayes till the evening. 19 Betweene Easter and Whitsontide they eate flesh freely on those dayes. 20 They abstaine from things strangled, and blood, observing the Canon of the Apostles in so doing, as they suppose; and besides, forbear to eat of such kindes of meat as were forbidden by *Moses Law*. 21 The Emperour hath a supream authority in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill, though the Patriarch also exercise a spirituall jurisdiction. 22 They deny the supremacie of the *Roman Bishop*, but they yeeld a primacie unto him, acknowledging him to be the first amongst Bishops.

Having spoken of the *Grecians*, *Assyrians*, and supposed *Monophysites*, it remaineth, that we come in the last place to treat of the *Maronites*. Touching the name, *Baronius* sheweth, that it was not from any heretick named *Maron*, Tom. 7. ann. 518. num. 49. but that there was a holy man so named, and that in honour of him a certaine Monastery was founded, which was named the Monastery of *S. Maron*, & that Synod. sub Menna act. 5. all the Monkes of that Monastery were named *Maronites*. These in time, as it may bee thought joyned themselves to the *Monophysites* formerly described, though happily not without some little difference, and hence all the Christians that professed to beleeve so as these did, were named *Maronites*. They have a Patriarch of their own who claimeth to be Patriarch of *Antioch*. He resideth in a Mo-

a Monasterie some 25 miles from *Tripolis* in *Syria*. Hee hath under him some 8 or 9 Suffragan Bishops. These *Maronites* inhabite Mount *Libanus*, and some of them in *Damascus*, *Aleppo*, and some parts of *Cyprus*. Mount *Libanus* is of such extent, that it is in compasse 7 hundred miles. It hath no Cities but Villages, which are neither few nor small. Within this compasse none inhabite but Christians, though under the *Turke*; for they redeeme it at a high rate, and pay an intollerable tribute to live without mixture of *Mahumetans*. The particulars of their Religion are these: First, they beleeve that the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father only. 2^y, They blesse & consecrate the water so often as any are to be baptized; and not as the *Roman Church*, on the Saturday before Easter only for the whole year. The reason of which observation is, for that at Easter and at Whitsontide onely in the Primitive Church they ministred Baptisme, which they did, because in Baptisme men are mortified to sin, & quickned in the life of grace by vertue of Christs death, resurrection, and giving of the Spirit. All which things were commemorated in these solemnities. 3^y, They never baptize males and females together, lest they should contract a kind of affinity. 4^y, None baptizeth with them, in what necessity soever, but a Priest or Deacon. 5^y, They require not the intention of the Minister, but thinke the faith of the Church sufficeth. 6^y, They baptize not a male till the 40th day, nor a female till the 80th in respect of the impurity of the mother, which they thinke continueth so long. 7, They seeke no confirmation from the Bishop, nor have any other anynting than that which is used in Baptisme. 8, They consecrate the Eucharist in unleavened bread in a masse loafe, out of which they give a peece to every communicant. 9, They give the Sacraments to Lay-men in both kinds. 10, They celebrate but once in one day, upon one & the same Altar. 11, They think the Person of the Holy Ghost to be in the holy Oyle, in such sort, as the Person of Christ is in the Eucharist. 12, They think that the Eucharist received into the mouth, goeth not into the stomack, but presently diffuseth it selfe through all the members of the body. 13, On fasting-dayes they celebrate not till the evening, which custome *Th. à Jesu* saith, is not to be altered, affirming, that it was most ancieut in the Church of God; the Councell of *Cabylon* related in the decrees, prescribing that they should celebrate the Sacrament in the Ember Faits in the evening, & on the Saturday before Easter in the beginning of a night. And although, saith he, the Church yeelding to our infirmity, permit the *Latines* to do otherwise, yet where the old custome may be kept, it is not only not to be taken away, but much to be comended; that men when they fast may put it off as long as may be before they eat any thing. In former times they did not eat in Lent till the evening, as appeareth by the Councell formerly mentioned. Which custome continued till the time of *T. Aquinas*, for he saith, they did eat nothing in his time on their fasting-dayes till the 9th houre, in which houre Christ gave up the ghost. 14, They think it not lawfull to carry the Eucharist to the that are sick. 15, Touching Marriage they have these opinions; 1 they think the state of marriage is not inferior to virginity; 2 they think if the son contract without consent of the father, the father may void the marriage, & so likewise the father of the wife. 3, they think the bond of marriage is dissolved by adultery, & that the parties separated may marry again. 4 they permit not the father & the son to marry with the mother & the daughter: nor 2 brethren with 2 sisters. 5 they dislike the marriage of widowes of 60 years of age. 6 they allow not the 4th marriage, whereas *Hierom* saith, *non damno bigamos imò nec trigamos, ac si diè potest octogamos*, that is, *I dare not condemne the that marry the 2^d, 3^d, or 8th time.* 16, Touching Orders, 1 they ordain children of 5 or 6 years of age deacons: 2 no man is ordained a Priest or Deacon amongst the except he have first contracted matrimony, & that with a virgin, not with a widow or womā dishonoured; but neither of these is permitted to marry a 2^d wife. 17, they think it unlawful to eat of things strangled, or blood. 18 they judge it unlawful to fast saturday or sunday. Lastly,

De conf. dist.

1. Can. solent.

x 22 22 q. 147.

art. 7.

Lastly, they teach, that no man entred into the kingdome of heaven untill the generall Judgement. These *Maronites* are now said to bee joyned in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, since the time of *Clemens* the eight; but how farre forth they have changed either their opinions or their rites and ceremonies, it doth not appeare. These onely and the *Indians* of all the Christians of the orient hold Communion with the Church of *Rome*.

Out of all that which hath beene said, two things are observable. First, that by the mercifull goodnesse of God all these different sorts of Christians, though distracted and dislevered, by reason of diversitie of ceremonies and outward observations, different manner of delivering certaine points of faith, mistaking one an other, or variety in opinion touching things not fundamentall, doe yet agree in one substance of faith, and are so far forth orthodoxe, that they retaine a saving profession of all divine verities absolutely necessary to salvation, and are all members of the true Catholick Church of Christ. The second, that in all the principall controversies touching matters of Religion betweene the Papists and those of the reformed Churches, they give testimonie of the trueth of that wee professe. For first they all deny and impugne that supream universality of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction which the Bishop of *Rome* claimeth. Secondly, they thinke him subject to errour as all other Bishops are. Thirdly, they deny that hee hath any power to dispose the principalities and kingdomes of the world, or dispose Kings. Fourthly, they acknowledge all righteousnesse to bee imperfect, and that it is not safe to trult thereunto, but to the meere mercie and goodnesse of God. Fifthly, they admit not the merit of congruence, condignitie, nor workes of supererogation. Sixtly, they teach not the doctrine of satisfactions, as the *Romanists* doe. Seventhly, They beleeve not Purgatorie, neither pray to deliver men out of temporall punishments after this life. Eightly, They reject the doctrine of the *Romanists* touching indulgences and pardons. Ninthly, they beleeve not there are seven Sacraments. 10, They omit many ceremonies in baptisme which the *Roman* Church useth, as Spittle, &c. 11, They have no private Masses. 12, They minister the Communion in both kindes to all communicants. 13, They beleeve not transubstantiation, nor the new reall sacrificing of Christ. 14, They have the divine service in the vulgar tongue. 15, Their Priests are married, and though they permit them not to marry a second wife without speciall dispensation, yet if any doe, they doe not voyde nor dissolve the marriage. 16, They make no image of God. 17, They have no massie images but pictures onely. 18, They thinke that properly God onely is to be invocated, and howsoever they have a kinde of invocation of Saints, yet they thinke that God only heareth them and not the Saints.

C H A P. 2.

Of the harsh and unadvised censure of the Romanists, condemning all these Churches as schismaticall and hereticall.

ALl these Churches and societies of Christians, in number many, in extent large, in multitudes of men and people huge and great, in continuance most ancient, in defence of the Christian faith constant and undanted (though enduring the malice, and force of cruell, bloody, & potent enemies) the Bishop of *Rome* with his adherents judgeth to be hereticks, or at least Schismaticks, & consequently, to have no hope of eternall salvation; for that it is on the perill of everlasting damnation, imposed upon every foule to bow, & doe reverence at the sight of his triple Crowne, to kisse his sacred feet, & to beleeve nothing more nor longer, than his holinesse shall decree and define. And therefore the most part of the Christian world is plunged into hell, abandoned into utter darknesse, & reserved in chaines unto the judgement

^a In concilio
2. Episcopus
Constantino-
politanus fuit
antepositus A-
lexandrino &
Antiocheno in
Concilio Chal-
cedonensi act.
^b ad istum Ca-
nonem addide-
runt oportere
cum paria ha-
bere privilegia
cum Romano
Pontifice: sed
cum à legatis
reclamatum ef-
set, non ausi
sunt parium
privilegiorum
mentionem fa-
cere, Bellarm. 1.
Tom. contro.
generali de
Pontifice. l. 2.
c. 18.

^a Occam dial.
lib. 3. part. 1.
cap. 2. 3.

^b Occam dial.
l. 4. part. 1. cap.
3. tract. 1. 2.
part. cap. 10.

^c Occam dial.
Tract. 1. 3. part.
cap. 10.

ment of the last day; ^a ever since that schismaticall act of the base, ignoble, and contemptible Councell of 600 Bishops assembled at *Chalcedon*; who, forgetting themselves, presumed to equall an other Bishop to the peerelesse and incomparable Vicar of Christ: his Vicegerent generall on earth; in comparison of whose greatnesse, all other Episcopall and Patriarchicall dignity, Regall or Imperiall majestie, is no more than the light of a candle at midday, when the Sun shineth in strength. But because we have not received the marke of this Antichrist and childe of perdition in our foreheads, nor sworne to take the foame of his impure mouth, and froth of his words of blasphemie, wherein hee extolleth himselfe above all that is named God, for oracles and infallible certaintie and the rule of our faith. Let us therefore see what that heresie and schisme is, that cutteth off from the company of right beleevers, in such sort, that who-soever is convinced of it, is thereby clearly without all hope of eternall life.

C H A P. 3.

Of the nature of Heresie, of the divers kinds of things wherein men erre, and what pertinacie it is that maketh an Heretick.

Heresie is not every errour, but errour in matter of faith; nor every errour in matter of faith; (for neither *Jewes* nor *Pagans* are said to be Hereticks, though they erre most damnably in those things which every one that will be saved must beleve, and with all the malice, fury, and rage that can be imagined, impugne the Christian faith and verity) but it is the errour of such as by some kinde of profession have beene Christians; so that onely such as by profession being Christians, depart from the trueth of Christian Religion are named Hereticks.

^b These are of two sorts: For there are *heretici scientes*, and there are *heretici nescientes*; that is, there are some that are wittingly hereticks, some unwittingly. For though no man doe, or can wittingly erre, or be deceived; yet a man may wittingly be an heretick, and though no man thinke that to be true which he knoweth to be false, or that to be false which he knoweth to be true, which were wittingly to erre; yet a man may forsake that which he knoweth to be the profession of Christians. judge it erroneous, false & impious, and chuse some other kind of religion; which is wittingly to be an heretick, such are Apostates, which depart from that which they know to be the Christian faith.

Hereticks unwittingly are such as thinke, that they doe most firmly cleave to the doctrine of Christ, his blessed Apostles, and holy Church, and will not be induced to thinke the whole profession of Christians to be false and erroneous, as do Apostates, yet doe erre in many particulars that pertaine to the faith, and thinke that to be the onely true Christian profession which indeede is not, as did the *Marcionites*, *Manichees*, and therest of that sort.

^c The things that pertaine to the Christian faith and religion, are of two sorts: for there are some things *explicitè*, some things *implicitè credenda*; that is, there are some things that must be particularly and expressly knowne and beleevd, as that the Father is God, the Sonne is God, and the Holy Ghost God, and that yet they are not three Gods, but one God; And some other, which though all men, at all times bee not bound upon the perill of damnation to know and beleve expressly, yet whosoever will be saved must beleve them at least *implicitè*, and in generality, as that *Ioseph*, *Marie*, and *Iesus* fled into *Egypt*.

Men are bound to know and beleve things particularly, and expressly; either in respect of their office, and standing in the Church of God; in which consideration the Pastours & Guides of the Church (who are to teach others) are bound to know many things, which others of more private condition are not: or else for that they are particularly offered to their consideration; and

and so a Lay man, finding it written in the Scripture, that *Onesimus* was a fugitive servant, and recommended to *Philemon* his Master by *Paul*, is bound particularly to beleve it, which a great Bishop not observing, or not remembering, is not: or lastly, because they doe essentially and directly concerne the matter of our salvation. ^d Hee that erreth in those things which every one is bound particularly to beleve, because they doe essentially and directly concerne the matter of our salvation, is without any farther enquire to be pronounced an Heretick.

Neither neede we to aske, whether hee joyne obstinacie to his error: for the very error it selfe is damnable; as if a man shall deny Christ to be the Son of GOD, coessentiall, coequall, and coeternall with his Father, or that wee have remission of sins by the effusion of his blood. But other things that doe not so neerely and directly touch the substance of Christian faith, and which a man is not bound upon the perill of damnation expressly to know and beleve, but it sufficeth if he beleve them *implicitè*, and *in preparatione animi*, that is, if he carry a minde prepared, and ready to yeeld assent unto them, if once it shall appeare that they are included in, and by necessary consequence to be deduced from those things which expressly he doth and must beleve; as that *Moses* saw the promised Land, but entred not into it: or, that the Queene of the South came from the uttermost ends of the world to heare the wisdom of *Salomon*; a man may bee ignorant of, and be deceived in them, and yet without all touch of heresie, or perill of damnation, unlesse hee adde pertinacie unto error. Neither doth every pertinacie joyned with errors in this kinde, make them heresies: For, all they are in some degree to bee judged pertinacious, that neglect the censure and judgement of them, whom they should reverence and regard; and stand in defence of those errors, which if they had used that carefull diligence which they should in searching out the truth, they had not fallen into; but that only, when men erring in things of this kind, they are so strongly carried with the streames of misperswasion, that rather than they will alter their opinion, or disclaime their error, they will deny some part of that which every one that will be saved, must know and beleve.

^e So in the beginning *Nestorius* did not erre, touching the unitie of Christs person in the diversitie of the natures of God and man: but only disliked, that *Mary* should be called the Mother of God: which forme of speaking, when some demonstrated to bee very fitting and unavoidable, if Christ were God and Man in the unity of the same person, he chose rather to deny the unity of Christs person, than to acknowledge his temeritie and rashnesse, in reproving that forme of speech which the use of the Church had anciently received and allowed.

^d Dubius in fide est Hereticus & infidelis, quod utiq; veritatem habet, cum quis de iis dubitat quæ per eruditionem sacræ Scripturæ certâ tenentur & explicitâ fide tenere: neque enim generalis sufficeret credulitas in multis. Gerl. p. 3 l. 4. de consolat. profa 1. ^e Deut. 34. 4. f 1 Kings 10.

^g Socrat. lib. 7. cap. 32.

C H A P. 4.

Of those things which every one is bound expressly to know and beleve; and wherein no man can erre without note of heresie.

Seeing then the things which Christian men are bound to beleve are of so different sort and kinde, let us see which are those that doe so neerely touch the very life and being of the Christian faith and religion, that every one is bound particularly and expressly to know & beleve them, upon perill of eternall damnation. They may most aptly be reduced to these principall heads.

First, concerning God, whom to know is eternall life, wee must beleve and acknowledge the unity of an infinit, incomprehensible, & eternall essence

full of righteousness, goodnesse, mercie and trueth; The Trinitie of Persons subsisting in the same essence; the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, coessentiall, coeternall, and coequall; the Father not created nor begotten; the Sonne not created, but begotten; the Holy Ghost not created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

Secondly, wee must know and beleieve, that God made all things of nothing, that in them hee might manifest his wisedome, power, and goodnesse; that he made Men and Angels capable of supernaturall blessednesse consisting in the vision and enjoying of himselfe; that he gave them abilities to attaine thereunto, and lawes to guide them in the wayes that leade unto it; that nothing was made evill in the beginning; that all evill entred into the world by the voluntary aversion of Men and Angels from God their Creator; that the sinne of Angels was not generall, but that some fell, and others continued in their first estate; that the sinne of those Angels that fell is irremissible, and their fall irrecoverable; that these are become devils and spirits of error, seeking the destruction of the sonnes of men; that by the misperswasion of these lying spirits, the first man that ever was in the world fell from God by sinfull disobedience and apostasie; that the sinne of the first man is derived to all his posterity, not by imitation only, but by propagation and descent, subjecting all to curse and malediction; yet not without possibilitie, and hope of mercifull deliverance.

Thirdly, wee must beleieve, that for the working of this deliverance, the Sonne of God assumed the nature of man into the unity of his divine Person; so that hee subsisteth in the nature of God and man, without all corruption, confusion, or conversion of one of them into an other: that in the nature of man thus assumed he suffered death, but being God could not be holden of it, but rose againe, and triumphantly ascended into Heaven: that hee satisfied the wrath of his Father, obtained for us remission of sinnes past, the grace of repentant conversion, and a new conversation, joyned with assured hope, desire, and expectation of eternall happinesse.

Fourthly, wee must constantly beleieve, that God doth call, and gather to himselfe out of the manifold confusions of erring, ignorant, and wretched men, whom hee pleaseth, to be partakers of these precious benefits of eternall salvation: the happie number and joyfull society of whom we name the Church of God; whether they were before, or since the manifestation of Christ the Sonne of God in our flesh. For both had the same faith, hope, and spirit of adoption, whereby they were sealed unto eternall life; though there be a great difference in the degree and measure of knowledge, and the excellencie of the meanes which God hath vouchsafed the one more than the other.

Fifthly, wee must know and beleieve, that for the publishing of this joyfull deliverance, and the communicating of the benefits of the same, the Sonne of God committed to those his followers, whom hee chose to be witnesses of all the things hee did and suffered, not onely the word of reconciliation, but also the dispensation of sacred and sacramentall assurances of his love, set meanes of his gracious working: that those first messengers, whom hee sent with immediate commission, were infallibly led into all trueth, and left unto posterities that summe of Christian doctrine that must for ever be the rule of our faith: that these blessed messengers of so good and happy tidings departing hence, left the ministerie of reconciliation to those, whom they appointed to succcede them in the work happily begun by them.

Lastly, wee must know and be assuredly perswaded, that seeing the renovation of our spirits and mindes is not perfect, and the redemption of our bodies still remaining corruptible is not yet; therefore God hath appointed a time when Christ his Sonne shall returne againe, raise up the dead, and give eternall

ternall life to all, that with repentant sorrow, turne from their evill and wicked wayes, while it is yet the accepted time and day of salvation; and contrariwise, cast out into utter darkenesse, and into the fire that never shall bee quenched all those that neglect and despise so great salvation.

That all these things, and these onely doe directly concerne the matter of eternall salvation, is evidently proved by unanswerable demonstration. For how should they attaine everlasting happinesse, that know not God the originall cause and end of all things, the subject, matter, and cause of all happinesse? that know not of whom they were created, of what sort, to what, whereof capable, and how enabled to it, how farre they are fallen from that they originally were, and the hope of that which they were made to bee, whence are those evils that make them miserable, & whence the deliverance from them is to be looked for, by whom it is wrought, what the benefits of it are, the meanes whereby they are communicated, to whom, and what shall bee the end both of them that partake, and partake not in them? Wee see then that all these things, and these onely essentially and directly touch the matter of eternall salvation.

Other things there are that attend on them, as consequents deduced from them, or some way appertaining to them: whereof some are of that sort, that a man cannot rightly be perswaded of these, but hee must needs see the necessary consequence, and deduction of them from these, if they bee propounded unto him: as that there are two wils in Christ; that there is no salvation, remission of sinnes, or hope of eternall life out of the Church; that the matrimoniall societie of man and wife is not impure, as the *Marcionites*, *Tatians*, and other supposed; nor any kinde of meates to be rejected as uncleane by nature, as the *Manichees* and some other Hereticks fondly and impiously dreamed: other things there are that are not so clearly deduced from those indubitate principles of our Christian faith; as namely, concerning the place of the Fathers reit before the comming of our Saviour Christ; concerning the locall descending of Christ into the hell of the damned.

^a Theodoret. in ep. decretorum divino- rum. Aug. de moribus Manicheorum, lib. 2. cap. 15. Tertul contra Marcio, l. 1.

In the first sort of things which are the principles that make the rule of faith, a man cannot bee ignorant and bee saved. In the second, which are so clearly deduced from those principles, that whoso advisedly considereth them, cannot but see their consequence from them, and dependance of them, a man cannot erre and be saved; because if hee beleeeve those things which every one that will be saved must particularly know and beleeeve, he cannot erre in these. The third a man may be ignorant of, and erre in them without danger of damnation, if error bee not joyned with pertinacie.

The principall grounds of Christian doctrine above-mentioned, are the whole platforme of all Christian Religion; The rule of faith so often mentioned by the Ancient, by the measure of which all the holy Fathers, Bishops, and Pastours of the Church made their Sermons, Commentaries, and Interpretations of Scripture. This rule (every part whereof is proved so neerely to concerne all them that looke for salvation) we make the rule to trie all doctrines by; and not such platformes of doctrine, as every Sect-master by himselfe can deduce out of the Scriptures understood according to his owne private fancie, ^b as the *Romanists* falsely charge us. This rule is delivered by ^c *Tertullian*, ^d *Irenaeus*, and other of the Fathers: and with addition of conclusions most easily, clearly and unavoidably deduced hence, by *Theodoret* in his *Epitome Dogmatum*.

^b Annot. in Rom 12. ^c De praescriptionibus adversus haereticos & adversus Praxean. ^d Irenaeus, lib. 1. cap. 3.

C H A P. 5.

Of the nature of Schisme, and the kindes of it, and that it no way appeareth that the Churches of Greece, &c. are hereticall, or in damnable schisme.

OUt of this which hath beene delivered, it is easie to discerne what is Heresie, and what errors they are, that exclude from possibility of salvation. It remaineth to speake of Schisme and the kindes and degrees of it. Schisme is a breach of the unity of the Church. The unity of the Church consisteth in three things: First, the subjection of people to their lawfull Pastours; Secondly, the connexion, and communion which many particular Churches, and the Pastours of them have among themselves: Thirdly, in holding the same rule of faith. The unity of each particular Church depends of the unity of the Pastour, who is one to whom an eminent and peculiar power is given, and whom all must obey: In respect of this first kinde of unity, consisting in the subjection of each people, or portion of the flock of Christ to their lawfull Pastours, if they who should obey this one Pastour, as being in the stead & place of Christ, do either wholly withdraw themselves, refusing to be subject to any Ministry, like *Core* and his complices, pretending that all the people of God are holy, and that the guides of the Church take too much upon them; or when one is elected, doe set up an other against him, and forsaking the right, cleave to him that hath no right: this is the first kinde of Schisme.

a Ecclesie salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesia efficiuntur schismata quot Sacerdotes, Hier. contra Luciferianos.
b Numb. 16. 1, 2, 3.
c Cyprian, de unitate Ecclesie.

Secondly, because there must be an unity, not only among the parts of each particular Church, but also of many particular Churches, and the Pastours and Guides of them among themselves: the Churches which forsake the communion of other Churches without just cause, doe fall into Schisme. And if they not only refuse to communicate with them in the performance of the acts of religion, upon causelesse dislike, but swerve from the rule of faith, the other doe constantly hold; they become not onely schismaticall, but hereticall also.

These are the severall kindes of Schisme, of which one is much more dangerous than an other. The forsaking the rule of faith, or absolute refusall to be subject to the holy Ministry, saying as they did, *Are not all the people holy? you take too much upon you, &c.* is damnable Schisme. In each Church, wherein there must be one Pastour, having eminent and peerelesse power, when one is lawfully called, they who presume to set up an other, if they know the former to be lawfully possessed of the place, or their ignorance thereof be affected, or they be so violently carried with the streames of contention and faction, that they would not yeeld, though the right should appeare unto them, this Schisme is likewise damnable. *d* But if it be doubtfull, & men carry mindes ready to yeeld, when they shall see the right, it is not so.

d In schismate presenti tam dubio, temerarium, injuriosum, & scandalosum est, afferre omnes tenentes istam partem vel alteram, vel omnes neutrales esse universaliter extra statum salutis, vel excommunicatos, vel rationabiliter de schismate suspectos, &c. Ger. de modo se habendi tempore schismatis.

When whole Churches with their Pastours and Guides divide themselves from other, refusing to communicate with them, if this separation grow out of the pride and pharisaicall conceit of fancied perfection, and absolute holinesse, as did the Schisme of *Novatus*, *Donatus*, *Lucifer*, and others of that sort, it is damnable Schisme; but if out of ignorance or error, not overthrowing the rule of faith; or over earnest urging of ceremonies, rites, and observati-
e Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 5. c. 3.

This being the nature of Schisme and Heresie, and these the kindes and degrees

grees of them more or lesse dangerous, let us in the next place see, what is to be thought of all those Churches of *Gracia, Armenia, Ethiopia, Russia* before-mentioned; Every of which is in some sort rent, and divided from other. Wee dare not with the proud *Romanists*, condemne so famous Churches as culpable of damnable Heresie and Schisme, and cast so many millions of foules into hell for every difference in matter of opinion, or rent from the other parts of the body of the Church.

All these therefore holding the rule of faith and beleeving all those things that are on the perill of eternall damnation to bee particularly and expressly knowne and beleevd, and their separation not growing (for ought we know) out of pharisaicall and damnable pride, as did that of *Novatus, Donatus*, and the like, but out of error, not directly contrary to the rule of faith, or some other humane infirmitie and defect; and it no way appearing that their obstinacie is such, that though they knew they did amisse, they would still continue so to doe; wee account them in the number of the Churches of God, and doubt not but that innumerable living and dying in them, notwithstanding their sundry defects, imperfections, and wants, are, and have beene saved. Wee conclude therefore, that their Schismes and separations are sinfull, wicked, and dangerous, and their errors inexcusable, insnaring the consciences of many to endlesse perdition, and greatly endangering all that are, or have beene misse-led with them; but not damnable, excluding from all possibility of salvation. Wee make a great difference betweene them that were the first Authors and beginners of these divisions, and such as walke in the wayes, and insilt in the steps of their misse-led and seduced Fathers: betweene such as are more, and such as are lesse deeply plunged into error.

f Diligenter considerandum esset, quid dicerent; vel inveniendum esset medium expediens, ut omnia ponerentur ad concordiam, non persistendo in omnimoda probatione huius articuli contra eos; vix enim convincerentur homines qui velint repugnare. Nota hic, quomodo aliqua determinationes Parisiis factæ duntaxat li-

gant Diocesanos, & si sic dici posset de Latinorum Ecclesiâ, Notate si de uno articulo fieri posset non articulus, ponendo res in talem statum in quali erant ante determinationem, exemplum; determinatio Bonifacii annihilata fuit per quendam successorem ejus, si Græci habeant consuetudinem conferendi beneficia, &c. & ad hoc facit, quod dicunt aliqui, eos aliâs scripsisse Papæ: potentiam tuam recognoscimus, avaritiam tuam implere non possumus, vivite per vos. Gerf. part. 4. serm. de pace & unitate Græcorum. g Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nullâ pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim quam non audacia suæ præsumptionis pepererunt, sed à seductis & in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærent autem cautâ sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi. Aug. epist. 162. Glorio Eusebio, &c.

CHAP. 6.

Of the Latine Church, that it continued the true Church of God even till our time, and that the errors wee condemne, were not the Doctrines of that Church.

Touching the *Latine* Church likewise wee are of the same opinion, that it continued still a part of the Catholick Church, notwithstanding the manifold abuses and superstitions that in time crept into it, and the dangerous and damnable false doctrine that some taught, and defended in the midst of it. It is therefore most fond and frivolous, that some demand of us where our Church was before *Luther* began? For wee say it was where now it is: If they aske us, which? wee answer, it was the knowne and apparant Church in the world, wherein all our Fathers lived and died, wherein *Luther* and the rest were baptized, received their Christianity, ordination, and power of ministry. If they reply, that that Church was theirs and not ours, for that the doctrines they now teach and we impugne, the ceremonies, customes, and observations which they retaine and defend, and wee have abolished as fond, vaine, and superstitious were taught, used, and practised in that Church wherein our Fathers lived and died; wee answer, that none of those points of false doctrine and error which they now maintaine and wee condemne, where the doctrines of that Church constantly delivered,

or

or generally received by all them that were of it, but doubtfully broached, and devised without all certaine resolution, or factiously defended by some certaine onely, who as a dangerous faction adulterated the sincerity of the Christian verity, and brought the Church into miserable bondage.

^a Epist. ad Corinth. 1. Epist. ad Galat. Rev. 2 12. 18.

Touching the abuses and manifold superstitions which wee have removed; it is true they were in that Church wherein our Fathers lived, but not without signification of their dislike of them, and earnest desire of reformation, as shall appeare by that which followeth. As therefore the Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Pergamus*, and *Thyatira* had in them emulations, division, neglect of discipline, contempt of the Apostles of Christ, some that denied the resurrection of the dead, that joyned circumcision and the workes of the Law with Christ in the worke of salvation, them that maintained the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans*, and suffered the woman *Jesabel*, which called herselfe a Prophetesse, to deceive the people of God, and make them commit fornication, and eate things sacrificed unto Idols, &c. yet it is not to bee thought, that all that were of these Churches with one consent denied the resurrection, and fell into all the errors and evils above-mentioned: For then doubtlesse these societies had ceased to bee the true and Catholick Church of God: so though sundry dangerous and damnable errors were broached in the midst of the Church and house of God, in the dayes of our Fathers, which did fret as a canker, as *Gerson* confesseth, yet were they not with full approbation generally received, but doubted of, contradicted, refuted, and rejected, as uncertaine, dangerous, damnable, and hereticall. And as in the reformation of those Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, *Pergamus*, and *Thyatira*, if some had still persisted in the maintenance of those errors and abuses approved by the Spirit of God, and the blessed Apostles of our Saviour Christ, whiles other, moved by the admonition of the Spirit of God, and the wordes of the holy Apostles, reformed themselves; and so a division or separation had growne, it had beene a vaine challenge for the stiffe maintainers of errors and abuses, to challenge the reformed part for novelty, to aske of them where their Church was before this reformation began, seeing it was even the same, wherein in one communion they formerly lived together, with toleration of all those evils which the one part still retained, and the other justly rejected: So when many Princes, Prelates, and great States of the Christian world, have in our dayes shaken off the yoke of miserable bondage, whereof our Fathers complained, removed those superstitious abuses they disliked, condemned those errors in matters of doctrine, which they acknowledged to be dangerous and damnable, fretting as a canker, and insnaring the consciences of many: It is no lesse vaine and frivolous for the Patrons of error to aske us which, and where our Church was before the reformation began; for it was that wherein all our Fathers lived, longing to see things brought back to their first beginnings againe, in which their predecessours as a dangerous and wicked faction tyrannized over mens consciences, and perverted all things, to the endlesse destruction of themselves and many others with whom they prevayled.

^b Gers. part. 1. de potestate Eccles. confid. 12.

If they shall further reply, that that Church wherein our Fathers lived, was not ours, because there were many things found in it, which wee have not: who seeth not, that this reason stands as strong against them as against us? For there are many errors and superstitions, which they have rejected, and doe not retaine at this day, which were in being in the dayes of our Fathers. And besides, this objection would have served the Patrons of error in the Church of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, and the rest: For they might have said, after those Churches were reformed, that they were new, and not the same that were before; For that in the former, the resurrection of the dead was denied, circumcision urged and practised, discipline neglected, and the Apostles of Christ,

Christ contemned, which things afterwards were not found in them. As therefore this had beene a shamelesse objection of those erring miscreants against the godly and well-affected in those times, so it is in ours. And as those errors were not generall in those Churches, so were not they which wee have condemned in the Churches wherein our Fathers lived. As those errors and heresies were not the doctrines of the Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, and the rest; but the lewde assertion of some, perverting, and adulterating the doctrine of the Churches: so likewise the errors which wee condemne at this day, whereupon the difference groweth betweene the *Romish* faction and us, were never generally received, nor constantly delivered, as the doctrines of the Church: but uncertainly and doubtfully disputed and proposed as the opinions of some men in the Church, not as the resolved determinations of the whole Church.

C H A P. 7.

Of the severall points of difference betweene us and our Adversaries, wherein some in the Church erred, but not the whole Church.

FOr neither did that Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, hold that Canon of Scripture which the *Romanists* now urge, nor that insufficiencie they now charge it with, nor corruption of the originals, nor necessitie of following the vulgar translation, nor the heresies touching mans creation, brought into the Church by certaine barbarous Schoolemen, as that there are three different estates of men; the first of pure nature, without addition of grace or sinne; and two other, the one of grace, the other of sinne: That all those evils that are found in the nature of man since his fall, as ignorance, concupiscence, contrariety betweene the better and meaner faculties of the soule, difficultie to doe well, and pronenesse to doe evill, were all naturall, the conditions of pure nature, that is, of nature as considered in it selfe, it would come forth from God: That these evils are not sinfull, nor had their beginnings from sinne, that they were the consequents of Nature in the state of creation, but restrained by addition of supernaturall grace, without which the integrity of nature was full and perfect: That men in the state of pure nature, that is, as they might have beene created of GOD in the integrity of Nature, without addition of grace, and in the state of originall sinne, differ no otherwise, but as they that never had, and they that have lost rich and precious cloathing; so that originall sinne is but the losse of that, without which Natures integrity may stand: that no evils are brought in by the fall, but Nature left to her selfe to feele that which was before, but not felt nor discerned while the addition of grace bettered Nature. None of these errors touching the state of mans creation were the doctrines of the Church, but the private fancies and conceits of men.

So likewise touching originall sinne, there were that taught, that it is not inherent in each particular man borne of *Adam*, but that *Adams* personall sinne is imputed onely: that the propagation of sinne is not generall, *Mary* being conceived without originall sinne: That the punishment of it is not any sensible smart, or positive evill, but privative only; and that therefore there is a third place, neither hell nor heaven, named *Limbus puerorum*; which is a place, where as some thinke, they who are condemned thither, though they be excluded from the kingdome of Heaven, and all possibility of ever comming thither, yet are in a state of naturall happinesse, and doe enjoy the sweet content of eternal life. These *Pelagian* heresies were taught in the Church of God, but they were not the doctrines of the Church; being condemned, rejected, and

and refuted as contrary to the Christian verity, by many worthy members and Guides of the Church: who as they never received these parts of false doctrine, so likewise the Church wherein they lived neither knew, nor approved that distinction and difference of veniall and mortall finnes, which the *Romanists* now teach, nor power of nature to doe the workes of the Law, according to the substance of the things commanded, though not according to the intention of the Law-giver, to love God above all, and to doe actions morally good, or not sinfull, without concurrence of speciall grace, nor election and reprobation depending on the foresight of some thing in us positive or privative, nor merit of congruence and condignity, nor workes of supererogation, nor counsels of perfection, as they now teach, nor justification by perfection of inherent qualities, nor uncertainty of grace, nor seven Sacraments properly so named, nor locall presence, nor Transubstantiation, nor orall manducation of the body of Christ, nor reall sacrificing of it for the quick & the dead, nor remission of finnes after this life, nor tormenting of the soules of men dying in the state of salvation in a part of hell hundred of yeares, by Devils in corporall fire (out of which, prayer should deliver them) nor that the Saints heare our prayers, know or are acquainted with our particular wants, nor the grosse Idolatry in those times committed, and intollerable abuses found in the number, fashion, and worship of their Images, nor their absolution, as now they define it, nor treasure of the Church growing out of the superfluity of Saints merits not rewardable in themselves, to bee disposed by the Pope for supply of other mens wants to release them out of Purgatorie by way of indulgence, nor the infallibility of the Popes judgement, and plenitude of his power such and so great, that hee may depose Princes, and dispose of their Crownes and dignities, and that whatsoever he doth he may not be brought into order, or deposed by authority of the whole Christian world in a generall Councell. These are the errors which wee condemne and our Adversaries maintaine and defend: these, wee are well assured, were not the doctrines of that Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, though, we doe not deny, but they were taught by some in that Church. All these wee offer to prove to be error in matter of our Christian faith, and that seeing wee could no longer have peace with our Adversaries, but by approving these impieties, wee had just cause to divide our selves from them, or (to speake more properly) to suffer our selves to be accursed, anathematized, and rejected by them, rather than to subscribe to so many errors and heresies, contrary to the Christian, and Catholick verity.

C H A P. 8.

Of the true Church, which, and where it was before Luthers time.

THUS then it appeareth, which wee thinke to have beene the true Church of God before *Luther* or others of that sort were heard of in the world: namely that wherein all our Eathers lived and died, wherein none of the errors, reproved by *Luther* ever found general, uniforme, and full approbation, in which all the abuses removed by him were long before by all good men complained of, and a reformation desired. And therefore though we acknowledge *Wickliffe*, *Husse*, *Hierome* of *Prague*, and the like; who with great magnanimity opposed themselves against the Tyranny of the See of *Rome*, and the impiety of those who withheld the truth of God in unrighteousnesse, who being named Christians served Antichrist (as *Bernard* complained of some in his time) to have beene the worthy servants of God, and holy Martyrs and Confessours, suffering in the cause of Christ against Antichrist: yet doe wee not thinke that the Church of God

Serm. 33. omnes amici & omnes inimici, omnes necessarii & omnes adversarii omnes domestici & nulli pacifici, servi Christi serviant Antichristo.

God was found onely in them, or that there was no other appearance of succession of Church and Ministerie, as *Stapleton* and other of that faction falsely impute unto us. For we most firmly beleewe, all the Churches in the world, wherein our Fathers lived and died, to have beene the true Church of God, in which undoubtedly salvation was to be found: and that they which taught, embraced, and beleevved those damnable errors which the *Romanists* now defend against us, were a faction onely in the Churches, as were they that denied the resurrection, urged circumcision, and despised the Apostles of Christ in the Churches of *Corinth* and *Galatia*.

If any of our men deny these Churches to have beene the true Churches of God, their meaning is limited in respect of the prevailing faction that was in the Church, and including them and all the wicked impieties by any of them defended, in which sense their negative is to be understood. For howsoever the Church (which is not to be charged with the errors and faults of all, that in the middelt of her did amisse) held a saving profession of the truth of God: yet there were many, and they carrying the greatest shew of the Church, that erred damnably, and held not a saving profession of divine trueth: whereupon *Gerson* saith, that before the Councell of *Constance*, the false opinions touching the power of the Pope did fret like a canker, and prevailed so farre, that hee would hardly have escaped the note of heresie, that had said but halfe so much as was defined in the Councell of *Constance*, by the universall consent of the whole Christian world.

Gregorius Ariminensis sheweth, that touching the power of nature to doe things morally good, and to fulfill the Law without concurrence of speciall grace, touching the workes of Infidels, predestination, reprobation, and punishments of originall sinne, the heresies of *Pelagius* were taught in the Church, and that not by a few, or contemptible men, but so many and of so great place, that hee almost feared to follow the doctrine of the Fathers, and oppose himselfe against them therein. The same doth *Gerson* report concerning sundry lewd assertions prejudiciall to the states of Kings and Princes, which the Councell of *Constance* could not be induced to condemne, by reason of a mighty faction that prevailed in it, though many great ones much urged it. & though they made no stay to condemne the positions of *Wickliffe* and *Husse*, seeming to derogate from the state of the Clergie, though many of them might carrie a good and Catholick sense, if they might have found a favourable construction. Whereupon he breaketh into a bitter complaint of the partialities and un-equall courses holden in the Church, and protesteth, that he hath no hope of a reformation by a Councell, things standing as they then did.

The like complaint did *Contarenus* make in our time, that if any man did debase the nature of man, deject the pride of sinfull flesh, magnifie the riches of the grace of God, and urge the necessity of it, hee was judged a *Lutheran*, and pronounced an Heretick; though they that gloried in the name of Catholicks, were themselves *Pelagian* Hereticks, if not worse than *Pelagians*. Alas, saith *Occam*, the time is come the blessed Apostle Saint *Paule*, *2 Timoth. 4.* prophesied of, *When men will not suffer wholesome doctrine, but having their eares itching after their owne lusts, get them a heape of Teachers, turning their eares from the trueth, and being given unto fables.* This prophetic is altogether fulfilled in our dayes. For behold, there are many that pervert the holy Scriptures, and deny the sayings of the holy Fathers, reject the Canons of the Church and civill constitutions of the Emperours, which molest, persecute, bring into bondage, and without mercie torment and afflict even unto death, them that defend the trueth: and (that I may conclude many things in few words) with harlots foreheads, and execrable boldnesse, doe endeavour to subvert imperiall and regall power, and to overthrow all Lawes both of GOD and Man. Neither are these young men,

De potestate
Ecclesiastica
confid. 12.

Lib. 2. dist. 26.

q. 1. art. 1. dist.

30. q. 3.

Dial. Apolog.

judicium de

Concilio Con-

stantiens.

In libro de

predestinati-

one.

f Occam prob.

comp. err. Jo-

hannis 22.

men, or unlearned, but they are the Elders of the people, High Priests, Scribes, Pharisees, and Doctors of the Law, as they were that crucified Christ: so that we may rightly say of our times, that which *Daniel* long since pronounced in his 13 Chapter, *Iniquity is gone out from Babylon, from the Elders and Judges, which seemed to governe and rule the people*: For many that should be pillars in the Church of God, and defend the truth even unto blood, doe cast themselves headlong into the pit of heresies. Thus spake he in his time of the corrupt state of the Church, wherein so damnable a faction prevailed, dangerously perverting all things, that in the end he submitteth all his writings to the judgement and correction of the true and Catholick Church; but not of the Church of malignant miscreants, hereticks, schismaticks, and their favourers.

C H A P. 9.

Of an Apostasie of some in the Church.

^a In 2. Thes. 2. nisi venerit discessio primum, exponunt aliqui de discessione à Romano imperio: alii de recessu à Rom. Ecclesia, à qua jamdiu est quod recessit Græcia: sed salvo meliori judicio, mihi videtur melius intelligendum de recessu à fide Catholicâ: non tamen intelligendo, quod omnes sint à fide catholicâ (sicut exponunt aliqui) recessuri, quia durabit in aliquibus usque ad finem mundi, sed quia major pars credentium discedet ab ea.

^b Orat. in laudē Athanasii.

^c No mention of Indulgences in Peter. Lombard, nor others of that time, & the Schoolemen speake very doubtfully of them.

Thus then we thinke with ^a *Lira*, that as there was an Apostasie or revolt of many kingdomes from the Roman Empire, and of many Churches from the communion of the Roman Church; so there hath beene an Apostasie from the Catholick Faith in the midst of the Church: not for that all at any time did forsake the true faith, but for that many fell from the sincerity of the faith, according to the saying of our Saviour, when the time of Antichrist draweth on, *Iniquitie shall abound, and the charitie of many shall wax cold*: and that 1 Tim. 4. *In the last times some shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error*: and 2 Tim. 3. *In the last dayes there shall be perillous times, men shall be lovers of themselves, men of corrupt mindes, reprobate concerning the faith*. This hee speaketh of an Apostasie in the midst of the Church it selfe, answerably to that of ^b *Nazianzen*, who saith, that as when one taketh water into his hand, not onely that which he taketh not up, but that also which runneth forth and findeth passage betweene his fingers, is divided and separated from that which hee holdeth inclosed in his hand: so not onely the open and professed enemies of the Catholick verity, but they also that seeme to be her best and greatest friends, are sometimes divided one from another.

There is no cause then, why it should seeme so strange to our Adversaries, that our Divines affirme, there hath beene an Apostasie from the Faith, not of the whole Church, but of many in the Church, dangerously erring and adulterating the Doctrine of Faith, delivered by Christ and his blessed Apostles. And that some say, this Apostasie began sooner, some later: For if wee speake of those grossest illusions, wherewith men were abused in these later ages, surely that degree of Apostasie did not enter into the Church in former times. For there was no thought in any Christian man living six hundred yeares agoe, that the Pope could dispence the merits of the Saints, and give pardons; that hee might depose Princes for supposed heresie: that the Sacrament not received but elevated, gazed on, and adored, is a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quick and the dead; that *Mary* was conceived without originall sinne; that the people are to be partakers of the Sacrament but onely in one kinde: and sundry other things of like nature. But if we speake of a declination from the sincerity of the Christian Faith, it is certaine it began long agoe, even in the first ages of the Church.

^d Nimirum, ut pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hæc novitas non diem hæresis, necdum in mundo emergerat, ut Sacerdotes illius qui regnare facit hypocritam propter peccata populi, docerent populum: quod malis regibus nullam debeat subjectionem, & licet iis Sacramentum fidelitatis fecerit, nullam tamen debeat fidelitatem, Sigbertus in Chron. an. 1088. • Diu hæc consuetudo obtinuit, ut præsentibus omnibus Eucharistia distribueretur. Et certe tota sacræ precis quam Canonem vocant compesitio, publicæ tantum missæ accommodata videtur: quo fit, ut nonnulli veteris Rom. ordinis expositores, qui apud nos sunt, Canonem in publicâ tantum, non autem quotidianâ & privatâ actione legendum contendunt. Cassander Præf. in lib. ord. Rom. à se editi. f Bonavent. l. 3. d. 3. q. 2.

of this sort was the error, that the soules of the just are in some part of hell till the last day, as ^a *Tertullian*, ^b *Irenaeus*, and sundry other of the ancient did imagine: and that they see not God, nor enjoy not heavens happinesse till the generall resurrection, which was the opinion of many of the Fathers.

That all Catholick Christians, how wickedly soever they live, yet holding the foundation of true Christian profession, shall in the end, after great torments endured in the world to come, be saved as it were by fire. This was the error of sundry of the ancient, who durst not say as *Origen*, that the Angels that fell shall in the end bee restored; nor as some other, mollifying the hardnesse of *Origens* opinion, that all men whether Christians or Infidels; nor as a third sort, that all Christians, how damnably soever erring in matter of faith, shall in the end be saved; but thought it most reasonable, that all right believing Christians should finde mercie, whatsoever their wickednesse were. This opinion was so generall in ¹ *Augustines* time, that very fearefully he opposed himselfe against it, and not daring wholly to impugne that which hee found to have so great and reverend authors, hee qualified it what hee could, and so doubtingly broached that opinion, which gave occasion to the Papiſts of their heresie touching Purgatory. For, faith hee, if they would onely have us thinke, that the soules of men living wickedly heere in this world, may through the goodnesse of God, and the prayers of the living, finde some mitigation of their paines in hell, or have their punishments suspended and deferred for a time, yet so, that they be confessed to be eternall; I would not strive with them: yea, faith he, it may be, that men for some lighter sinnes and imperfections cleaving to them while they are here, may finde pardon and remission in the world to come, and be saved as by fire: which whether it be so, or whether there be no other purging but in this life by the fire of tribulation, he professeth he knoweth not, nor dareth not pronounce.

^m Of this sort was the opinion of a double resurrection; the first of the good, who should live in all happinesse on the earth a thousand yeares before the wicked should be awaked out of the sleepe of death; and an other after the thousand yeares expired, when the wicked also should rise and goe into everlasting fire, and the good into everlasting life, which they supposed to bee the second resurrection. How generally this error spread it selfe in the true Church, they that have but looked into the writings of the Fathers, and monuments of antiquity, cannot be ignorant.

ⁿ The opinion of the necessity of Infants receiving the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood as well as Baptisme, did possesse the mindes of many in the Church, for certaine hundreds of yeares, as appeareth by that *Augustine* writeth of it in his time; and ^o *Hugo de sancto victore*, so many hundred of yeares after him; ^p yea the *Greeke* and ^q *Aethiopian* Churches continue that error and the practice of communicating Infants as soone as they are baptized even unto this day.

Touching Predestination, how many obscurities, uncertainties, and contrarieties shall wee finde? Surely before *Augustines* time, many great and worthy Prelates, and Doctors of the Church, not having occasion to enter into the exact handling of that part of Christian doctrine, did teach, that men are predestinated for the foresight of some thing in themselves. And *Aug.* himself,

salvandos, & tamen Catholici sunt, humanâ quadam benevolentia sibi falli videri. ^m *Sixtus Senensis Bibliothecae sanctae* l. annotatione, 233 ubi ostendit Hiero. & August. summi cum reverentia dissentire, quia multi Ecclesiarum vitorum & multi martyres Chiliastrum opinionem amplectebantur. ⁿ *Cyprianus de lapsis* Aug. contra 2 Epistolas Pelag. and Bonifacium l. 1. c. 22. *Hipogno.* l. 5. epist. 107. *Vitali. Rhenanus in lib. Terrull. de corona militis* ostendit baptizatos statim sanctae communionis participes effectos. *Maldonatus in 6. Joh. Missam* inquit facio Aug. & Innocentii 1. sententiam, quae sexcentos circiter annos viguit in Ecclesia, Eucharistiam etiam infantibus necessariam. ^o *Hugo de S. Victor. eruditionis theologi. de Sacramentis*, l. 1. c. 20. Pueris recens natis idem Sacramentum in specie sanguinis est ministrandum digito Sacerdotis, &c. ^p *Censura orientalis Ecclesiae* c. 9. ^q *Damianus à Goc.* ^r *Sixtus Senensis Bibliothecae sanctae*, l. 6, annotatione, 251.

^g De anima, c. 2. habes etiam de paradiso à nobis libellum quo constitui-mus omnem animam apud inferos sequestrari in diem Domini. ^h *Irenaeus contra haereses* prope finem. ⁱ *Sixtus Senensis. Biblioth.* l. 6. annot. 345. ^k *Sicut Diaboli & omnium negatorum & impiorum qui dixerunt in corde suo non est Deus, credimus aeterna tormentis, sic peccatorum atque impiorum, quorum opera in igne probanda sunt, moderatam arbitramur & mixtam clementiae sententiam Judicis.* ^l *Hiero. in commentis, in Esaiæ* 66. prope finem. ^m *Et contra Pelagianos*, l. 1. ⁿ *Christianos in peccato praeventos salvandos post penas* scribit, *Aug. de civitate Dei* li. 21. cap. 24, 25, 26, 27. proponit opinionem *O. igenis & aliorum*, & *enchiridio ad Laurentium*, c. 67. ait eos, qui credunt Christianos impios & peccatores post penas

f 1 Retracta-
tio. c. 33. & de
prædest. San-
ctorum cap. 3.
r Bellar. li. 2. c.
11. de gratia &
libero arbitrio
u Refutat Gre-
gor. Arim. l. 1.
dist. 40. q. 1.
art. 2.
x Presbyter in
convivio secun-
darum nuptia-
rum interesse
non debet, ma-
ximè cum præ-
cipiatur secun-
dis nuptiis pœ-
nitentiam tri-
buere: quise-
rit Presbyter,
qui propter
convivium illis
consentiat
nuptiis? concilium Neocesa-
riense can. 7.

Amb. in cap. 7.
1 Cor. Primæ,
inquit, nuptiæ
sub benedictio-
ne Dei cele-
brantur solen-
niter: secundæ
etiam in præ-
senti carent
gloriâ, id est,
benedictione.
Rhenanus in
arg. in exhort.
Tertul. ad ca-
stitatem: om-
nes (inquit) ve-
teres, atque a-
deo Hiero. ipse
matrimonio
parum æqui
fuerunt: certè
constat Hiero.
hâc de causâ
Romæ malè
audisse.

2 Hier. contra
Vigilantium.
a Greg. dial. 4.

cap. 33. b Aug. de cura pro mortuis. Si tanti Patriarchæ, quid ergo populum ab iis pro-rearum ignoraverunt,
&c. c Hugo eruditionis theologicæ de Sacramentis fidei. l. 2. part. 16 cap. 11. d Glossa in Esaiæ 63. e Hier.
Contra Vigilantium. f Concilium Elibertinum can. 34, 35. g Hier. contra Vigilantium. h Bellar. l. 3. c. c. 17.
Sanctorum, cap. 17. quoniam paulatim occasione nocturnarum vigiliarum abusus quidam irrepere cœperant,
vel potius flagitia committi, placuit Ecclesiæ nocturnos conventus, & vigiliis propriè dictas intermittere, ac
solum in iisdem diebus jejunia celebrare. i Aug. de moribus Ecclesiæ cath. l. 1. c. 34. in ipsa vera religione
quidam superstitioni sunt, &c. k Greg. ita vixit ut usque ad nostra tempora neminem ex successoribus parem
habuerit. Platina in vita Greg. idem in vita Stephani 3. severos & graves viros reformidat hic noster clerus: quid
ita? quia in tanta licentiâ malunt vivere, quàm benè monenti aut cogenti obtemperare: ob eam rem Christi-
ana religio quotidie in pejus labitur.

in the beginning of his conflicts with the *Pelagians*, was of opinion, that at the least, for the foresight of faith, men are elected to eternall life: which afterwards hee disclaimed as false and erroneous, and taught that mans salvation dependeth on the efficacie of that grace which God giveth: and not his purpose of saving, upon the uncertainty of mans will. This doctrine of *Augustine* was received and confirmed in the Church against the *Pelagians* and *Semi-Pelagians*. And *Bellarmino* professeth, that *Augustines* doctrine in this case, is the doctrine of the Church; yet so, that many followed the former conceit, as we may easily see by the writings of the Schoole-men, many of which doe teach, that men are elected for the foresight of some thing positive or privative in themselves.

How farre some did *Montanise* in the matter of second marriage, so farre disliking it: that they would not have it blessed in the Church, but imposed penance on them that married a second wife after the death of the first; *Hierome* against *Iovinian*, and certaine ancient provinciall Councils are proofes more than sufficient.

Touching the state of Saints departed, their generality of presence in all places, their universall knowledge of all things, and admirable working every where, where their memories are solemnized: are not more confidently affirmed by *Hierome* and *Gregorie*, than they are modestly denied and doubted of by *Augustine*, *Hugo de sancto Victore*, the Authour of the *Glosse* and others.

That there were superstitions and abuses in the primitive Churches, wee have such witnesses, as the *Romanists* dare not except against. Doth not *Hierome* confesse, that the burning of lights at noone day, used in some Churches, was an act of zeale, but not according to knowledge? Did not a Councell forbid those pernoctations in the cemeteries and places of the Martyrs buriall: which when *Vigilantius* reprov'd, *Hierome* with such fiercenesse and rage as cannot well bee excused, traduced him as the vilest monster the earth did beare. Are not these vigils long since abolished?

Doth not *Augustine* confesse, there were certaine *adoratores sepulchrorum & picturarum*, worshippers of tumbes and pictures in the Church in his times. It is therefore much to be marvelled at, that our Adversaries charge us with I know not what impiety. for that we say, there hath beene a defection not onely of Hereticks from the Church and Faith, but also in the Church of her owne children, from the sincerity of the heavenly truth, sometimes more and sometimes lesse; in some things by some, and in some other by others: That this defection began long agoe, but found greater and stronger opposition in the first six hundred yeares than after; there being in later times a great decay of the ancient piety: whence it came, that many moe and worse errors than ever before were broached: and they which were in some beginnings before, were augmented, and more dangerously defended. In which sence some of our men have said, that *Gregory* was the last of the good Bishops, and the first of the bad. For that all things since his time have greatly decayed: and the state of the Church beene much corrupted.

C H A P. 10.

*Of their error who say, nothing can be amisse in the Church,
either in respect of doctrine or discipline.*

IT is vaine, saith * *Gerson*, that some object, the Church is founded on a Rock, and therefore nothing can be amisse either in the doctrine or discipline of it, nothing that should neede any reformation. If it be so, saith he, then where is the observation of the Canon, that Clerks goe not into Innes or Tavernes? that Monkes in their owne places attend onely prayer and fasting, without intermedling with Ecclesiasticall or secular busines? whence is the superfluous pompe and Princely state of Cardinals and Bishops, making them forget that they are men? what say they to that abomination, that one man holdeth two hundred or three hundred Ecclesiasticall Benefices? that the sword of excommunication is so easily drawne out against the poore for every trifle, as for debts? and that the Lords of the Clergie use it for the maintenance of their owne temporall states? that strangers are appointed by the Pope to have cure of soules, not understanding the language of them, over whom they are set, nor living amongst them?

Open your eyes, saith he, and see if the houses of Nuns be not stewes of filthy harlots: if the consecrated Monasteries be not Faires, Markets, and Innes; Cathedrall Churches, dennes of theeves and robbers; Priests, under pretence of maides, keepe harlots: consider, whether so great variety of pictures and images be fit, and whether it occasion not Idolatrie in the simple. Looke upon the number and variety of religious Orders, the canonising of new Saints, though there be too many already, as *Briget of Suetia*, *Charles of Britaine*, the Feasts of new Saints being more religiously kept than of the blessed Apostles. Enquire, if there be not Apocriphall Scriptures, hymnes, and prayers in proceffe of time, either of purpose, or of ignorance brought into the Church, to the great hurt of the Christian faith. Consider the diversities of opinions, as of the conception of *Mary*, and sundry other things. See, if there be not intolerable superstition in the worshipping of Saints, innumerable observations without all ground of reason; vaine credulity in beleeving things concerning the Saints, reported in the uncertaine Legends of their lives: superstitious opinions of obtaining pardon and remission of sins by saying so many *Pater nosters* in such a Church before such an Image: as if in the Scriptures and authentick writings of holy men, there were not sufficient direction for all acts of piety & devotion without these fabulous and frivolous additaments: nay (which is yet worse) see if these observations in many Countries and Kingdomes of the world, be not more urged than the Lawes of God; even as wee shall finde in the decrees and decretals, a Monke more severely punished for going without his coule, than for committing adulterie or sacrilege.

*Gers. declarat.
defectum viro-
rum Ecclesia-
sticorum.*

*Gers. de direc-
tione cordis.
consideratione
16. & sequen-
tibus.*

C H A P. 11.

Of the causes of the manifold confusions and evils, formerly found in the Church.

THese are the evils, deformities, and sores of the Church, which this worthy man in his time complained of: The causes whereof he thought to be principally two. First, the neglecting of the Lawes of GOD, and direction of the Scriptures, and following humane inventions: Secondly, the ambition, pride, & covetousnesse of the Bishop of Rome. Touching the first, which is the neglect of divine lawes, & infinite multiplying of humane

^a Gers. part. 1.
sermo. in die
circumcisi. con-
sid. 1.

inventions, hee pronounceth confidently, there can be no generall reformati-
on of the Church, without the abolishing of sundry Canons & Statutes, which
neither are, nor reasonably can be observed in these times, which doe nothing
else but insnare the consciences of men to their endlesse perdition. That no
tongue is able sufficiently to expresse what evill, what danger, what confusi-
on the contempt of holy Scripture (which doubtlesse is sufficient for the go-
vernment of the Church, for otherwise Christ had beene an unperfect Law-
giver) and the following of humane inventions hath brought into the
Church. For prooffe hereof, saith hee, let us consider the state of the Clergie,
to which heavenly wisdom should have beene espoused: but they have
committed whoredome with that filthy harlot, earthly, carnall, and divelish
wisdom: so that the state of the Church is become meere brutish & mon-
strous; heaven is below, and the earth above: the spirit obeyeth, and the flesh
commandeth; the principall is esteemed but as accessary, and the accessary
as principall: yet some shame not to say, that the Church is better governed
by humane inventions, than by the divine Law, and the Law of the Gospel of
Christ; which assertion is most blasphemous. For the Evangelicall doctrine,
by the professors of it, did enlarge the bound of the Church, and lifted her
up to heaven; which these sonnes of *Hagar*, seeking out that wisdom which
is from the earth, have cast downe to the dunghill. And that it is not wholly
fallen, and utterly overthrowne, and extinct, it is the great mercy of our God
and Saviour.

^b Gers. post
tractatum de
unitate Eccle-
siae addit. 4.
considerationes
ad fulcimen-
tum praemisso-
rum in 4. ha-
bentur haec
verba.
^c Gers. de con-
cilio generali
unius obedi-
entiae.

Touching the second cause of the Churches ruine, which is the ambition,
pride, and covetousnesse of the Bishop and Court of *Rome*, he boldly affirmeth,
that whereas the Bishops of *Rome* (challenging the greatest place in the
Church) should have sought the good of Gods people, they contrarily sought
onely to advance themselves: *Ad imitationem Luciferi adorari volunt ut
Dii, neque reputant se subditos esse cuicumque, sicut filii Belial sine iugo; nec sibi
posse dici, cur ita facis, nec Deum timent, nec homines reverentur. In imitation
of Lucifer, they will be adored and worshipped as Gods. Neither doe they thinke
themselves subject to any, but are as the sonnes of Belial, that have cast off the
yoke, not enduring whatsoever they doe, that any one should aske them why they
doe so. They neither feare God, nor reverence men.* Whereupon he feareth not
to deliver the opinion of many good and worthy men in his time: that there
being a Schisme in the Church, by reason of the contention of the three Popes,
which continued for a long time in that age wherein he lived, it were good to
take the advantage of the time, and never to restore to any Pope againe that
universall administration of the temporalities of the Church, and swaying the
jurisdiction of the same; but that it were best, that all things were brought
back to that state they were in the times of the Apostles, or at least in the
times of *Sylvester* and *Gregorio*; when each Prelate in his owne jurisdiction
was permitted to governe them committed to his charge, and dispose of the
temporalities belonging to the Church, without so many reservations, and ex-
ceptions, as have beene since brought in; ^d The Popes in time getting all into
their owne hands, with so many abuses, frauds, and simonies, all serving to
maintaine the state of the *Romish* Court, and of that head thereof, which long
since grew too heavy for the body to beare.

^d Gers. part. 3.
de potestate
Ecclesiae, Papa
ita praesideat
bonis Ecclesia-
sticis, ut de iis
statum habeat
sufficientem &
decentem, sed
non ita ut ca-
put gravidum
membra reli-
qua obruat mo-
le sua. De con-

Neither was this the private opinion and conceit of *Gerson* only, but *Petrus
de Aliaco*, *Cardinalis Cusanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, & innumerable more of the
best, wisest, and holiest men the Church had, saw those abuses, errors, uncer-
tainties, and barbarismes, wherewith the glory of the Church was greatly ble-
mished, and almost quite defaced, and wished and expected a reformation.
^e Yea nothing was more certainly looked for a long time before *Luther* was

cilio generali unius obedientiae. ^e Gers. de signis ruinae Ecclesiae. Moderno tempore unusquisque interpretari
& trahere non veretur sacram Scripturam, jura sanctorumque Patrum instituta, ad libitum suae voluntatis, &c.
borne,

borne, than the ruine of that pompous state of the Church, the staying of the furious, covetous, and tyranous proceedings of the Court, and Bishop of Rome, and the freeing of the Church from that *Egyptiacall* bondage, wherein it was holden.

C H A P. 12.

Of the desire and expectation of a reformation of a corrupt state of the Church; and that the alteration which hath beene, is a reformation.

WHen^a the Pope resolved to accurse, anathematize, and excommunicate *Grosteade* the renowned Bishop of *Lincolne*, because hee contemned his Papall Bulls and Letters (who was therefore in his time named *Romanorum malleus & contemptor*) the Cardina's opposed themselves, saying, hee was a right good man, and holier than any of them: the things hee charged the Pope with, most true, and that therefore it was not safe thus to proceede, lest some tumult should follow; especially, say they, seeing it is knowne there must be a departure from us, and a forsaking of the *Roman* See. The same *Grosteade*, a little before his death, complayning of the wicked courses holden by the *Romanists*, (whose scourge he was) said, the Church should never finde any ease from the oppressive burthens laid upon her, nor be delivered from the *Egyptiacall* bondage, shee was holden in, till her deliverance were wrought *in ore gladii cruentandi*, in the mouth of the sword all bathed in blood.

^b *Savanorola*, holden by many for a Prophet, surely a renowned man for piety and learning, told the *French* King *Charles* the eight, hee should have great prosperity in his voyage into *Italy*, and that God would give the sword into his hand: and all this, to the end hee should reforme the corrupt state of the Church, which if hee did not performe, hee should returne home againe with dishonour, and God would reserve the honour of this worke for some other; and so it fell out. ^c At that time when *Luther* began to reprove the abuses of the Church of *Rome*, things were in so bad state, that not onely the blood of Christ was prophaned, the power of the keyes by abuse made contemptible, and the redemption of soules out of Purgatory, set a stake at dice by the Pardon-sellers to bee played for: but so many greivances there were besides, that all the world sighed under the burthen of them, and wished that some man of heroicall magnanimitie would oppose himselfe. When God had stirred up so worthy an Instrument, what did the Pope and his adherents? Surely, as *Guicciardine* reports, there were that yeare many meetings in *Rome*, to consult what was best to bee done. The more wise and moderate sort wished the Pope to reforme things apparantly amisse, and not to persecute *Luther*, lest continuing those intollerable disorders, abuses, and villanies whereof all good men complained, and persecuting him that reprooved them with so great applause of the whole Christian world, men should thinke innocencie, vertue, and piety in him to be persecuted and oppressed, and so be incensed against so pertinacious and itisse maintainers of the Churches confusions. This counsell would not bee followed; whence ensued this alteration of things wee now see, resisted by the Pope and Papists, set forward by many Christian Countries, Kingdomes, and States, and long before wished for, and foretold before it came to passe. For what is now done in this reformation, which *Cameracensis*, *Picus*, *Savanorola*, *Gerson* and innumerable other worthy Guides of Gods Church, long before thought not necessary to be done? as appeareth by that wee have already delivered touching that matter. ^d Thus then it being evident, that the number of Lawes, Canons, and Customes formerly in use, and by us taken away, was a burthen to the Church, and an in-

^a Innocentius
⁴ in Matheo
Parisi. in Hen-
rico 3. 844.
nonne Rex
Anglorum no-
ster est vasallus
& mancipium
&c. pag. 847.
Papam Anti-
christum pro-
nunciat. pagin.
848. ejus avari-
tie totus non
sufficit orbis:
ejus luxurie
meretrix non
sufficit omnis
^b Philip. de
Comines, l. 8.
cap. 2.
Hee preached,
that the state
of the Church
should be refo-
med by the
sword, &c.
^c Guicciard.

Hist. lib. 13.

^d Reformatio
Ecclesie fieri
non potest sine
abolitione sta-
tutorum mul-
torum super
excommuni-
cationibus &
ceteris traditi-
onibus nimis
multiplicatis,
&c. Gers. de
Concilio unius
obedientie.

e Picus theor.
8. loquens de
erratis glossato-
ris, non mirum
est, inquit, & ta-
tis vitium fuit:
perierunt enim
tum & in defec-
tudinem abie-
runt bonæ lite-
ræ & excultio-
res disciplinæ
pessundaban-
tur. Hæc non
referrem, nisi
conduceret in
commune no-
tari scriptorum
hujusmodi non
dicam, imperi-
tiam, sed arro-
gantem impu-
dentiam, per-
inde, quasi pe-
cudibus aut
truncis scribât,
non homini-
bus. Erasmi. in
schohis in præ-
fat. Hier. in
Pentateuchum
Mosis.

f Bonaventura

recedit à curiositate quantum potest, non immiscens positiones extraneas, vel doctrinas seculares, Dialecticas aut Philosophicas terminis Theologicis obumbratas, more multorum: unde factum est, ut ab indevoris Scholasticis, quorum (proh dolor) major est numerus, ipse minus extiterit frequentatus. Gerf. de exam. doct. p. Multa quæ in decretis nominantur Apocrypha, & ita apud Hier. habentur, nihilominus in officiis divinis leguntur: multa item quæ apud nonnullos vera non creduntur. Picus theo. 6. Propter barbariem nescio quam latinitati & compositioni additam abhorrent viri docti à lectione officii Platina in vita Gregor. 1. Sunt meo judicio illa de Constantino Apocrypha sicut fortasse quædam alia longa & magna scripta Sanctis Clementi & Anacleto Papis attributa quibus volentes Romanorum sedem plusquam Ecclesiæ expedit, exaltare, se penitus fundant. Cusan. concord. cath. 3. cap. 2. See the censure of Erasmus and other, upon the Bookes falsely attributed to Ambr. Jer. Aug. and the rest. b Gerf. part. 3. dial. apolog. judicium de Concilio Constantiensis. i Remotiones Statutorum & Canonum antiquorum aut additione novorum fieri nequeunt rationabiliter pro tota Ecclesia, sine communi consensu, aliàs possit esse statim nimia diversitas: nolo tamen dicere quin in multis partibus possit Ecclesia per suas partes reformari: immò hoc necesse esset, & ad hoc sufficerent Concilia Provincialia. Gerf. de Concilio unius obedientiæ.

C H A P. 13.

Of the first reason brought to prove, that the Church of Rome holdeth the faith first delivered; because the precise time, wherein errors began in it, cannot be noted.

Notwithstanding, to stop the mouths of our Adversaries, whom a spirit of contradiction hath possessed, and to satisfie all such as be any way doubtfull, I will by application of the notes of the Church formerly agreed upon, examine the matter of doubt, and answer all such reasons as from thence are taken, and by them urged against us, either for prooffe of their profession and faith, and the soundnesse of their owne Church, or re-prooffe of ours. The first note assigned by them is Antiquity; by which they understand not simply & absolutely long continuance in the profession of Christianity, but the retaining and having that faith which was first delivered to the Saints by the Apostles, the immediate and prime witnesses of the truth which is in Christ. Let us therefore see, how they endeavour to make prooffe that they now hold that ancient profession. This they endeavour to demonstrate three wayes. For it being confessed the Church of *Rome* was the true Church, established in the faith by the blessed Apostles, and the *faith thereof commended and renowned throughout the world*; they thinke they can prove, there hath beene no change, alteration, or departure from the sincerity which sometimes was found in it. Secondly, they offer to shew the consent and agreement of that forme of doctrine they now teach, and that the Fathers of the primitive Church did teach in their times, and commended to posterity in their writings. Thirdly, they presume they can shew, that our doctrine, who dissent from them, is nothing else but the renewing of old heresies long since condemned in the best times of the Church, by consent of the whole Christian world: If they could as easily prove these things, as they confidently undertake it, there were no resisting against them. But seeing they faile therein so much, that very children may discern their weakenesse, therefore I will propose whatsoever I finde alleaged by any of them in this kinde, that carrieth any shew of probability; that all men may see, how weakely their perswasion is grounded in these things which are of greatest consequence. First therefore let us see, how they prove there hath beene no change in the doctrine, discipline, profession, and state of the *Roman Church* since the Apostles times.

In every great and notable mutation, say they, may bee observed the author, the time, place, beginnings, increasings, and resistance made against it. But the *Protestants* are not able to note these circumstances in that mutation in matters of Religion, which they suppose hath beene in the Church of *Rome*. Therefore it is evidently convinced, there hath beene no such mutation. For the more full answering of this objection wee must observe, that there are 4 kinds of mutation, or change in matters of religion: The first when the whole essence of religion is changed; such is the change from Paganisme to Christianity, or from Christianity to Paganisme. The second, when the essence remaining the same, the state is changed; such was the change of Judaism into Christianity, there being in the later new Sacraments, ceremonies, and a new ministry, that was not in the former, and the performance of that which was but in expectation onely before. The third is, when not the whole essence and state of Religion, but some parts of it onely are so changed, that some impugning and denying those things which others alwayes did and doe hold most certaine, the opposition is so great, that there groweth an apparant separation between them, the one sort refusing to communicate with the other. As

was

a' Bellar. Tom.
1. contro. 4. lib.
4. cap. 5. de nota
Antiquitatis.

when the *Arrians* denied the Sonne of God to be coessentiall, coequall, and coeternall with his Father. The fourth, when men so bring in new opinions and observations into the Church, that yet both they and other, not led away in the same errour, hold communion still. In the three first kindes of mutation, all those circumstances they speake of may be noted, but not alwayes in the fourth. Now the mutation in matters of faith and religion which hath beene in the *Roman* Church, is of the fourth and last sort: For the errours thereof were so brought in, that both they that were the Authors of them, and others that never fell into them were both of one communion, as I will make it most cleare and evident in that which followeth. And therefore it is most absurde to require us to shew these circumstances they speake of.

Secondly, for the better clearing of this matter, wee must note, that the aberration which hath beene in the Church of *Rome* from her ancient purity and simplicity, consisteth in foure things: First, in certaine Canons, Lawes, and Traditions, evill and hurtfull from the beginning. Secondly, in the multitude of Lawes and Canons in respect of the number growing to be a burden. Thirdly, in that the state of things, and conditions of men altering, the same constitutions and ordinances become hurtfull, that were formerly good; or in that things instituted to one end, are in proceesse of time applied to an other; or evill and dangerous opinions, corrupting the use of that which was not wholly to bee misliked in the beginning, are newly added. Fourthly, in errours in matter of faith. Touching that aberration of the Church of *Rome*, which consisteth in the bringing in of Lawes, Canons, and Constitutions hurtfull from the beginning, wee can note the beginning of it, and assigne who were the authors of such Lawes. But when the Lawes themselves are not evill, but the number of Lawes, Canons, and Constitutions is a burden to the Church, and the evill complained of, it is most foolish to urge us to shew the first authour thereof. As likewise, when Lawes not evill in the beginning, by alteration of times grow hurtfull, or when things from one use grow to an other. ^b *Hugo de sancto Victore* noteth, that the custome was to communicate little children in the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood: which being in time ceased, yet still they continued in his time to give wine (though not consecrated) to children new baptized, which hee confesseth to be a superstitious and foolish custome; yet it is not possible to shew the beginning of it. The aberration in the Church of *Rome* in matters of doctrine, was in such things, and so carried in the beginning, that the Authors of those new and false opinions were not disclaimed and noted as damnable Hereticks, as were those that erred in things most cleerely resolved before: or that erred with such pertinacie, that they divided themselves from all that thought otherwise; but the Authors of these errours, and they that were free from them, were, notwithstanding these differences, both of one communion. And therefore the circumstances by them required in these mutations cannot bee shewed, as it will easily appeare by these instances following.

^b *Eruditionis theologicæ de Sacramentis, l. 1. cap. 20.*

CHAP. 14.

Of divers particular errours which have beene in the Church; whose first Authors cannot be named.

See the ninth Ch. of this book, where they are named that defend these erroneous opinions, whose Authors or first devisers are not known.

THe opinion of two resurrections of mens bodies, the first of the good, the second of the wicked, (there being betweene the one and the other a thousand yeares) was an errour; but the Authour of it is not knowne. For I hope the *Romanists* will not say, the Fathers learned it of any heretick the first authour of it. The opinion that the soules of the iust are in hell, and see not God till the generall resurrection, was an errour;

error; but they cannot tell who was the first author of it. The opinion that all Catholick Christians how wicked soever, shall in the end be saved as by fire, was an error, but the Authour is not knowne. The opinion that men are elected for the foresight of something in themselves, is an error, or else the doctrine of *Augustine*, who was of that opinion sometimes, but afterwards condemned it in himselfe and others. The opinion that Infants could not be saved, unlesse they were not onely baptized, but did receive the Sacrament of the Lords body, was an error; but the Author of it is not knowne. The opinions, that the Bookes of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Machabees*, and the like, are *Apocryphall*, and that they are Canonick are contradictory, and the one of them an error in matter of Faith; yet is not the Authour of that error known. The innumerable contradictory opinions holden in the Church of *Rome*, touching matters of Faith, as that the Pope is Sovereigne temporall Lord of all the world, and all Kings and Princes hold of him in fee, and that he is not: that he may depose Kings erring in Faith, and persecuting the faithfull, and that he may not: that papally he cannot erre, and that he may, and sometimes doth; and many other like, must needs be errors on the one side or other; yet is not the author of those errors to be nominated.

It was doubtlesse in the confession of the Adversaries, the custome of the Westerne or *Latine* Church as well as of the rest, to communicate in both kindes: when and where that custome of communicating the Lay-people onely in one kinde began, cannot be precisely noted. It was the custome to impose penance first, and after the performance of it, to give absolution: now, absolution is first given, and then penance imposed to bee performed afterwards: when this alteration began, it cannot be noted. It was the generall opinion, that *Mary* was conceived in sinne: it grew afterwards to be generally thought shee was not: the first Authour of this later opinion cannot bee knowne, nor of the former neither, as I suppose. The custome was to grant Indulgences or Relaxations onely from injoynd penance: the forme of these was afterwards altered; I thinke it can hardly be noted by whom, &c. The custome was on the dayes which they kept as Fasting-dayes, not to eate till three a clock in the after-noon, or till the even; so that to dine and not to fast were Synonymies in the Primitive Church; but in the *Romish* Church they did dine on their Fasting-dayes, and therefore said the Even-song betweene tenne and eleven a clock in the morning: I thinke it hard to note precisely the time when this alteration began. Thus then wee see there may bee, and have beene many alterations in the state of Religion, and matters of Faith in the Church of *Rome*, though all those circumstances they urge us to shew, cannot be noted in them. And therefore the first reason brought to prove, that the *Romish* Church is not departed from the first and originall purity, is found too weake.

fugit sanguinem dominicum e calice: cum Diacono & Subdiacono. Rhenanus in annot. in lib. Tertul. de corona militis. c. Apud veteres absolutio nisi satisfactione purgatis fere non impertiebatur. Lindan. panopliz li. 4 c. 70. d Bonavent. lib. 3. dist. 3. q. 2. e Caser. opusculorum tom. 1. tract. 15. c. 7. servavit Ecclesia multo tempore hunc stilum, ut exprimeret in literis relaxationem ab inunctis poenitentis, &c. in tantum, ut dubitet an Papa dederit aliquando indulgentiam, non solum ab inunctis, sed a quomodo libet debitis poenis pro peccatis: & tamen sateretur Petrum Paludanum, & Johannem Monachum in extravaganu Bonifacii de Jubilei expositione, tale aliquid referre, & formam plenarie indulgentie tale aliquid probare agnoscat: sed ait editam illam formam secundum illam opinionem valde ut videtur communem, scilicet quod indulgentia liberet ab inunctis & non inunctis poenis. f Lindan. Panopl. l. 3. c. 11.

a Bellar. l. 5. de potestate temporali Pontificis cap. 1 Waldensis doctrinalis fidei, l. 2. art. 3. q. 78. negat potestatem Papae quoad regna Principum, & Sigbertus in Chronico an. 1088. Stapleton contr. 3. q. 4. proponit contrarias opiniones de infallibili Papae judicio, & ait, non esse de fide quod non possit errare.

b Lique ex lectione antiquorum, Eucharistiam laicis in manus datam olim, nunc in os: olim dominicum sanguinem fistulis hauriebant, & etiam Rom. Pontifex quoties publice sacrificat, aureo calamo

C H A P. 15.

Of the second reason, brought to prove that they hold the ancient Faith; because our men, dissenting from them, confesse they dissent from the Fathers; where sundry instances are examined.

Let us see the other. The other way whereby they endeavour to prove the antiquity of their Faith and Religion, is, by shewing the agreement and consent betweene it and the doctrine of the primitive Fathers. This, say they, they cannot do, but either by proposing the severall parts of Christian doctrine delivered by the Fathers, and comparing the doctrine of their Church with it, or out of our owne confession. The first course they thinke would be too tedious, and therefore they endeavour to prove by our owne confession, that the doctrine of the Church of Rome, and of the ancient Fathers is all one.

The greatest Divines, say they, of the reformed Churches, when they impugne the assertions of the *Romanists*, confesse they goe against the streame of all Antiquitie. Therefore they are forced to confesse the doctrine of the Fathers and of the Church of Rome to be all one. This is a vile and wicked calumination, neither are they able to justifie it. But let us see what they say: *Calvine* (they say) in the Article of free will condemning the *Romane* Church of error, is forced to reject and refuse the judgement of all Antiquitie. For the clearing of this, we must observe, that the Will of man may be said to be free in divers sorts. First from all necessity of seeking and having divine support, helpe, and assistance: Secondly, from divine direction and ordering: thirdly, from sin: fourthly, from misery: fifthly, limitation of desire, naturall necessity and constraint. These being the divers kindes that may be conceived of the freedom of mans Will; *Calvine* denieth the Will of man to bee, or ever to have beene free from the necessity of seeking and having divine support, helpe, and generall assistance, without which it hath no force or facultie at all. Secondly, hee denieth it to be free from divine direction, ordering, and guidance: for in this sort, neither the Wills of Men nor Angels were so free in the day of their creation, as to exempt themselves from the ordering of the divine providence, which most sweetely disposeth all things. Thirdly, from misery there is no freedom in this world, nor from the bondage of sinne, without the benefit of grace making free. *Habemus* (saith *Bernard*) *liberum arbitrium, sed nec cautum à peccato, nec tutum à miseria*: Wee have (saith *Bernard*) free will, but neither so wary as to avoid sinne, nor so safe, as to bee free from danger. From limitation of desire, naturall necessity, and constraint, hee confesseth the Will to be free, though it be subject to a conditionall or morall necessity, which by *Bernard* is most aptly named *malè libera necessitas*. The Will of man being thus over-ruled by divine providence, and in so divers sorts entralled to sinne and misery, *Calvine* thinketh the titles of *autègemon* and *liberum arbitrium*, taken from the Philosophers, and used by the Fathers, to bee too glorious to expresse a thing so weake and miserable; and that in his opinion it is not safe to use these words, unlesse wee adde, for the clearing of our meaning, the limitations with which the Fathers doe restraine them; which yet many will not so carefully observe, as they will unadvisedly suck the poyson of error out of the words themselves. Thus then wee see *Calvine* confesseth, the Fathers used these words in a good and godly sort.

But, saith *Bellarmino*, hee feareth not to pronounce, that all the Fathers (*Augustine* excepted) are so uncertaine, perplexed, and doubtfull in the delivering of this point, that a man can gather no certainty out of them: Surely it is most true that he saith of them, they are doubtfull & uncertain in this point;

yet

^a Bellar. lib. 4. cap. 9. de conciliis, & Ecclesia. Calvin. institut. l. 2. c. 24.

^b De Gratia & libero arbitrio.

yet so that it appeares, that in this ambiguitie ascribing little or nothing to the power of mans will, they give all the praise of well doing to the holy Spirit of God. To this purpose hee alleageth sundry excellent sentences out of *Cyprian*, *Eucherius*, and *Chrysostome*, and concludes, that it was the drift of these Fathers, howsoever they seeme sometimes too much to amplify the power of mans will, yet wholly to drive men from the confidence in their own strength, to seeke their strength in God. This then is all that *Calvin* saith, that before *Augustine* was stirred by the *Pelagians*, exactly to examine these things that concerne the grace of God, and power of Nature, the Fathers delivered not this point so distinctly, as afterwards it was, nor so fully, but that some things were found in their writings not so fitte as was to bee wished. That this is most true, the writings of the Fathers themselves will witnesse, and the testimonies alleadged out of them by the *Pelagians* against *Augustine*, will sufficiently prove it; which are no otherwise answered by him, than they are by *Calvin*, that their drift was to deject the pride of sinfull flesh, and extoll the greatnesse of Gods mercie and goodnesse; That if they spake some things not so distinctly and fully as men did afterwards, it is not to bee marvelled at, seeing they did not purposely enter into the examination of these things, before the *Pelagian* hereticks (whose heresie was in these things) were known in the world.

For the farther justifying of *Calvins* censure, let the Reader consult *Senensis*, alleadging many testimonies out of the Fathers, affirming, that men are elected to eternall life, for the foresight of some thing in themselves. And surely this should not seeme incredible, that many of the Fathers were in this error; seeing *Augustine* himselfe was of this opinion, before hee entred into conflict with the *Pelagians*: which error when hee corrected, most men disliked his doctrine touching election, the grace of God, and power of nature, as it appeareth by the Epistles of *Prosper* and *Hilarius*, for that he seemed unto them to ascribe so much unto the grace of God, and detract so much from the power of mans will, that they greatly feared his doctrine would weaken that carefulnesse that should be in men to arise from sinne, discourage them from all good endeavours, and give an occasion of negligence, and carelessnesse slothfulnesse. That which *Bellarmino* addeth, that *Calvin* disliketh that saying of *Augustine*, that *mans will concurrerh with grace, not as precedent unto it, but as following after it, and as a handmaid attending on it*, is most false. For hee approveth the saying of *Augustine*, but reproveth the *Master of Sentences* for misse-understanding and misse-applying it.

That which followeth, that *Calvin* dissenteth from *Augustine* in the matter of justification, is of the same nature. For hee saith onely, that though nothing be to be disliked in the matter it selfe delivered by *Augustine*, for that it is plaine, that acknowledging the imperfection of inherent justice, and thinking it our greatest perfection to know our owne imperfections, and seeke remission of our sinfull defects, he cannot but acknowledge the imputation of Christs righteousness to be that, in confidence whereof we stand in the sight of God: yet his manner of delivering this Article is not so full, perfect, and exact, as wee are forced to require in these times, against the errors of the *Romanists*: For that, when hee speaketh of grace, he seemeth, for the most part, to understand nothing else thereby, but that sanctification wherby the holy spirit of God changeth us to become new creatures; seldome mentioning the imputation of the righteousness of Christ.

That which *Bellarmino* chargeth *Calvin* with in the next place, argu-

Calvin. instit. lib. 2. c. 2. 9.

Prosper. in e- pist. ad Aug. de reliquiis Pelagiana hereseos, obstinationem suam vetustate defendunt: ut ea quæ de e- pist. ad Romanos, ad manifestationem Dei gratiæ præventionis electo-

Six. um merita proferuntur à nullo unquam Ecclesiastico- rum ita esse intellexit, ut nunc sentiantur, affirmant.

Aug. de præ-

destinatione sanctorum, cap.

14. quid opus est ut eorum

scrutemur opuscula qui pri-

usquam ista hæresis orire-

tur non habuerunt necessita-

tem in hac dis-

ficili ad solven-

dum questione versari, &c. eodem modo re-

sponder Bellar-

lib. 2. de gratia & libero arbi-

trio, cap. 14.

Bibliothecæ sanctæ lib. 6.

annot. 251. cap.

Prosper. & Hilarii inter opera

Aug.

Calvin. instit. lib. 2. c. 3. 7.

Ibidem Calvin. l. 3. cap.

11. sect. 15.

In Psal. 142. & in libro de perfectione justitiæ, cum Rex justus sederit in throno quis gloriabitur se castum habere cor? aut quis gloriabitur se mundum esse à peccato? nisi forte qui volunt in sua justitia non in ipsius judicis misericordia gloriari, & Hieron contra Pelagianos, lib. 1. tunc iusti sumus cum nos peccatores fatemur, & justitia nostra non ex proprio merito, sed ex Dei consistit misericordia. & Ibidem lib. 2. 14. 3.

eth his intollerable impudencie. *Calvin* (saith hee) doth thinke, that the sonne of God is subject to the Father in respect of his Deitie : which because all the Fathers deny, hee pronounceth they all erred, and that their error cannot bee excused. Let the Reader peruse the place, and he shall finde that *Calvin* saith no such thing, but the cleane contrary.

Indeed *Hugo de S. Victore* in his questions on the 1 Epistle to the *Corinth.* 15. saith, that Christ is subject to his Father according to his divine nature, and sheweth that many have beene of that opinion. But *Calvin* saith no such thing; neither doth hee charge the Fathers with any error touching the distinction of the Natures of God and Man in Christ, or the unity of his person : but saith onely, that some of them applying those things distinctly to one of the natures of Christ, which are appliable to the whole Person of the Mediatour, entangle themselves in some doubts, which otherwise might easily be cleared ; which will easily appeare by that place of *Hugo* before mentioned. The kingdome (saith *Hugo*) which Christ shall deliver to his Father, and so become subject unto him, either was given unto him in that he was God, and then hee cannot resign it, nor become subject to his Father, because in that respect he is equall unto him, whence we say, *Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem*: Or in that he was man, and that seemeth not conceivable ; for the nature of man is not capable of that infinite power that is implied in the Kingdome which God gave his Sonne. He answereth, that he may bee said to be subject to his Father, in that he is God, because though hee have the same essence with him, yet he hath received it from him. How aptly this may be said, I will not now examine : but how in this sense he may be said to give up his kingdome to his Father, is yet more hard to conceive.

In 1 Corint.
15. Filius ostendit non se esse ex quo omnia, sed per quem sunt omnia : & hoc erit tradere regnum Deo & Patri.

Hereunto agreeth *Hugo* in the place above-mentioned, saying, Secundum humanam naturam ad æqualitatem Patris sublimatus est dum verbo consubstantiali Patri in unam personam humana natura unita est.

Ambrose saith, Hee may be said to give it up, not by reall resigning of that he had, but by bringing us to his Father, & shewing us that Fountaine whence he received it, and all that fulnesse whereof we are partakers: These are doubts, which *Calvin* saith, that the Fathers doe not cleare, attributing the Kingdome of Christ unto him distinctly, in respect of this or that nature. But he affirming, that the Kingdome of Christ doth not agree unto him distinctly or severally in respect of this or that nature, but to the whole person considered in both natures, easily expresseth himselfe. For, saith he, God gave to his Sonne by eternall generation the same essence he had in himselfe, & with it the same power and kingdome, and this he shall never resigne. Secondly, hee gave to the nature of man not by formall transfusion, but in the Person of his Sonne, (which in the admirable worke of the Incarnation he bestowed on it, to support and sustaine it) all that power he had originally in himselfe, and eternally gave his Sonne: so that the Sonne of God, after the taking of our nature into the unity of his person, administred not his Kingdome without the union, knowledge, assent, and cooperation of the nature of man, which he shall continue to doe, while wee neede mediation, and till he have brought us to his Fathers presence, and to the cleare view and sight of his Majestie. Then shall hee cease to rule in this sort any more; his humane nature shall not neede to bee interposed any longer, but hee shall appeare in the glory of his Godhead : then shall he be subject to his Father in the nature of man, in more speciall sort than now he is; because though now hee be inferiour unto God in that hee is man, and so subject to him, yet that nature of man intermedleth with the administration of the Kingdome in such sort, as then it shall cease to doe, though it shall never lose that power and kingdome, which in the Person of the Sonne of God it is honoured with.

C H A P. 16.

Of Limbus Patrum, Concupiscence, and Satisfaction, touching which
Calvine is falsely charged to confesse, that hee dissenteth
from the Fathers.

THe next imputation is touching *Limbus patrum*, supposed to bee a place below in the earth neere hell if not a part of hell, which *Calvine* pronounceth to bee but a fable, though it have great authours and patrons; as if this were so strange a thing, that a fable and meere fancie should finde approbation among some of the Fathers. The opinion of the *Millenaries*, I suppose, *Bellarmino* thinketh but a meere fancie; yet had it great and reverend patrons. If hee say, that all the Fathers did hold the opinion of *Limbus*, and that *Calvine* opposeth himselfe against them all, hee is cleerely refuted by *Augustine*, who doubted of it. Besides, that their Popish *Limbus* supposed to have beene a receptacle for the soules of the Patriarches, but onely till the death and resurrection of Christ, as being then emptied by him, is a meere private conceit of their owne, wanting the testimonies of the most ancient Fathers. * For *Tertullian*, *Irenaeus*, and others did thinke the soules of all men to be holden in hell till the last day. And if it were resolved that there was such a *Limbus*, as they fancie, yet their Schoolemen are not agreed of the place; neither dare they affirme, that it was below in the earth, though they seeme most inclineable to that opinion.

The next false report that *Bellarmino* maketh of *Calvine*, is, that he opposeth himselfe against all Antiquitie, in the question Whether concupiscence in the regenerate be sinne or not. This hee endeavoureth to make good in this sort. *Calvine* (saith hee) professeth, that *Augustine* hath truely and faithfully gathered the opinions of the Fathers, and that his judgement is their judgement; but hee opposeth himselfe against *Augustine*, therefore against all the Fathers.

This assumption we deny: For *Calvine* no way dissenteth from *Augustine*, but saith onely, it may seeme, that there should bee some little difference betweene *Augustine* and us; for that wee affirme concupiscence in the regenerate to be sinne, but hee is fearefull to call it sinne, unlesse it be consented unto; naming it rather an evill, sicknesse, infirmity, or the like. But else-where taking away this doubt, he saith, that *Augustine* feareth not sometimes to call it sinne: whereby the consent and agreement betweene *Augustine* and *Calvine* appeareth. It were easie to shew, that not onely *Augustine*, but the Fathers generally were of the same opinion that we are of, and that the Popish opinion is a most dangerous and damnable errour, if this were a fit place to enter into the exact handling of that question.

But let us see the rest of his objections. *Calvine* (saith he) in the matter of satisfaction, chargeth all the Fathers with errour. This is as true as the rest. For *Calvine* doth not say, they erred in this matter of satisfaction; for he sheweth plainly, they were farre from the absurditie of the Popish conceit: but he saith disjunctively onely, that either they erred, or at least used some phrases and formes of speech that may seeme hard, and neede a good and favourable construction; rather than to be wretted to a worse sense than they were uttered in, as the manner of the Popish Sophisters is to deale with the writings of the Fathers.

For the clearing of this matter we must observe, that in sinne there are two things; the sinfulness & the punishment which for it the justice of God inflicteth. Both these are taken away by Christ, but in a different sort. The sinfulness, by the operation, working, & infusion of grace; & the punishment by the imputation of Christs sufferings, who suffering that he deserved not, freeth us from that

^a Ibid. l. 2. 16. 9.

^b In Epist. 99.

ad Evodium.

unde illis justis

qui in sinu A-

brahae erant

cum ille ad in-

ferna descen-

deret nondum

quid contulif-

set inveni, à

quibus secun-

dum beatifi-

cam presentia-

am divinitatis

nunquam video

recessisse. &

ibid. quia ne

ipsos quidem

infernus uspiam

Scripturarum

locis in bono

appellatos po-

tui reperire.

Quod si nus-

quam in divinis

authoritatibus

legitur, non u-

trique sinus ille

Abrahae, id est,

secretæ cujus-

dam quietis

habitatio ali-

qua pars infe-

rorum creden-

da est.

* Suprà cap. 9.

ib. l. 3. 3. 10.

^d Ibid. l. 3. 4. 38.

e Poena æterna
in temporalem
in remissione
culpe: tempo-
ralis magna &
supra vires, in
temporalem
quæ vinibus
competit, in sa-
cerdotis abso-
lutione com-
mutatur. Alex.
de Hales part.
4. q. 21. memb.
2. art. 1. 2
God upon our
repentance par-
doning the sinne
and the eternall
punishment due
unto us, through
Christ doth ex-
act of every man
a temporall sa-
tisfaction an-
swerable to the
fault commit-
ted. Reformat.
of a deformed
Cathol. by D. B.
P. cap. 6. of
satisfaction.
f Sane ubi
profus de me-
dio factum fue-
rit omne pec-
catum, causâ
quidem omni-
no sublatâ, nec
ipse quidem de-
inceps manebit
effectus. Ber. in
Psal. Qui habi-
tat. Sermon. 10.

that wee were deservedly to have suffered. From one of these wee cannot be freed, unlesse also wee be freed from the other; and in what degree wee are delivered from the one, wee are discharged from the other: if we be freed onely from the dominion of sinne, we are onely discharged from the condemnation of eternall death; if from all sinfulness, wee are discharged from all touch of any punishment. But the *Romanists* doe teach touching finnes committed after Baptisme, that God contenteth not himselfe with the most perfect abolishing and extinguishment of all sinfulness, by working of divine grace, and the satisfaction of Christs sufferings, but that he doth require that we suffer the extremity of that we have deserved, onely some little mitigation procured by the bloodhead of Christ, and the eternity excepted, from which our ceasing from sinne doth free us: the punishment of sinne being eternall, because sinne is eternall.

Hence it commeth, that they teach, that if we will not suffer and endure the extremity of punishment wee have deserved, wee must make some other recompence to Gods justice for it. This is a blasphemous assertion, and contrary to the doctrine of all the Fathers, who know and teach as we doe, that the justice of God, and his wrath against sinne is satisfied in Christ; that this satisfaction is imputed to us, not continuing in, but ceasing from sinne; that according to the degree of our ceasing from sinne, this satisfaction is diversly imputed; So that if wee cease from sinne onely so, that it hath no more dominion over us, it is imputed in such sort as it dischargeth us onely from condemnation: but if we wholly cease from sinne, it is so imputed unto us, as that it freeth us from all punishment whatsoever. So that if there were found in any of us a perfect leaving and forsaking of sinne, GODS justice would lay no punishment upon us. But the *Romanists* thinke it might and would for precedent sinne, though now wholly forsaken and quite abolished.

It is true indeede, that the Fathers sometimes used the name of satisfaction in their writings, but to an other purpose then the *Romanists* doe. They knew, that evils are cured by contraries, and therefore in the curing of sinfull soules they prescribe that which *Calvin* also doth, that men having offended in yeelding too much to their owne desires, pleasures, delights, and profits, should, for the freeing of themselves from the evill of sinne, deny something to themselves which otherwise they might lawfully enjoy: which if they do not, they shall in the punishments which God will bring upon them, taste the bitterness of that that seemed sweete unto them in sinne. This exercise of repentant mortification the Fathers called Satisfaction; not as if the justice of God were not satisfied in Christ, or wee were tied, yea though wee should wholly forsake sinne, yet to satisfie for that is past, by suffering so much as our finnes have deserved; or else to doe some painefull thing equivalent to such sufferings, which is the Popish error: But because wee must doe that in this kinde of repentant mortification, which may be sufficient for the finding out of the depth of that wound which sinne hath made in the soule, for removing the causes of it, the extinguishment of that remaineth of it, the taking away the occasions, and the preventing of the reëntance of it againe. This if we doe, we shall prevent the hand of GOD, which otherwise would smite us, not to bee satisfied in the course of Justice, (which at our hands cannot bee looked for, and which is abundantly satisfied in Christ, and would not touch us for any thing past, if by perfect forsaking of sinne wee were fully joyned unto him) but to drive us by bitter sorrow to purge out that sinfulness, and those remainders which our precedent finnes left behinde them, in respect whereof wee are not yet fully joyned to Christ. These remainders of sinne, if wee dislike, cast off, and forsake, and judge and condemne our selves, as the Apostle speaketh, wee shall not bee judged of the Lord for them. This happy course of preventing the hand of God, & turning away his punishments

ments by bitter and afflictive recounting of our sinnes, the Fathers call Satisfaction. Some sayings of the Fathers it may bee there are, which are hard, and must with a favourable construction be reduced to the sense wee have expressed: and that is all that *Calvine* saith; for which how justly he is blamed, let the Reader judge.

C H A P. 17.

Of Prayer for the dead, and Merit.

THe next calumny is concerning Prayer for the dead. Let the Reader observe, what it is that *Bellarmino* is to prove, and hee shall finde that he doth nothing but trifle. For, he is to prove that *Calvin* confesseth, that more than a thousand and three hundred yeares since, the Popish doctrine, and custome of prayer for the dead did prevaile, and was generally received in the whole Church of God throughout the world. This if he will prove, hee must reason thus. The custome of praying to deliver the soules of men out of the paines of Purgatory, is the custome and practice which the *Roman* Church defendeth, and *Calvine* impugned: but this custome *Calvine* confesseth to have beene in use more than a thousand and three hundred of yeares since: therefore he acknowledgeth the doctrine and practice of the *Roman* Church to be most ancient, and to have beene received a thousand and three hundred yeares agoe. The Minor Proposition of this reason is false: and *Calvine* in the place cited by *Bellarmino*, protesteth against it, most constantly affirming, that the Fathers knew nothing of Purgatorie, and therefore much lesse of prayer to deliver men from thence. But *Bellarmino* will reply, that the custome of praying for the dead, was most ancient. We answer, The custome of remembring the departed, naming their names at the holy Table in the time of the holy mysteries and offering the Eucharist (that is the sacrifice of praise) for them, was a most ancient and godly custome, neither is it any way disliked by us. And surely it appeares, this was the cause that *Aerius* was condemned of hereticall rashnesse, in that he durst condemne this laudable and ancient custome of the commemoration for the dead. In this sort they did most religiously observe and keepe at the Lords Table, the commemoration of all the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, and Confessours, yea of *Mary* the Mother of our Lord, to whom it cannot be conceived, that by prayer they did wish deliverance out of Purgatorie, sith no man ever thought them to be there: but if they wished any thing, it was the deliverance from the power of death, which as yet tyrannizeth over one part of them, the speedy destroying of the last enemy, which is death, the hastning of their resurrection, and joyfull publick acquittall of them in that great day, wherein they shall stand to be judged before the Judge of the quick and dead. This was the practice of the whole Church, and this the meaning of their commemorations and prayers, which was good, and no way to be disliked. Notwithstanding, it is most certaine that many particular men extended the meaning of these prayers farther, and not of their owne private errors and fancies used such prayers for the dead, as the *Romanists* themselves (I thinke) dare not justifie: and so it is true, that *Calvine* saith, that many of the Fathers were led into error in this matter of prayer for the dead, and not that all, as if the whole Church had fallen from the truth, as *Bellarmino* falsly imputeth unto *Calvine*, who saith no such thing.

First therefore, it was an opinion of many of the Fathers, that there is no judgement to passe upon men till the last day; that all men are holden either in some place under the earth, or else in some other place appointed for that purpose,

Ibid. l. 3. c. 10.

Epiph. heret. 75.

Liturgia
Chrysostomi.
Wee offer this
reasonable service,
that is, the
Eucharist of
praise and
thanksgiving,
to thee O Lord,
for all that are
at rest in the
faith of Christ,
even for the
patriarches,
prophets, &c.

^d Liturgia Jacobi 2.

^e Sixtus Senensis bibliothec. sanct. lib. 6. annot. 345.

^f Genf. serm. in festo Pasche. Hodie, inquit Christus, mecum eris in Paradiso, Lucæ 23. Propter quod insuper apparet falsitas doctrinæ Papæ, Joh. 23 quæ damnata fuit cum sono buccinarum vel tubarum coram Philippo avunculo tuo per Theologos Parisienses de virgine beatâ, & credidit potius Theologis Parisiisibus quam Curia.

^g Suprà p. 87.

^h Preces pro commendatione animæ apud Cassandrum in lib. Precum Ecclesiasticarum.

ⁱ Officium pro defunctis in Anniversariis.

^k Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 5. de Purgatorio.

^l Ibid. lib. 3. 15. 2.

purpose, so that they come not into heaven, nor receive the reward of their labours till the generall judgement. Out of this conceit grew that prayer in ^d James his Liturgie, that God would remember all the faithfull that are fallen asleepe in the sleepe of death, since *Abel* the just, till this present day, that he would place them in the land of the living, &c. And the like are found in the Masse Booke. ^e Of this opinion was *Justin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus Martyr*, *Ambrose*, *Johannes Romanus Pontifex*, and sundry other.

The second opinion was, that men may be delivered from the punishments of sinne after this life, if they die in the profession of the true faith, how wickedly soever they lived: or at least, if the punishment of such be eternall and cannot be ended, yet it may be deferred or mitigated. ^f How many of the Fathers were in this errour, and made prayers for the dead upon this false persuasion, that all Christians, how wickedly soever they lived, may finde mercie at Gods hands in the world to come, at the entreatie of the living, they that have read any thing can soone report.

Thirdly, whereas there are three estates of the soules of men, the first in the body, the second when they are severed from the body, and stand before God immediately and instantly upon the dissolution; and the third, after they have received their particular judgement; the ^g godly doe not onely recommend them unto God while they are yet in their bodies, but when departing thence they goe to stand before the judgement seate of God, they accompany them with their prayers and best good wilhes, even to the presence of the Lord. Hence were all those prayers that were used on the dayes of the obites of the Saints conceived respectively to their passage out of this world, and the dangers they doe, by the goodnesse of God, escape in that fearefull houre of their dissolution, which prayers were againe repeated in the anniverarie remembrances of their obites. ^h Of this sort was that prayer in the Masse Booke. *Libera Domine animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnis inferni, & de profundo lacus: libera eas de ore leonis, ne absorbeat eas tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum: &c.* Deliver, O Lord, the soules of all faithfull ones departed, from the paines of hell, and the deepe Lake; deliver them from the mouth of the Lion, that hell swallow them not up, and that they fall not into the dungeon of utter darkenesse. How hard this was, to use these prayers in a set course, in the dayes wherein they did onely commemorate and represent the dayes of mens departure hence, and so to pray for them long after their death, as if they were but even then in the passage, and so in danger of falling into the hands of their ghostly enemies, and not yet secure and assured of their eternall future state; (ⁱ which, yet *Bellarmino* confesseth, is the best construction can bee made of them) I leave to the consideration of the wise. These are the severall kinds of praying for the dead, all which, I hope, *Bellarmino* dareth not justifie. But for the *Romish* manner of praying for the dead, it hath no certaine testimony of Antiquity, no man ever thinking of Purgatorie, till *Augustine*, to avoide a worse errour, did doubtingly run into it; after whom many in the *Latine* Church embraced the same opinion, but the *Greeke* Church never received it to this day. Thus then we see how unjustly *Calvine* is traduced by *Bellarmino*, in this matter of prayer for the dead, and how weakly hee proves that it is confessed, that their opinion and the doctrine of Antiquitie is the same. His ^l next challenge is scarce worth the mentioning, much lesse the refuting. *Calvine* saith, the Fathers were faire from the Popish errour touching merits, and that yet they used the word, whence men have since taken occasion of errour. Therefore hee dissenteth from all Antiquity, and acknowledgeth the *Romish* Faith to bee the ancient Faith and Religion. Truly I am weary in following of him in these senselesse fooleries.

C H A P. 18.

Of the Fathers strictnesse in admitting men into the Ministry: of single life, and of their severity in the discipline of repentance.

THat which followeth is altogether of the same kind: *Calvine* saith, ^a *Ibid. 4. 4. 10.* the Fathers were too severe, in that they required more in them, that were to bee ordained to serve in the holy Ministry of the Church, than the blessed Apostle Saint *Paule* doth require; Therefore, saith *Bellarmino*, hee dissenteth from all Antiquitie; and confesseth *Romish* doctrine and practice to bee most ancient. This consequence is very weake; for the *Romanists* retaine nothing of that ancient severity, but breake all the Canons of discipline that the Fathers observed, by their ordinary dispensations, or rather dissolutions of all order, and neglect of all rules of orderly government. ^b For where is that Canon observed, that no man attaine to the order and degree of a Presbyter, till hee be thirty yeares of age? that no man bee ordained loosely, or at randome, but to be employed in some certaine charge of ministry; that ^c one man have no title, interest, and living in two Churches; whereas in the Church of *Rome*, one man hath two hundred, or three hundred Ecclesiasticall Livings; ^d that men ambitiously and covetously goe not from one Church because it is meaner, to an other because it is greater? *Calvine* therefore was not so ignorant as to thinke the *Romanists* to bee too severe in the observation of discipline, and therein to bee like the primitive Fathers; he saith therefore the cleane contrary to that which *Bellarmino* imputeth unto him; that in the choise of such as were to be admitted into the holy Ministry, the Fathers of the Primitive Church followed the prescription of Saint *Paule*, and the examples of the blessed Apostles, that they proceeded therein with very great and religious reverence, and invocation of the name of God, that they had a set forme of trial and examination, according to which they made enquire both into the life and doctrine of them that were to be chosen; but that contrariwise in the Church of *Rome* there have beene very few found to be chosen for the space of an hundred yeares last past, that the old Canons reject not as wholly unworthy of Ecclesiasticall honour & employment, as Drunkards, Adulterers, Sodomites, and the like Monsters, to passe by lesse matters, as that boyes of tenne yeares of age, by the Popes dispensations have beene admitted to ~~Bishopricks~~. The Church of *Rome* then, by her practice, condemneth the whole course of proceeding in former times, which *Calvine* reverenceth as most religious, and wisheth that things were brought back to that ancient order againe. Only hee saith, that the Fathers of those times may seeme a little to have exceeded in too much severity; in that they required more things in them that were to bee elected, than the blessed Apostle Saint *Paul* doth. This censure neede not seeme so strange unto us, if wee remember that such as had beene baptized by Hereticks, or when they were in feare and danger of death, which were named *Clinici* in those times, might not (unlesse their conversation, learning, and deserts afterwards were very highly approved) be admitted into the Ministry; that hee which had married a widow, though he were now free, she being dead, might not enter into the degree and order of Ministry; that hee which had one wife, yea though it were before hee became a Christian, or were baptized, and after his being a Christian, his first wife being dead, married an other, was judged incapable of Ministeriall Order; against which *Jerome* declaimeth in his Epistle to *Oceanus*: Behold, saith he, men suppose Adulterers, Whoredomes, Incests, Sodomitries, Paricides, impieties against God, and whatsoever things are so wicked, that they are not to be named, are washed away in Baptisme,

^b Synodus sex. cap. 14 & Neocæsariensis can. 11.

^c Synodus Chalcedonen. is can. 6.

^d Gerson. declarat. defectum virorum Ecclesiasticorum.

^e Synodus Sardicensis, can. 1.

^f Concilium Neocæsari. can. 12. Eusebius. lib. 6. cap. 45.

^g Cornelius speaking of Novatus by ordination saith many wished good the fact, affirming that none baptized in bed, as hee was, should bee admitted into Ecclesiasticall order.

^h Concilium Telense can. 5.

ⁱ Leo in Epist. Episcopis per Campaniam &c. de quadr.

^j Leo in Epist. Episcopis per Campaniam &c. de quadr.

^k Leo in Epist. Episcopis per Campaniam &c. de quadr.

^l Leo in Epist. Episcopis per Campaniam &c. de quadr.

and that after all these horrible crimes a man may be admitted to the Ministry, as being washed from them in the laver of new birth: but if a man had a wife before, which was no crime, and after his Baptisme shee being dead, marry an other, he may not. Thus, saith he, these hypocrites (for so in the heate of his passion he calls them) doe straine at a gnat, and swallow a Camell. For this *Ruffinus* challengeth him, as a contemner of the constitutions and decrees of the Fathers, though hee shew that innumerable not onely Presbyters, but Bishops were in all the parts of the world admitted, contrary to the prescript of these pretended Canons. That which *Calvine* addeth, that in processe of time they forbade Marriage, and forced all them that would enter into the holy Ministry, to live single, was never generall, nor in one sort.

b Socrates l. 1.
cap. 8.

i Can. 13.

^b In the Councell of *Nice*, *Paphnutius* dissuadeth the Bishops from putting those of the Clergie from the matrimoniall societie of their wives, affirming, that Marriage is honourable among all men, and the bed undefiled, and that the forcing of single life would bring many evils into the Church. This counsell and perswasion of *Paphnutius* was not onely yeelded unto by the Fathers of that Councell, but in the sixt generall Councell the Fathers there assembled, condemned the practice of the *Roman* Church in forbidding Marriage, not onely as hard, injurious and being an occasion of many evils, but as contrary to the Canons of the Apostles of Christ; from whence it is, that all the Churches of the world (the Church of *Rome* onely excepted) admit married men, continuing in the state of marriage, into the holy Ministry, as the Churches of *Armenia*, *Gracia*, *Syria*, *Aethiopia*, *Syria*, and whatsoever Christians there are in any part of the world.

§ Sigebertus
in Chronico
1074. Greg.
Papa celebrata
Synodo uxora-
tos Sacerdotes
a divino officio
removit, &
laicis missam
eorum audire
interdixit: ex
quâ re tam gra-
ve oritur scan-
dalum, ut nul-
lus hæresis
tempore, san-
cta Ecclesia
graviori schif-
mate scissa sit:
paucis conti-
nentiam tenen-
tibus, aliqui-
bus eam causa
quæstus & ja-
lantia simu-
lantibus, multis
incontinentiam
perjurio aut
multipliciori

^b How long it was before this decree of forced single life prevailed in the *Latine* Church, and what resistance there was made against Pope *Hildebrand* for the same, by the whole Clergie of Christendome, calling him heretick, monster, and enemy of mankind, authour of all mischief, impurity, and confusion; the histories of those times report, affirming that upon the publishing of that his decree, there followed such disturbance of the peace of the Church, such confusions, indignities, contempts, and profanations of all holy things, as that the Church was never so grievously and dangerously afflicted in any of her most bloody persecutions under the Heathen Emperours, nor in her greatest conflicts with Hereticks. What good successe this decree had after it prevailed, and what a pure and holy Clergie it representeth to the world, let *Gerson* report, who acknowledgeth that the places of holy Ministry were possessed by adulterers, wantons, Sodomites, and such like monsters: that the number of the offenders in this kinde was so great, as that there was no proceeding against them; that the Canons against Concubinaries notoriously so knowne, requiring all men to refraine from communicating with them, could not now be continued; that it were best to permit them to keepe harlots, for the avoyding of greater evils, and to tolerate their wickednesse in that kinde, as the stewes are permitted.

Thus then I hope it doth appeare to be true that *Calvin* saith, that they did ill deserve of the Church, that forced her Ministers to single life; and that the speech of Pope *Pius* the second, was most true, that what reason soever they had that forbade Marriage in former times, there were more reason in our

adulterio cumulantibus, &c. Laici sacra mysteria temerant, baptisant infantes, sordido aurium humore pro sacro chrismate utentes. Lambertus Schafnaburgensis, Fol. 201. sic scribit, Hildebrandus Papa cum Episcopis Italix decreverit, ut Sacerdotes non habeant uxores, habentes aut dimittant, aut deponantur. Adversus hoc decretum vehementer infremuit tota factio Clericorum, hominem planè hæreticum & vesani dogmatis esse, &c. Hildebrandus moriens, confessus est Deo, sancto Petro, & toti Ecclesie, se valde peccasse in cura pastoralis, & suadente Diabolo contra humanum genus odium & iram concitasse. Sigebertus in Chronic. Ann. 1083. l. 1. Gers. de vita spirituali animæ lect. 4. corollar. 14. & part. 4. de extremitate schismatis, m. Platina in vita Pii 2.

times to leave it free againe. Now " let us proceede to consider his next exception against *Calvine* ; in proposing whereof he reasoneth thus. *Calvine* thinketh that all the Fathers were of opinion, that after the remission of sinne men must suffer the punishment their sinnes deserve, to satisfie Gods Justice; and that therefore they were so severe in imposing penance on them that had offended : but this is the opinion of the *Romanists*, which *Calvine* so much dislike; therefore he confesseth the doctrine of the *Romanists* to have beene the doctrine of all the Fathers. The major or first Proposition of this reason is a most vile calumnyation : for *Calvin* denieth that the Fathers were of that opinion the *Romanists* are of, touching the punishments of sin after remission of them, as hath beene sufficiently cleared already. Neither doth hee dislike the Fathers severity upon that ground; for then hee should condemne their imposing of penance absolutely, as a thing wholly unlawfull; which he doth not, but most highly commended it : onely whereas the end of these penitentiall corrections was, and is to remove and take away ill examples, to provide that neither Gods name be blasphemeth, nor others provoked and encouraged to doe evill, by seeing them that offend to escape without condigne punishment, and that the sinner may bee brought to a right sense, knowledge, dislike, and forsaking of his sinne: when it appeareth that the sinner is truely penitent, and carefully endeavoureth to satisfie the Church which was scandalized by him, there must be great consideration had, lest he be swallowed up with overmuch heaviness, and so fall into desperation. In this respect, *Calvine* thinketh those courses of ancient discipline, in putting men from the communion of the Church, for the space of three, foure, or seven yeares, and sometimes for the whole time of their life, to have beene very dangerous, unlesse they were wisely moderated by the discretion of the Pastours, as he confesseth they were: without which moderation, who doth not see they were *carnificina conscientiarum*, a cruell, bloody, and mercilesse tormenting, and murdering of the soules of men ? Now as the severity of the primitive Fathers was very great in the prescription of these Canons, yet mixed, tempered, and sweetened with good moderation in the execution of them, and therefore not to be disliked ; so their extreame severity towards those that fell after penitencie, whom they rejected and cast out of the Church, without hope of a second reconciliation, cannot well be excused. This denying of reconciliation to such as fell after they had once before done open and publick penance, the *Papists* restrain to solemne penitencie ; which they distinguish from publick and open, as being imposed for sinnes of the highest nature ; otherwise confessing, that the Fathers severity cannot be excused. But this distinction of publick and solemne penitencie, is a meere devise of their owne, without any ground of authority or shew of prooffe. For how doth *Bellarmino* prove the difference of these two kindes of penitencie ? Surely he saith, solemne penitencie is imposed onely for the most grievous crimes ; publick, for those that are not so grievous, but proveth it not. Further hee addeth, that solemne penitencie could not bee twice imposed, publick might, and they that had done it bee admitted into the Clergie ; that solemne penitencie could not be imposed upon married folkes without consent nor upon young folkes, publick might ; that none but Bishops might reconcile those that were enjoyned solemne penitencie, but those that had beene enjoyned publick penitencie, others of meaner condition might absolve. ^a These fained distinctions of theirs betweene solemne and

^a Ib. l. 4. n. 2.

^a Aug. epist. ad Macedonium
54. Conc. Tolletan. 6. Can. 8. l.

Erasmus in epitaphio Fabiolæ ait August. semel lapso aperire Ecclesiæ fores, relapso claudere: nec tamen huic claudere fores cæli cui claudit fores templi. Ambros. de pœnitentiâ. l. 2. c. 10. Si verè agerent pœnitentiam, iterandam postea non putarent:

quia sicut unum baptisma, ita una pœnitentia: quæ tamen publicè agitur; nam quotidiani nos debet pœnitere delicti: sed hæc delictorum leviorum, illa graviorum. ^p Bellar. l. 1. de pœnitentiâ c. 21. Linden. Panop. l. 4. c. 62. ubi reprehendit Rhenanum, qui dicit nonnullos veteres in hac fuisse opinione, & inter eos August. ^q August. Seleucia epist. 109. distinguit triplicem pœnitentiam: quarum prima agitur ante Baptismum: secundam agunt homines, si post baptismum ita peccaverint ut excommunicari & postea reconciliari mereantur: est etiam pœnitentia, bonorum & humilium penè quotidiana, in qua peccata tundimus, dicentes dimitte, &c. illa unique quæ humanæ fragilitati quamvis parva tamen crebra subrepunt.

publick

publick penitencie have no testimonie of Antiquitie, but it is cleare and evident they were all one : and therefore seeing they mislike the denying of reconciliation generally to such as fell after publick penitencie, they cannot justify the Father who did so denie it.

C H A P. 19.

Of the Lent fast, of Lay-mens Baptisme, and of the sacrifice of the Masse.

^a Ibid. lib. 4.
12. 20.

THe next allegation is touching the Lent fast : wherin, as in the former, *Calvin* is charged to condemne the judgement and practice of all Antiquitie. That the falsehood of this allegation may the better appeare, wee will lay downe what *Calvin* liketh or disliketh in the matter of fasting in generall, and particularly in the set Fast of fortie dayes, anciently observed in the Church before the joyfull solemnities of the resurrection of Christ. First therefore hee acknowledgeth the use and necessity of fasting, to be continued amongst Christians to the end of the world, as well as formerly it was amongst the *Jewes*. Secondly, hee sheweth that Fasting is not a thing that God requireth in respect of it selfe, but respectively to certaine ends, and as serving to expresse, and set forward the inward affections of the heart. Thirdly, he sheweth what those ends are ; namely, to tame the flesh, to give a greater edge unto our prayers, to testifie, expresse, and set forward what may be our dislike of sinne, and of our selves for sinne, to testifie our humiliation and dolour, proceeding from the fearefull apprehension of Gods displeasure, to make it appeare, we take no pleasure in any thing till God be reconciled to us, to amerce & punish our selves for our manifold abuses of Gods good creatures ; and lastly to shew that in holy meditations and contemplations we foretaste the sweetnesse of that heavenly *Manna*, which maketh us for a time to forebeare to taste of any sweetnesse of corporall meates ; thereby shewing the excellencie of that spirituall life, which we shall live in heaven, without any of these outward nourishments, being filled with the happie fruition, vision, and enjoying of him that is the fountaine of life.

The faults hee findeth are, when men sever this outward exercise from the inward affection, when they thinke it a thing for it selfe respected, and commended by Almighty God, and a matter of rare and speciall vertue, and merit in it owne nature. The Fathers, hee confesseth, did rightly and truly deliver the nature of religious fastings ; yet so, that by their exceeding great admiration and commendation of it, they may seeme to have given some occasion of that erronious perswasion, that it is in it selfe highly pleasing to God. This, saith *Calvin*, I doe the rather thinke, for that there was and appeared superstition even in their times, in the observing of that principall fast of fortie dayes, in that both the common people thought the keeping thereof in it owne nature a thing highly pleasing God, (whereas no fast is accepted, but respectively to the ends above-mentioned ;) and the Fathers commended it under the name of an imitation of Christ ; ^b whereas it is plaine, that Christ did not fast principally for that end, that wee should follow his example, but to beginne the new Law, as *Moses* did the old : and therefore to take it as imposed upon us by Christs example, in the nature of a precept, and to be done in imitation of Christ, and as being in it selfe a thing pleasing unto God, for that it is an imitation of his Sonnes action, is *απομιμνησκόμενα*, as *Calvin* rightly noteth, and not voide of superstition and error.

Now that the Fathers either erred themselves in this sort, or sought to abuse others, neither *Calvin* nor wee ever thought. For they never imagined, that the principall reason that moved the authours and beginners of this fast to prescribe it, was the onely imitation of Christs fast, or because they thought it

^a Jansenius
comment, in
concordiam E-
vangelicam, c.
15. in illa verba
[cū jejunā-
set quadragin-
ta dies.]

it in it owne nature a thing respected by God, meerely as an imitation of his Sonnes action; but that, whereas it is very fitte, there bee a solemne time at least once in the yeare, wherein men may call themselves to an account for all their negligences, repent them of all their evill doings, and with prayers, fastings, and mournings turne unto the Lord; this time was chosen as fittest, both because that heerein wee remember the sufferings of Christ for our sinnes, which is the strongest and most prevailing motive that may bee to make us hate sinne, and with teares of repentant sorrow bewaile it, (which could no otherwise bee taken away but by the blood shed of the Sonne of GOD) as also for that after this meditation of the sufferings of Christ, and conforming our selves to them, his joyfull resurrection for our justification, doth immediately present it selfe unto us in the dayes following; in the solemnities whereof, men were wont with great devotion to approach to the Lords Table, and they which were not yet baptized, were by Baptisme admitted into the Church. Thus then it was not without great consideration, that men made choyce of this time, wherein to recount all their negligences, sinnes, and transgressions, and to prepare themselves by this solemne act of Fasting, both for the better performance of their owne duties in those ensuing dayes of joyfull solemnitie, as also to obtaine at Gods hands, the gracious acceptance of such as they offered unto him to bee entred into his covenant. For the manner was in the Primitive Church, never to present any unto Baptisme, unlesse it were in the case of necessity and danger, but onely in the Feasts of Easter and Pentecost. Thus then these being the reasons moving to institute a set and solemne Fast, and to appoint it at this time and season of the yeare, rather than any other; for the limitation of the number of dayes, men had an eye as to a convenient direction, to Christs Fast of forty dayes in the dedication of the new Covenant, which number also Moses, as being the giver, and Elias, as being the restorer of the old Law, kept and observed before him: not as if they had beene precisely and absolutely tyed by force of these examples; for then they would precisely have kept that number which yet they did not; for the Saturdayes and Sundayes deducted, which were not anciently fasted, neither in the Greeke Church, nor in some of the Latine Churches, there remaine not forty dayes; and if onely the Sundayes bee deducted as in the Latine Church, there will want of the number: for those in *capite jejunii*, which being added to the rest, make up the number of 40, were not observed from the beginning, but added afterwards.

Our Divines therefore doe teach, that Fasting is commanded by Almighty GOD, not as a thing in it selfe regarded, but respectively to those ends before-mentioned; that GOD hath set no certaine times of Fasting, but that the Church may appoint upon set and ordinary, or speciall and extraordinary occasions and causes, times of Fasting, and that men are bound to obey.

The Fast of Lent they doe not dislike, but thinke it may be kept as a convenient tradition of Antiquity, (dispensable by authoritie of the Church, upon due consideration of times and persons) so that no false nor superstitious opinions bee added; but the practice of the *Romanists* they condemne: for that whereas they pretend to follow the ancient custome of fasting, & to be

totis, præter Sabbatum & Dominicum jejunatur diebus. g Hanc additionem esse valde antiquam in Latina Ecclesia, patet ex Alcuino, inquit Bellarm. lib. 2. cap. 15. de bonis operibus in particulari. Greg. homil. 16. dicit jejunium quadragesimæ constare 36 diebus: tamen non ignoraret addi solere 4 dies ad numerum 40 perficiendum, tamen sciebat etiam quadragesimam proprie dictam non ultra 36 dies extendi. Bellar. lib. 2. c. 16. de bonis operibus in particulari.

c Bellar. lib. 2. cap. 16. de bonis operibus in particulari ostendit istas fuisse rationes instituendæ quadragesimæ.

d Synod. Antiodorensis, Can. 18. Leo ep. 4. ad universos Episcopos per Siciliam constitutos, prohibet baptizare nisi tantum in Festis Paschæ & Pentecostes, nec permittit in Festo Epiphaniæ, licet eo die Christus putetur baptizatus à Johanne. Rhenanus in lib. de corona militis per tempora Caroli Magni & Ludovici Augusti, neminem, excepto mortis articulo, præterquam in Pascha & Pentecoste, baptizant, ut indicant leges ab illis sanctæ prohibentes, aliis temporibus baptismum celebrari.

e Mat. 4. 2. Exod. 34. 28. 1 Kings 19. 8. f Ambrosius in lib. de Elia & jejuniis. cap. 10. Quadragesimâ

* Jejunia no-
stra quæ & vini
copia natant, &
piscium varia-
te carnis supe-
rant delicias, &
deoq; cum Deo
ludere videntur
duin pro inter-
cepto qui ex o-
vis oritur calo-
re, olei flamas,
vini æstû, om-
nisque generis
aromatum ignes
infarciunt
stomacho, vete-
ribus Christia-
nis omnibus
fuisse non mo-
dò incognita,
sed & intolerabi-
lia, adeoque
abominanda
constat: umbra
tantum veri je-
junii cernitur in
Catholica Ec-
clesia, jejunium
quod ante non
nisi ad horam
certam pomi-
dianam solve-
batur, ante me-
ridiem inter-
rumpitur, atque
in eam rem nò
modò myste-
ria, sed vespere
suum mentien-
tes tempus an-
ticipantur. Lin-
dan. Panopliæ.
lib. 3. cap. 1. 1.
Ibid lib. 4.
15. 12.
Lib. 1. de Sa-
cramento Bap-
tismi, cap. 7.
August. 1. 7. de
bapt. cap. 53.
non audeat de-
finire, sed ait
expectandam
Dei revelatio-
nem: at Bellar-
de Sacramentis
in genere lib. 1.
cap. 21. ait defi-
nitum in con-
ciliis, scilicet
Florentino &
Tridentino:
Ibid lib. 4.
13. 21.

tyed unto it, they retaine no shew of the ancient Fast, but make a meere mock of God and man, as their owne best friends are forced to confesse, besides their erroneous opinions of merit and satisfaction, and grosse superstition in the difference of meates. Thus then wee did not put downe the true and right use and exercise of Fasting, but the mockery of it, and doe wish that in the full establishment of the Churches, the ancient discipline of Fasting, due consideration had of times and conditions of men may bee restored againe. If any of our Divines seeme to dislike that there should be any set Fasts, as being Jewish, it is not the generall resolution of the reformed Churches, but the private opinion onely of some particular men, who were carried with the hate of *Romish* errors and superstition in the set Fasts, to dislike them wholly, which advisedly I see not how they could doe, and I am well assured many of very great esteeme, doe allow and approve the use of them.

The next objection is most frivolous. *Calvin* saith, Lay men long since presumed in times of necessity to baptize; wherein, whether they did well or not, the Fathers in those times, wherein they were suffered thus to doe, could not, nor did not resolve: what can be inferred of this? Whether they did well, or not, *Calvin* saith, the Fathers were not resolute, and hee thinketh their doing can hardly be excused from usurpation of that which no way pertained to them; therefore, saith *Bellarmino*, he dissenteth from all antiquity, and confesseth the doctrine of the *Romish* Church to be most ancient. Let *Bellarmino* give us leave to reason from his speeches in the same sort, & he will soone perceive he hath wronged *Calvin*. *Bellarmino* saith, the Fathers were doubtfull whether if men not yet baptized, should attempt to baptize, it were baptism or not; he pronounceth peremptorily it is; therefore he dissenteth from all antiquity. As likewise they doubted, whether Baptisme administred sportingly, were true Baptisme or not; he and his consorts make no question of it: therefore they dissent from all antiquity.

But let us proceede to the next allegation. *Calvin* saith, it is most certaine, that all antiquity is clearely against the *Romish* doctrine of the reall sacrificing of Christ in the blessed Sacrament, and that the Fathers did most rightly conceive of this sacred mysterie, without derogating any way from the sufficiency and plenitude of Christs sacrifice. A man would hardly thinke any man would alleadge this place, to prove that *Calvin* confesseth the doctrine of the Fathers, & the opinion of the *Romanists* are all one: and yet this doth the Jesuite so forcible and powerfull he is in reasoning, that what a man most constantly denieth, he can prove he affirmeth. But he will say, that *Calvin* in the same place doth except against the Fathers. Surely he saith, he thinketh they cannot be altogether excused, in that they so much urged the mysticall sacrificing of Christs body in the Sacrament, and thereby made it carrie a kinde of shew of a new, and newly repeated sacrifice: for that by misconstruction of that they meant well, others turned the Sacrament into a new offering of the Sonne of God for the quick and dead. The reason doubtlesse, that moved the Fathers so much to urge that mysticall sacrificing of CHRIST in the blessed Sacrament, was, for that they lived in the middelt of *Jewes* and *Gentiles*: both whose Religion consisted principally in sacrifice: the Fathers therefore to shew that Christian Religion is not without sacrifice, and that of a more excellent nature than theirs were, did much urge that Christ once offered for the sinnes of the World upon the altar of his Crosse, is daily in mysterie offered, slain, and his blood powred out on the holy Table: and that this sacrifice of Christ slain for the sins of the world, thus continually represented, and living in our memories, is the sacrifice of Christians. If any man shall alleadge, that there were reasons sufficient to move the Fathers to speake as they did, notwithstanding any occasions of error that might by ignorant men bee taken, *Calvin* doth

doth not pertinaciously resist, for hee said onely what he thought, not peremptorily judging, or condemning those, whom so iust and good causes have made honourable in the Church for ever.

C H A P. 20.

Of the invocation and adoration of Saints: touching which the Century-writers are wrongfully charged to dissent from the Fathers.

THus then I hope it appeareth, that *Calvin* doth not confesse that the doctrine of the *Romanists* hath any testimony, or approbation of Antiquitie. *Bellarmino* therefore passeth from him to the writers of the *Centuries*, in whom he hopeth to find something for his purpose; but they stead him as little as *Calvin* did. Let us therefore take a view of that hee saith. Touching free-will, justification, merits and the like, there is nothing in them, but that which hath bin sufficiently, I hope, cleared in *Calvin*; the things they say, being the same. Onely two things I find imputed to them by *Bellarmino*, and not to *Calvin*. For first they are supposed to acknowledge the Popish invocation of Saints, to have beene in the time of the Fathers, and allowed by them. Secondly, they are charged to blame the Fathers, for magnifying too much the excellencie of Martyrdome, the praises whereof *Bellarmino* saith they dislike, because they will not admit that Martyrdome is a kinde of baptisme, serving for the expiation, and washing away of sinne.

Touching the invocation of Saints, it is evident it was not knowne in the first ages of the Church, nor approved by the Primitive Fathers: but because it hath mightily prevailed in these latter times, and the superstition and idolatrie therein committed, hath beene such as cannot be excused: therefore for the better answering of *Bellarmines* cavils, and the satisfying of our selves and others, let us consider from what grounds, and by what degrees it entred into the Church.

First, there was in the Church from the beginning, a true and certaine resolution, that the Saints departed do in generall tender, respect, and wish well unto their brethren, and fellow servants, whom they have left behinde them, in the warfare of Christ in this world. Secondly, men grew afterwards to thinke, that men departing out of this world, carrie with them the remembrance of the state of things, wherein departing hence, they leave them: and that out of their love which never falleth away, they do most carefully recommend unto God the particular necessitie of their brethren made knowne unto them while they lived there. Thirdly, from hence it came, that men intreated their friends yet living, that if they prevented them, and came before them into Christ their masters joyfull and happie presence, being freed from the dangers, miseries, and evils of this present life, they would not forget to recommend them unto God, that are in them still. Fourthly, whereas by an auncient custome, they did remember the names of the departed, at the LORDS Table, giving thanks unto GOD that had made them so glorious in their life and death through his goodnesse, and praying him by their examples to frame them to the like, and besides kept the anniversary remembrances of the dayes of their death, as if they had beene their birth daies, with all tokens of joy: in the orations they made to sett forth the goodnesse of God towards them, and to propose their example

Si quis istuc nostrum prior divina dignationis celeritate præcesserit, perseveret apud Dominum nostra dilectio pro fratribus & sororibus nostris, apud misericordiam patris non cesserit oratio. Cypr. epistola 57.

e Nos autem

Martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis &c. nec sacrificamus Martyribus, sed uni Deo & Martyrum & nostrorum sacrificium immolamus, ad quod sacrificium sicut homines Dei qui mundum in confessione ejus vicerunt suo loco & ordine nominantur: non tamen a sacerdote qui sacrificat invocantur. Aug. de civitate Dei lib. 22. cap. 10. Sacrificia pro iis semper ut meministis offerimus quoties Martyrum passiones & dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus. Cypr. epist. 34.

f Oratione in
laudem Gor-
goniæ: Si hoc
præmium fan-
ctis animabus
à Deo confer-
tur, ut ista per-
sentiscat &c.
& in Iulianum,
alloquitur pias
animas Impe-
ratorum, di-
cens, si quis
mortuis sensus,
&c.

g In Epitaphio
Nepotiani stu-
pet animus,
manus tremat,
caligant oculi,
balbutit lingua,
quicquid dixe-
re, quia ille non
audit, murus
videtur.

h Adversus Vi-
gilantium ad
Ripatium Pres-
byterum. 110.

i Theodoret:
in Epist. ad Co-
los. qui legem
defendebant,
eos etiam ad
Angelos colen-
dos inducebāt,
dicentes fuisse
legem per illos
datam. Mansit
autem diu hoc
vitium in Phry-
gia & Pyfidia:
quocirca Syno-
dus quoque
quæ convenit
Laodiceæ, quæ
est Phrygiæ
metropolis, le-
ge prohibuit ne
precarentur
Angelos: & in
hodiernum us-
que diem licet
videre apud il-
los & eorum fi-
nitimos orato-
ria Sancti Mi-
chaelis. Illi ergo
hoc consule-
bant, utique humilitate utentes dicentes, univ-
ersorum Deum nec cerni, nec comprehendi, nec ad eum perveniri
posse, & oportere per Angelos divinam conciliare benevolentiam: hoc autem dixit in humilitate & cultu Anglo-
rum. & Epiphanius contra Collyridianos hæres. 79. omnem adorationem creaturarum damnat. / Concilium
Nicum 2.

for imitation, they did sometime by way of *Apostrophe* speake unto them, as if they had beene present, and had sense and apprehension of that they spake (whereof they were yet doubtfull, as appeareth by *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Hierome*, and others; and not contented thus to commune with them, they entreated them, if they had any sense or knowledge of things in this world. to be remembrancers for them. and the Church here below. This was a kind of doubtfull compellation and soliciting of them, If their state were such, as that they could take notice of these things, that they would not forget to procure the good of their brethren; but was no invocation, which is a retyring of our selves in all our needes, necessities, and distresses, with assured hope of helpe, to him that wee hope can stede us in what distresse soever wee bee.

Thus then, though the Fathers did sometimes, when they had particular oc-
casion to remember the Saints, and to speake of them, by way of *Apo-
strophe* turne themselves unto them, and use words of doubtfull com-
pellation, praying them, if they have any sense of these inferiour things to
be remembrancers to God for them, yet shall our adversaries never prove,
that they did prostrate their bodies, bow their knees, or make prayers to
them, in a set course of devotion, but this both adoration and invocation of
Saints and Angels, was directly condemned by them. Wee honour the Saints,
saith *Hierome*, but do not worship or adore any creature, neither Angels,
Archangels, nor any name that is named in this world, or that which is to
come. The Councell of *Laodicea*, reported by *Theodoret*, directly con-
demneth this kinde of adoration and invocation, not of Saints onely, but of
Angels also.

The Popish distinction of *Latria* and *Doulia*, doth not answer these au-
thorities and testimonies of Antiquitie: for those erring miscreants mention-
ed by *Paul*, the Councell of *Laodicea*, *Theodoret*, *Epiphanius*, and others, did
not thinke the Angels to be God, or equall to the Most High, neither did
they worship them in such sort, as to ascribe infinite greatnesse unto them,
which the Papiſts meane by their *Latria*: but they gave spirituall worship and
adoration unto them, in an inferiour and lower degree, such as the Papiſts
call *Doulia*: because they thought them to mediate betweene God and mor-
tall men in very high and excellent sort. Either then the Fathers condemned
these without cause for worshipping creatures, or they meant to reſtrain
more than that adoration, which ascribeth infinite greatnesse to him that is
adored: which undoubtedly they did, even the least and lowest degree of
spirituall worship, or worship in spirit and truth. This most clearly ap-
peareth to be so, by that of the seventh¹ generall Councell, which though
it did not onely confirme the placing of pictures in the Church, but prescri-
bed that they should be worshipped, yet the Fathers of that Councell expoun-
ded themselves, that they meant nothing else thereby, but a reverent usage of
them, approaching to them, embracing and kissing of them, in such sort as
men use to doe to the bookes of holy Scriptures, and all sacred vessels, and
things consecrated to the use of Gods service; but permit not any the least
part of spirituall worship, or worship in spirit and truth the Scripture
speaketh of, to be given unto them; for if it be, they judge it Idolatrie. But
the *Romanists* at this day give spirituall worship to creatures, and thinke
they sinne not, if it be not in so high a degree, as to ascribe unto them infinite
greatnesse.

Adoration implyeth in it three acts. First, an apprehension of the excellencie of that which is adored. Secondly, an act of the will, desiring to doe some thing to testifie or acknowledgement of this greatnesse, and our subjection and inferioritie. Thirdly, an outward act expressing the same. Wee say therefore that Adoration proceeding out of the apprehension of the excellencie of that is worshipped, and the desire to testifie our acknowledgement of it, is of two sorts or kindes: For either it is limited to certaine times, places and things, when, where, and wherein, the excellencie of that wee worship, presents it selfe unto us and requireth our acknowledgement of it; as is the worship of Kings, Princes, Prelates, and Prophets, in their kingdomes, Courts, Churches, and Schooles, ruling, guiding, teaching and instructing: or else it is spirituall, which in all places, at all times, and in all things causeth him that worshippeth to bow himselfe before that hee worshippeth, and thereby to testifie his acknowledgement of the excellencie of it, which hee findeth in every time, place, and thing to present it selfe unto him. This kinde of Adoration, subiecteth not onely the body, but the spirit and minde also, to him whose greatnesse it thus acknowledgeth. This worship, wee say, is proper to God: For he onely at all times, and in all places and things, seeth; beholdeth, guideth, and taketh care of us, and ruling, disposing, and commanding us, inwardly and outwardly, worketh our good.

But the *Romanists* say, the Saints do so likewise, though not in so excellent sort as God doth: for they suppose, that they know all things that concerne us, that they watch over us with a carefull and vigilant eye, that they carrie us in their hands, and by their mediation procure our good from God, the fountaine of all good; and therefore they worship them with spirituall worship. The miracles that God wrought in times past by them made many to attribute more to them then was fit, as if they had a generalitie of presence, knowledge, & working: but the wisest and best advised never durst attribute any such thing unto them.

Whether, saith *Augustine*, the Saints be present every where, or at least wheresoever their memorials are kept, or whether they remaine in one place onely, and praying onely in generall for the Militant Church, God doe worke by himselfe, or his Angels, that which is fit for the confirmation of the faith they professed, and the good of such as remember them, I dare not pronounce, And who knoweth not, that hee inclineth to that opinion, that they do not particularly see, know, and intermedle with humane things, and confirmeth this his judgement with sundry excellent reasons and authorities? This opinion did the *Author of the glosse* follow, and *Hugo de Sancto victore*, and the Church of God never defined otherwise: howsoever *Ierome* in his passion againe *Vigilantius* seeme to say the contrarie, and *Gregory* endeavour to confirme it, saying, hee that seeth God who seeth all things, cannot but see all things in him. But *Occam*, and sundry other excellent Schoolemen, reject this saying of *Gregorie*; and *Gregorius Ariminensis* resolveth peremptorily, that neither Saints, nor Angels know the secrets of our hearts, but that this

Dicunt Wal-
singam & Hen-
ricus: revereri,
est animo repu-
tare magna bo-
na quæ quis vi-
det aut existi-
mat esse in alio,
parvi pendendo
in comparatio-
ne eorum bona
quæ considerat
in seipso: hono-
rare, est reve-
rentiam existe-
ntem intus in a-
nima, opere ex-
teriorius indica-
re: hinc est,
quod honor
dicitur exhibi-
tio reverentiae
in testimoni-
um virtutis e-
jus: quem reve-
remur: laudare
est honoratum
pro bonis quæ
in ipso sunt a-
liis commen-
dare: glorifica-
re autem, est
laudes hono-
rati largè, latè-
que præconi-
zare: propter
quod dicitur
esse gloria fre-
quens fama
cum laude: a-
doratio est, in
id, quod reve-
rendum, lau-
dandum, hono-
randum glori-
ficandum est
propter emi-
nentiam san-
ctitatis & vir-
tutis, totam
spem ac fiduci-
am subjiendo
se illi projice-
re, propter

quod adoratio dicitur cultus propter diligentem intentionem erga id quod adoratur: illud enim coli dicitur, cui quis studiosè intendit operam suam illi exhibendo. Waldensis tom. 3. titulo 12. de sanctis adorandis, cap. 118. *Aug.* de cura pro mortuis. *Interlinearis glossa* in *Isaia* 63. *p Hugo de sancto victore* erudit. Theolog. de sacramentis fidei, lib. 2. part. 16. cap. 11. quærun nonnulli de animabus carne solutis, utrum cognitionem habeant eorum quæ in hac vitâ geruntur, & an preces supplicantium audiant, difficile est de hujusmodi dijudicare: quidam ex patribus quædam dixerunt, quasi nihil sit quod non videant, qui vident omnia videntem: sed ego non præsumo ita judicare, &c. *Greg.* dial. 4. cap. 33. *Occam* tract. 1. part. 2. cap. 3. ubi confutat Joannem 22. hæresim esse pronunciat dicere videntes Deum nulla ignorare, &c. Magister lib. 2. distinct. 11. accipiendum dicit dictum, *Greg.* de his quorum cognitio beatum facit cognitorem, ut sunt ea quæ pertinent ad mysteria trinitatis &c. sed hæc explicatio verbis *Greg.* non convenit moral. 12. c. 13. nullo modo credendum est quia foris sit aliquid quod ignorent. *Greg.* Arimi. l. 2. dist. 9. 10. q. 1. ex 2. Paralip. ex dicto Salomonis, *Tu solus nosti corda filiorum hominum*, &c. ex libris de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus, *secreta corda ille solus novit*, probat nullam creaturâ cognoscere cogitationes,

is reserved as peculiar to God alone.

¶ If then the Saints (for ought we know) do not see, know, and intermeddle with our particular affaires, but pray onely in generall, there remaineth nothing else safely to be done by us, but to seeke unto God; and then all these both Saints and Angels shall love us in him, and what lyeth in them procure our good. Behold, saith *Augustine*, *I worship one God, one beginning of all things, that fountaine of wisdom and happinesse whence all things that are wise and happy have their wisdom and happinesse; whichsoever of the Angels loveth this God, I am sure hee loveth mee, whosoever abideth in him, and can heare the prayers, and take notice of the wants of mortall men, I am well assured, hee doth heare mee, when I pray to God, and endeavoureth to give me the best furtherance hee can.* Let therefore those *Adoratores partium mundi*, worshippers of parts and portions of the world, tell mee, what good Saint or Angell hee doth not assure unto himselfe, which worshippeth that one God, whom every one that is good doth love and desire to please. Hence it came, that though some particular men did aunciently at sometimes, when they had occasion to speake of them, doubtfully solicit the Saints, and desire them. if they had any apprehension of these inferiour things, to be remembrancers for them unto God: yet no man prayed unto them with bowed knees, in set courses of devotion and prayer. Neither was there any forme of invocation of Saints brought into the service of the Church for a long time, as appeareth by that of *Augustine*, who saith, *they are named by the Ministers in the time of the holy mysteries, but not invocated.*

¶ *August. de vera religione ca. 33.*

¶ *De civitate Dei. l. 22. c. 10.*

For how could there be any invocation of them generally received and allowed, or constantly resolved on and used, in the set courses of the prayers of those primitive Christians; when they knew not, nor were not certainly resolved whether the Saints do know or intemeddle with the particular affaires of men in this world: seeing the *Romanists* themselves confesse, it were not fit nor safe to pray to Saints, if they did not heare us? Now it is no way likely, that any generall opinion was holden in those times, of the universall presence, knowledge, and hability of Saints to steade them that seeke unto them, seeing it was a long time doubtfull in the Church, whether the faithfull departing out of this world, be immediately received into heaven, and enjoy the happy presence of God, or whether they remaine or stay in *Abrahams* bosome, or some place of rest, till the day of the resurrection. Yet it is knowne to all them that have perused the monuments of Antiquitie, that *Irenaeus*, *Iustin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, and sundry others were of opinion, that none of the just are in Heaven till the end and consummation of all things, but that they are below in some part of hell, or in some hidden or invisible place sequestred from the presence of God, till the second comming of the sonne of man. Now seeing the invocation of Saints presupposeth that they pray for us in particular, and particular prayer for us knowledge of our wants, which the presence and sight of God is supposed to afford them; if they do not yet enjoy the presence of God, as many of the Auncients (though falsely) did thinke, wee see not how in their judgement there should be any safe and fruitfull invoking of them. For the absence from God, and the not enjoying of his sight and presence, is the reason alleaged by our adversaries, why the Fathers in the time before Christ, neither prayed in particular for the Church on earth, nor were prayed unto, as being in *Lymbus* and not in heaven.

¶ See cap. 9.

¶ *Bel. 1. de sanctorum beatitudine c. 20.*

¶ *Biel. lect. 85. in canonem missae.*

Howsoever, it is most certaine, if wee looke into the auncient practise of the Church, that the Saints in their anniverarie solemnities and holy daies, were not prayed unto; but remembered onely, proposed for imitation, and rather prayed for, then prayed unto, as it appeared by that *Innocentius* reporteth, that in the Feast of blessed *Leo*, the ancient custome was, to pray that the solemnitie of that day, and the oblations then offered might be availeable

to his soule, for the increase and consummation of his glory: which since hath beene altered, & the prayer is now, that by his mediation this Festivall solemnitie may availe, and be to the good of them that observe and keepe it. So that it cannot be shewed by our adversaries, that, before the auncient Liturgies were abandoned, and those brought in by *Gregory* had gotten into their place, there was any invocation of the Saints found in the publique prayers of the Church; but when their names were remembred, men prayed onely to God, that he would give them grace to follow their examples, and make them partakers of that happinesse, which those blessed ones already enjoy. And at that time when this alteration began, the invocation was not brought into the Liturgie and publique prayers of the Church, in direct forme, but men prayed still unto God onely, though desiring him the rather to respect them, for that not onely their brethren on earth, but they also that are in heaven, cease not (prostrate before his sacred Majestie) to pray for them. Neither is there any other forme of prayer found in the Missall, but in the sequences and Litanies onely.

Wherefore to conclude this matter concerning the invocation and adoration of Saints and Angels, seeing the Fathers did not in their set courses of devotion make prayers to the Saints; but when they had particular occasions to speake or thinke of them, used doubtfull compellations, desiring them, if they had sense of these things, to be remembrancers for them unto God, seeing for ought wee know, the Saints are not particularly acquainted with the state of things here below, seeing no degree of spirituall worship is to be given to any creature: wee invoke them not, but pray unto God onely, assuring our selves, that if they can heare us, or any way further our suits, they will doe it, when we pray unto God, as *Augustine* rightly observeth.

¶ We adore them not, but rest in the judgement of the same *Augustine*, that the Saints are to be honoured for imitation, but not to be adored for Religion: that they doe not seeke, desire, or accept any such honour, but will have us to worship God onely, being glad, that wee are their fellow servants in well-doing. The *Romanists* evasion, that God is onely to be adored with that highest kinde of religious worship which is named *Latria*, which yeeldeth to him that is worshipped infinite greatnesse: but the Saints may be adored with an inferior kinde of religious worship, named *Doulia*, is directly contrary to *Augustine*, who speaking of Saints and Angels, saith, *Honoramus eos charitate, non servitute: Wee honour them with the honour of love, but not of Doulia, or service.* If they say, they have this distinction from *Augustine*, it is true: but he doth not use it to this purpose, to make difference of two sorts of religious or spirituall worship, the highest degree whereof should be *Latria*, the lowest *Doulia*: neither doth he any where call the honour given to Saints *Doulia*, but nameth it the honour of love and fellowship, but he useth to distinguish religious worship (every degree whereof he calleth *Latria*) from the externall and civill worship, dutie, and service, that men yeeld to their Princes, Masters, and Rulers, which is fitly named *Doulia*, a service: but it is *servitus corporis, non animae*, a service of the body and not of the minde. For men notwithstanding this servitude have their mindes and their thoughts free, as beeing knowne to none, nor over-ruled by none but God onely. But the service of the spirit and minde, in the lowest degree that can be imagined, is due unto God onely, and not to be given to any creature: for no creature knoweth the secrets of our hearts; no creature can prescribe lawes touching the inward actions and thoughts of the minde, not having knowledge of them, nor power to punish them that should offend.

It is therefore an impious conceit of the *Papists*, that the Saints both can and doe know all our inward actions and secret thoughts, approving, or reproving, excusing or accusing them: and that as presidents of our whole life

b See how the ancient missall were abandoned, in præfat. Callandri in librum Roman ordinis à se editi & in vita Greg. 1. apud Voraginensem.

c Abbas Nocherius de sancto Gallo sequentias pro pneumis composuisse dicitur, quas Nicolaus Papa ad missam cantari coëcessit. Hugo de sancto Victore erudit. Theol. de Officiis Eccles. l. 2 cap. 11. Durand. ration. divin. offic. l. 4. ait Nocherium sequentias pro pneumis alleluia composuisse, sed alios post plerasque addidisse.

d Aug. de vera religione 55.
e De vera religione c. 55.

f De vera religione c. 55.

life and conversation; and that therefore they are to be honoured and worshipped, with spirituall service, or service of the spirit and minde. Thus then it is true the *Centurie writers* report, that in the third and fourth age after Christ, there were some beginnings of that superstition, which afterwards grew to be intolerable in the adoration and invocation of Saints and Angels; but neither they, nor wee are so ignorant, as to thinke that the invocation of Saints, or the adoration of them prevailed in the Church within the compasse of the first sixe hundred yeares; neither doe they (as *Bellarmino* is pleased to slander them) taxe that, as idolatry in the *Roman Church*, which they finde to have beene the practise of all the Fathers; for they finde nothing of the *Romish Idolatrie* in these glorious lights of the Christian world.

C H A P. 21.

Of Martyrdome, and the excessive praises thereof found in the Fathers.

THe next allegation, against them, is touching Martyrdome; which *Bellarmino* saith, they suppose the Fathers did too immoderately and excessively magnifie and extoll. The reason of this their censure, hee thinketh, is, because they will not admit it to be a kinde of Baptisme, and to wash away sinne, as both the Romanists and the Fathers teach. For the better clearing of this point, and the answering of this objection, wee must remember, that whereas the ordinary and set meanes of salvation is Baptisme, so that no man carelessly neglecting, or wilfully contemning it, can be saved; The Fathers notwithstanding do constantly teach, that if men be excluded by inevitable impossibilitie, they may be saved without it; and that faith and the inward conversion of the heart, flying unto God in Christ, through the gracious instinct and sweete motion of the sanctifying spirit, may be reckoned a kinde of Baptisme: because thereby they obtaine all that which should have beene sought in the Baptisme of water: And because if an ordinary degree of faith do sometimes obtaine salvation without the Baptisme of water, much more that which maketh men willing to suffer death for Christ; therefore they affirme, that Martyrdome, and the constant suffering for Christ, is also fitly named Baptisme.

So that there are three kindes of Baptisme: *Flaminis, Fluminis, Sanguinis*; of Water, of the Spirit, and Blood,

Epist. 77.

It appeareth by *Bernards* Epistle to *Hugo de sancto victore*, of this Argument, that there were some in his time, who, though they thought that Martyrdome doth supply the defect of Baptisme. yet would not grant, that faith, and the inward conversion of the heart, without such suffering, doth so; and therefore though they confessed that Martyrs, not baptised with the Baptisme of water, may be saved, yet they denied, that others, though repenting, believing, and converting unto God, can possibly obtaine remission of their sinnes without the sacramentall washing. Against these, *Bernard* reasoneth in this sort. *If Martyrdome do supply the defect of Baptisme, it is not poena, but fides; not the suffering, but the faith of the sufferer that makes it be of so great force. Nam absque fide, quid est Martyrium, nisi poena? For were it not for faith, what were the passions of Martyrs, but bitter and uncomfortable torments onely? Shall then that which maketh Martyrdome be esteemed in stead of Baptisme, be so infirme and weake, that what it gives to another thing, it shall be denyed to have it selfe? The shedding of our blood for Christ, is an undoubted prooffe and demonstration of a very great, constant and unmoveable faith; but it is not God, but men that take notice of faith by these prooffes. For God doth often see and pronounce the faith of a man dying in peace, to be as great, as the faith of a Martyr* for

for that though it be not proved by Martyrdome, it is ready for Martyrdome, and animates him that hath it, to suffer any thing if neede should require.

This which Bernard hath thus delivered touching this point, is the constant doctrine of the Fathers; neither do wee nor the Authors of the Centuries dislike any thing in it, but we condemne the vaine and idle disputes of the Romish Schooles, touching these three kindes of Baptisme, especially in that they teach concerning Martyrdome, that it giveth grace *ex opere operato*; so that if a man not justified, nor yet in the state of grace come unto it, and do not *ponere obicem*, he shall by vertue thereof obtaine grace, and have the effects of it wrought in him, in such sort as in the Baptisme of water. This not onley wee condemne, but many amongst themselves, affirming that Martyrdome hath no force to worke or procure our good, farther then the greatnesse of our faith and love, which is therein tryed, approved, and made manifest, doth worke it.

The Centurie writers reprove not the Fathers for any such error, as the Papists do maintaine, touching the force of Martyrdome, but they dislike that the Fathers did use so many Hyperboles and Rhetoricall amplifications, in the praying of Martyrdome, (though in a good sense) that the Romish Sophisters have from thence taken occasion of their error, touching the merit, satisfaction, and expiation of sinnes, which they fancie to be in the blood of Martyrs, of which impietie the Fathers never thought. Thus then it doth not appeare by any thing which Bellarmine hath, or can alleage, that wee confesse the faith of the Romanists to be the auncient profession of the primitive Christians, but rather the contrary is constantly defended by all our Divines in the places produced by him.

mam gratiam, ita ut si quis ad martyrium accedat adhuc in peccatis existens, tamen sine affectu ad aliquod peccatum & cum fide & dilectione inchoata, & poenitentia tali qualis requiritur ad baptismum aquæ, in virtute martyris justificabitur.

b Bellar. lib. 1. de sac. Bapt. ca. 6. Non desunt Theol. ut Dominicus à Soto, Martinus Ledes. in 4. d. 3. q. unic. ar. 1. qui docent martyrium non dare gratiam ex opere operato, nec dare ullum gradum gratiæ, præter eum qui respondet merito charitatis ipsius martyris. Probabilior sententia est, martyrium ex opere operato conferre pri-

CHAP. 22.

Wherein is examined their prooffe of the Antiquitie of their doctrine taken from a false supposall that our doctrine is nothing else but heresie long since condemned.

Let us therefore come to his third part, wherein hee undertaketh to prove that the doctrine of the reformed Churches, opposite to the faith and profession of Rome, is the same with the old heresie long since condemned by the universall consent of the whole Christian world. In this part hee is so shamelesse, that I blush at the very thought of that hee so doctorally and gravely delivered, as if it were truer than trueth it selfe whereas in his conscience hee knoweth it to be an untrueth, so grosse and apparant, that the divell himselfe will be ashamed of it. Hee reckoneth twenty severall heresies of damned Arch-heretickes, every of which hee pronounceth, that wee silly men defend and imbrace as the sacred truth of God.

Let us for our better satisfaction, and refutation of so vile a slander, take a view of the particulars. Hee placeth in the front the heresie of Simon Magus, and his disciples, which was that the Angels made the world, that the Prophets were inspired from them, and delivered their pleasure, not the will and pleasure of the high God, and that therefore the things commanded by them, were not in themselves good, or to be respected; that God was displeased with their government, and would exempt his owne from it, and have them free to do what they list, for that men are saved by his favour, and not in doing those things, which though they were commanded and imposed as

Ibid.

Irenæus, li. 1. contra hæreses, cap. 20.

good by *Moyſes* and the Prophets miſ-ledde by the Angels, yet were not naturally ſo, but by accident onely. This, hee ſaith, is the errour of the Proteſtants; for they thinke God made the world and not the Angels, that *Moyſes* and the Prophets ſpake as they were inſpired of him, that the things they commanded are juſt and holy, that there is no way of ſalvation, but by having that righteouſneſſe the law of *Moyſes* preſcribeth, which all they that are ſaved, have; Firſt, by imputation of that perfect righteouſneſſe and obedience to *Moyſes* Law which was found in Chriſt, to merit our good; and ſecondly, by the operation and infuſion of ſanctifying grace from him, making them to hate ſinne, to love righteouſneſſe, and walke in the waies of Gods Commandements; ſo that ſinne hath no more dominion over them. Surely, I thinke, if the divell himſelfe ſate as judge in this caſe, hee could not but condemne the impudencie of this his ſhameleſſe diſciple.

e Ibid.

But hee addeth; *Eunomius* taught, that if a man would imbrace his profeſſion, hee ſhould be ſaved, though hee continued without repentance and remorse in all manner of moſt damnable wickedneſſe; and that others, whom *Auguſtine* retuteth in his booke, *De fide & operibus*, were of opinion, that all Chriſtians how damnably ſoever they live, holding the truth of Chriſtian profeſſion, may and ſhall be ſaved. This, hee ſaith, is the doctrine of the Proteſtants. If any of us ever wrote, ſpake, or thought any ſuch thing, let God forget ever to do good unto us, and let our prayers be rejected from his preſence: but if this be as vile a ſlander, as ever Satanist deviſed, the Lord reward them that have beene the Authours and deviſers of it, according to their workes. But let us ſee, doth hee make no ſhew of prooſe? doubtleſſe hee doth.

d De captivitate
te Babylonica
aap. de Eucha-
riſtia.

^d *Luther*, ſaith hee, pronounceth, that there is no way to have acceſſe unto God, to treat with him touching reconciliation, and acceptance into his favour, but by faith; that God regardeth not workes; that a true Chriſtian is ſo rich in faith, that he cannot periſh though he would, nor how wickedly ſoever he live, unleſſe he reſuſe and ceaſe to beleewe.

e In Clave
Scripturæ, de
varia operum
prædicatione.
tract. 6. titulo.
duplex juſtitia
& juſtificatione.

For the clearing of theſe places of *Luther*, wee muſt remember that which *Illyricus* hath fitly noted to this purpoſe, that there are two Courts of Gods Judgements & moſt righteous proceeding towards the ſonnes of men: the one, he calleth *forum juſtificationis*, the other *nova obedientia*: In the firſt hee ſaith, God requireth perfect righteouſneſſe, fully anſwering that his Law preſcribeth; which being no where to be found but in Chriſt, no way apprehended but by faith: in this reſpect, and ſitting in this Court of exact triall, he regardeth no workes, vertues, or qualities, finding nothing of worth, or worthy to be reſpected, but looking to our faith only, and for Chriſts ſake only, at the ſole and onely ſuit of Faith, forgiving ſin, and imputing righteouſneſſe. Norwithſtanding becauſe he never ſaith to any ſinner, *Thy finnes are remitted*, but that hee addeth, *Goe and ſinne no more*, and that upon perill of forfeiting the benefit received, and that ſome worſe thing ſhould betide unto him: therefore there is another Court, wherein hee ſitteth and giveth commandement for new obedience and workes of righteouſneſſe, though not requiring ſo ſtrictly that perfection which formerly hee did, but accepting our weake indeavours and ſtudy of well doing: and in this ſort it is, that hee will judge us in the laſt Day according to our workes.

Thus then wee ſee, how that, though faith be never alone: yet in procuring us acceptance with God, it is alone: and that though God regard none of our vertues, actions & qualities, as being of any worth in the ſtrictneſſe of his Judgement, but reject them as unpure, & uncleane, & reſpect nothing but the humble ſute and petition of Faith, for the purpoſe of juſtification: yet when we are juſtified, he requireth of us a new obedience, judgeth us according to it, & crowneſh us for it. That which *Luther* addeth, that a man cannot periſh though hee would,

would, and how wickedly soever hee live, unlesse hee cease to beleve; may seeme hard at the first sight, but not to them that do know, that *Luther* is farre from thinking that men may be saved, how wickedly soever they live; for hee constantly teacheth that iustifying faith cannot remaine in that man, that sinneth with full consent nor be found in that soule wherein are *peccata vastantia conscientiam*, (as *Melancthon* speaketh, following *Augustine*) that is raging, ruling, prevailing, laying wast and destroying the integrity of the conscience, which should resist against evill and condemne it.

This is all then that *Luther* saith, that no wickednesse with which faith may stand, can hurt us, so long as faith continueth: but if sinne once become regnant, and so exclude faith, wee are in the state of damnation. Against this doctrine of *Luther*, or any part thereof, neither *Bellarmino*, nor the gates of hell shall ever be able to prevaile. Wee see then how justly wee are charged with the heresies of the *Simonians*, *Eunomians*, and the like monsters; surely as justly, as *Bellarmino* may be charged with true and honest dealing in this imputation and other that follow.

C H A P. 23.

Of the heresie of *Florinus*, making God the author of sinne, falsely imputed to *Calvine* and others.

THe next heresie which they say wee are fallen into, is the heresie of *Florinus*; who taught that God is the cause and author of sinne. This he saith, *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Martyr*, and sundry other of the greatest Divines of the reformed Churches have defended in their writings. Of this sinfull, wicked, and lying report, wee are sure God is not the Author, but the divell; and therefore wee do not fully accord with *Florinus*. But that it may appeare, how truly these men write, and speake of things of so great moment, I will onely positively lay downe what wee thinke of this matter, and the advesaries slaunders will be sufficiently refuted. For the clearing of our opinion touching this point, I will first set downe the different kindes of sinne. Secondly, what God may be said to will or decree touching the first entrance thereof. And thirdly what when it is entred.

Sinne, as wee know, is nothing else but *avopia* a transgression of the law. The law is partly affirmative requiring, partly negative forbidding the doing of a thing. Hence it followeth that all sinne is either of omission or commission: Sinne of Omission is the not doing of that the Creature is bound to do. Sinne of Commission is the doing of that the Creature is bound not to doe.

The not doing of that the creature is bound to doe, God may be said to will and decree foure waies. First by effectually opposing against the doing of it; and in this sort it is impious to thinke, that God decreed the omission or not doing, of that the Creature stands bound to doe. Secondly by discouraging and dissuading from the doing of it: which is no lesse absurd and impious then the former. Thirdly, by denyall of that grace, concurrence or assistance, without which it cannot be done; this cannot be imagined in respect of the state of mans first creation, but wee must make God the Author of sinne: and therefore there is none of us that doth attribute any such thing unto God. But contrarywise *Calvin* whom *Bellarmino* seemeth most to challenge, noteth fitly to this purpose out of *Augustine*: that God gave *Adam posse si vellet, sed non velle quod potuit*: Power to stand and continue in his uprightnesse if hee would, though he did not inseparably hold him to it, but left him to his owne choice: whence followed that evill wee now complaine of. Fourthly, by deniall of that grace, assistance, and concurrence, without which he seeth the creature will not be moved, nor wonne to do it; though it have other more then sufficient graces. motives

*6 Instit. l. 1. 15.
8. lib. 2. 3. 13.
citar. August. de
correctione &
gratia.*

c Cumel, dif.
 varia in pri-
 mam, & pri-
 mam secundæ
 pag. 162.

d Lib. 1. q. 1.
 concl. 1.

tives, and encouragements, to induce it thereunto. In this fourth sense many feare not to say, that God negatively, or privatively, decreed the sinne of omission, or the not doing of that the creature was bound to doe, in that hee decreed the deniall of that, without which hee knew it would not be done. But some there be that feare thus to speake, chusing rather to say, that God onely permitted, then in any sense that hee decreed the sinne of omission, in the first entrance of it. Yet these, if they rightly understand that permission which they speake of, agree with the other in sense and meaning. For God may be said to permit the not doing of a thing three waies. First, when hee requireth not the doing of it, neither will dislike the omission of it: and in this sense it is impious to say, that God permitteth the sinne of omission: For hee requireth the doing, and will punish the not doing of that the omission whereof is sin. Secondly, God may be said to permit a mans not doing of a thing, in that hee leaveth him to himselfe, to do or not to doe the same, without any particular providence or care, in ordering, or disposing, the motions, and resolutions of his will: which to thinke is no lesse impious then the former. Thirdly, hee may be said to permit the not doing of a thing, when hee doth not worke upon a man in such sort, as onely hee knoweth hee will be wrought to the the doing of the same. *Deum permittere*, saith Cumel, *nihil aliud videtur esse, quam subtrahere illam majorem gratiam, quam si tribueret, Petrus non peccaret, & hoc quoad primum peccatum: & servet suavem modum providendi in omnibus; vel ut servet multipliciter dispositionem concurrendi cum libero arbitrio; vel ut ostendat se dare gratis illam gratiam cuicunque dat.* When God is said to permit sinne, saith Cumel, no other thing seemeth to be meant, but that hee denieth that more potent and prevailing grace, which if he should give, hee that now sinneth, would not sinne; and this hee doth in respect of the first sinne, that hee may hold a sweet course in guiding all things, so as to suffer them to worke according to the condition of their nature, that in diverse and different sorts, hee may dispose of his concurrence with the libertie of mans will, and that hee may make it appear, that to whomsoever hee giveth that more potent and prevailing grace, hee giveth it freely. In this sense, God may truly be said to permit the sinne of omission. And because hee knoweth infallibly such omission will bee, whensoever hee doth not so worke upon a man, as hee knoweth hee must be wrought upon, if ever hee be brought to the doing of that good which is required of him, hee may be said privatively to decree it: seeing hee may rightly be said in a sort, to decree the not doing of a thing, when hee decreeth the deniall of that, without which hee knoweth it will not be done. *Præfinitio duplex est*, saith Rispolis, *positiva, negativa, positiva, quâ Deus apud se quasi deliberat, velle in tempore determinare physicè per aliquod auxilium voluntatem hominis alicujus: negativa quâ deliberat non conferre alicui suum auxilium efficax; & quia voluntas infallibiliter deficiet circa quamcunque materiam virtutis, nisi efficaciter moveatur à divina voluntate ad bene operandum; in materia verbi gratiâ temperantia, cognoscit evidenter voluntatem creatam peccaturam.* Sic bona cognoscuntur præfinitione positivâ mala negativâ, quam potius permissionē appellabimus. Et post; Nos, quando dicimus Deum præfinitisse peccatum, hoc non intelligimus quantum ad decretum impositionis malitiæ sed quantum ad subtractionem gratiæ. There is a twofold decree of God, the one positive, the other negative; the positive is that whereby God determineth with himselfe, in such time as he thinketh good, to encline the will of man to the doing of a thing, by his effectually working and powerful helpe: the negative is when he determineth not so to worke a man to the doing of a thing: and because man will not doe the same, unlesse he be so effectually wrought unto it, he seeth it will not be done, and that man will sinne in omitting it. So that God knoweth future good things, because he hath positively decreed them; and future evill things, because he hath privatively decreed them; the which we rather call permission. And againe; When wee say God hath decreed sinne, wee speake not of

of any positive decree of making a man evill, but of a privative decree of not working him to doe good. So that if there be any difference amongst Divines touching this point, it is onely in forme of words.

The sinne of commission, which is the doing of that the creature is bound not to doe, is meerely positive. For as the affirmative part of Gods Law is broken, by the not putting that in being which it requireth, or not so as it requireth: so the negative is violated precisely, by putting that in being which it would not have to bee, or by putting it in being in such sort as it would not have it to bee, and yet every sinne is an evill, and the nature of evill is privative. For the clearing therefore hereof, the Divines do note, that wee speake of evill *formally* and *denominatively*. *Formally*, evill is nothing but the not being of some good, in that thing wherein it should be. *Denominatively* a thing may be said to be evill, either by active denomination, because it depriveth something of that good it should have, in which sort poison is said to be evill; or by passive denomination, as those things are said to be evill, that want, and are deprived of that good they should have. The sinne of omission is formally evill, because it is *negatio boni debiti inesse*, the not doing of that good act which should be done, and from it the sinner is denominated evill by passive denomination, as wanting that good which he should have. Sin of commission is an evill act. Evill acts are of 2 sorts; for either they are evill onely *ex fine & circumstantiis*, in that they are not done to a right end and rightly: or *ex genere & objecto*: the former are denominated evill by passive denomination as wanting some circumstances that should make them good: the latter are such as no circumstances can make good, neither are they denominated evill from the want of circumstances, which they should or might have, but the active denomination, because by way of contrarietie, they deprive the sinner of that orderly disposition, that should be found in him: and some other of that good which pertaineth to him. As it appeareth in the acts of injustice, spoiling men of that which is their owne; and in the acts of blasphemie against God, or the hate of God, in which the sinner as much as in him lyeth, by attributing unto God that which is contrary to his nature, or denying that which agreeth unto the same, maketh him not to be that which hee is, and hating him, wisheth hee were not, & endeavoureth to hinder what he would have done. From this kind of sin, the sinner is denominated evill, partly by denomination passive, in that he wanteth that orderly disposition that should be in himself: & partly by active, in that hee depriveth as much as in him is, some other of that good which pertains to him. Some not rightly observing these things, & finding that some sins are positive acts, whereas the nature of evill is privative, distinguish that which is materiall in the sins of commission, and that which is formall; the substance of the act, & the deformitie of it maketh the one positive, & the other privative, consisting in the want of that rectitude which should be in it. But these men seeme not rightly to conceive the things whereof they speake. For the sin of omission is formally evill, & a want of rectitude, in that the good act that should be done, is omitted. But the sin of commission of it be an evill act, *ex genere & objecto*, is denominatively evill, not by passive denomination, as wanting that rectitude that should be in it: but by active, in that by way of contrarietie, it depriveth the sinner of that orderly disposition that should be found in him: & others of that good that pertaineth to them. That that sin of commission, that is, an evill act *ex genere & objecto*, is not denominated evill positively, from the want of rectitude due unto it, it is evident, in that no rectitude is due to such an act. For what rectitude is due to the specificall act of hating God? or what rectitude is it capable of? *Greg. de Valentia*, finding this to be true, & yet willing to defend the distinctiō of that which is formall, and that which is material, of something positive, & something privative in the sin of commission, saith; that evill acts, as particularly the act of injustice, may be considered 2 waies. First in the proper

e Arimines. l.
2. d. 34. 35. 36.
37. q. 1. art. 1.

and

and specificall nature of injustice; & so it is no subject capable of the perfection of vertue, *neque hujus perfectionis negatio est in illo privatio, sed pura negatio*: neither is the deniall of this perfection in respect of such an act so considered a privation, but a meere & pure negation. 2^o *Secundum communem quandam rationem illi et actui justitia; ut versantur circa materiam communem ipsi, & justitia, scilicet rem alienam; & sic subjectum aptum est ad perfectionem justitia, & hujus perfectionis negatio est in illo privatio*. In a generalitie, in respect of that which is common to it & the contrary act of justice, as they are both conversant in things pertaining to other men; and in this sort it is a subject capable of rectitude, and the perfection of vertue: his meaning is, that a morall act, conversant in things pertaining to other men, considered in a generalitie, is indifferent either to bee an act of justice giving to every one his owne: or of injustice depriving others of that which pertaineth to them: and that the omission of the act of justice, is a privation of such rectitude, as might be found in this kind. So that whensoever any act of injustice is done first there is a want of rectitude, that is an omission of the good act of justice, which might and ought to have bin done, & 2^o the producing of an evill act, contrary to that good act that is omitted: & 2 kinds of sin do alwaies concur, the one of omission, the other of commission, the one is a meere privation of rectitude, and the deformitie of it is privative, in the other which is a sin of commission specifically considered, there is no privative want of rectitude, for it is capable of none: & in it there is nothing but meere positive: & the deformity that is found in it, is precisely a positive repugnance to the Law of God. *Alvarez* saith, the sin of commission is a breach of a negative law which is not broken but by a positive act contrary to the prescript of right reason: 2. *Th. Aquinas* teacheth 2^o 2^a. q. 79. ar. 2. 3. 4. And the same is further confirmed because the same *Thomas* elsewhere saith, that in the sin of omission there is nothing but privation, if we consider it as it is in it self: but the sin of commission is some positive thing. Because saith *Cajetan* sin consisteth as well of a conversion to an object contrary to the object of vertue, as of an aversion from the law: there is in sin a double nature of evill, the one arising from the object, the other from the not observing of the law; the first is positive, the 2^o privative; the first inferreth the 2^o. For it cannot be that a man should hate God, but that, in so doing, he must breake the Law. For there are some acts simply and intrinsically evill; so that to do them is to sin: of which sort is the act of hating God. Besides one contrary depriveth the subject wherein it is found, & maketh it incapable of the other, so long as it is in it: as the hate of God maketh a man incapable of the love of God, & of the hate of such things as are contrary to God, & should be hated. So that there is a double nature of evill; the one positive, the other privative: and the one of these is the cause of the other. *Greg de Valentia* saith, it is consequent upon the opinion of *Cajetan*: that sin formally as sin is a positive thing: which thing he also expressly affirmeth in 1^a 2^a q. 71. ar. 6. There are that hold (saith *Cumel*) that the formall nature of sin (he meaneth the sinne of commission) consisteth in some positive thing, to wit in the manner of working freely, with positive repugnance, to the rule of reason, and the law of God. *Difformitas in actu commissionis* (saith *Ockam*.) *non est nisi ipsemet actus elicited contra preceptum divinum, & nihil penitus aliud dicit: Quando elicit quis actum quem non debet; si non teneatur ad oppositum actum, difformitas non est carentia alicujus rectitudinis debita inesse, nec illi actui, nec voluntati; sed si teneatur, tunc est duplex peccatū, commissionis & omissionis, & hoc est carentia alterius actus debiti inesse, & ita rectitudinis debita inesse voluntati.* that is, The deformity in an act of commission, is nothing but the very act which is done contrary to the Law of God neither doth it imply any thing else. So that when a man produceth an action which he should not do; if he be not bound to do the contrary, the difformity that accompanieth such an actio, is not the want of any rectitude, that should be either in that actio, or in the will; but if he be bound to do the contrary, then there are 2 sins found in him, the one of commission, the other of omission, & this latter is the want of another act that should

Lib. 6. de auxiliis divina gratia. disp. 44.

g Quest. 2. de malo ar. 1. ad 4.

h In primam secundam q. 79. ar. 1. & 2.

i Tom. 1. d. 2. q. 13. punc. 3. art. 5.

k Disp. varia ad primam & primam secundam. pag. 104.

l Lib. 3. Sent. q. 12.

should be done, & consequently of a rectitude that should be in the will but is not, when it faileth to bring forth that action, that in duty it is bound to doe. But some man will say, this must not be granted; for if we admit not the distinction of that which is formall, & that which is materiall in the sin of commission; the difformity, & the substance of the act; & that the one is positive, and the other privative; God having a true efficiencie in respect of the substance of the act, & that which is positive in it, we must acknowledge that he hath a true efficiencie in respect of the whole, evē the difformity as well as the substance, & consequently make him the author of sin. They who make this objection seeme to say something, but indeed they say nothing: for this distinction will not cleere the doubt they move, touching Gods efficiencie & working in the sinfull actions of men.

Whensoever, saith ^m Durandus, two things are inseparably joyned together, whosoever knowing them both & that they are so inseparably joyned together, chuseth ^{m Lib. 2. dist. 37. q. 1.}

the one, chuseth the other also: because though happily he would not chuse it absolutely as being evill, yet in that it is joyned to that which he doth will, neither can be separated fro it, it is of necessity that he must will both. As it appeareth in those voluntary actions that are mixt: as when a man casteth into the sea those rich commodities, which he hath dearly bought, & brought from a far, to save his owne life, which he would not do but in such a case. Hence it followeth, that the act of hating God & sinfull difformity, being so inseparably joyned together, that the one cannot be divided from the other, (for a man cannot hate God, but he must sin damnably) if God doth will the one he doth will the other also. This of Durand is confirmed by ⁿ Suarez, who saith, hee shall never satisfie any man that

doubteth, how God may be cleared from being author of sin, if he have an efficiencie in the sinfull actions of men: that shall answer, that all that is said touch-

ing Gods efficiencie & concurrence, is true in respect of the evill motions & actions of mens will materially considered, & not formally in that they are evill & sinfull. For the one of these is consequent upon an other. For a free & deliberate act of a created will, about such an object, & with such circumstances, cannot be produced but it must have difformity annexed to it. There are some operations or actions, saith ^o Cumel, that are intrinsically evill, so that in them wee cannot separate that which is materiall from that which is formall, & wherein the sinfulness of sin consisteth: as it appeareth in the hate of God, & in this act when a man shall say & resolve I will doe evill. So that it implyeth a contradiction, that God should effectually work our will to bring forth such actions. in respect of that which is materiall in the, & not in respect of that which is formal. And this seemeth yet more impossible if we admit their opiniō who think, that the formall nature & being of the sin of cōmission, consisteth in some thing that is positive, as in the maner of working freely, so as to repugne to the rule of reason & law of God. So that it is clear in the judgment of these great Divines, that if God have a true reall efficiency, in respect of the substance of these sinfull actions, he must in a sort produce the difformity, or that which is formall in the.

Wherefore for the clearing of this point, we must observe, that there are 3 opinions touching Gods concurrence with 2^d causes in producing their effects. First that God hath no immediate influence, but mediate only, in respect of voluntary agents. And according to this opinion, it is easie to cleare God from the imputation of being author of sin, & yet to acknowledge his concurrence with 2^d causes in producing their defective effects. If the will of the creature, saith ^p Sco-

ttus, were the totall & immediate cause of her action, & that God had no immediate efficiencie but mediate only in respect thereof as some think: it were easie according to that opinion, to shew how God may bee freed from the imputation of being author of sin, and yet to acknowledge his concurrence with second causes, for the producing of their effects. For whether we speake of that which is materiall or formall in sinne, the will onely should be the totall cause of it, and God should no way bee a cause of it but mediately, in that he caused and produced such a will, that might at her pleasure doe what shee would.

Durandus seemeth to incline to this opinion, supposing that 2^d causes do bring forth their actions & operations by & of themselves, & that God no otherwise concurrerth actually to the production of the same, but in that he preserveth the 2^d causes, in that beeing & power of working, which at first he gave them. But they that are of sounder judgment resolve, that as the light enlightneth the aire, & with the aire all other inferior things: so God not only giveth being & power of working to the 2^d causes, & preserveth the in the same, but together with them hath an immediate influence into the things that are to be effected by the. God, saith *Cajetan*, being the first cause, worketh & produceth the effects of all 2^d causes immediatly, *tum immediatione virtutis*, *tum immediatione suppositi*, that is, not only so, as that the vertue and power of God the first agent, immediatly sheweth it selfe in the production of the effect, but so also that he is an immediate agent, between who & the effect produced, no secondary agent intercedeth. Yet are we not to conceive that he is an immediate agent, *immediatione suppositi*, as he is *immediatione virtutis*; for he produceth immediately every effect of every 2^d cause, in respect of all that is found in any such effect, immediatly *immediatione virtutis*, that is, so as that his vertue & power, more immediatly & effectually sheweth it selfe in the production of every such effect, than the power and vertue of the 2^d cause; but hee produceth every effect of every 2^d cause, immediatly *immediatione suppositi*, that is, as an immediate agent between whom and the effect, no secondary agent intercedeth, not in respect of all that is found in such an effect, but of some things only, as existence, and the last perfection of actual being. For to give being is proper to God, as to make fire is proper to fire. So that between God the supreme agent, and beeing, communicated to the effects of 2^d causes, there is nothing that commeth between, that by force and power of it owne, can produce any such effect. So that God as an immediate agent bringeth forth such effects, and all 2^d causes in respect thereof are but instruments only. But in respect of those things found in the same effects, into which the 2^d causes have an influence by vertue of their owne proper forme, *Cajetan* confesseth that God doth not so produce them as an immediate agent, but that the 2^d causes doe mediate between him and them, and as secondary principall agents bring forth their effects. Yet are not these, that is, the first & the 2^d causes partiall, but totall causes of all those effects which they produce. For the clearing whereof we must observe, that a cause may bee said to be totall, either *totalitate effectus*, that is, because it bringeth forth the whole effect, though some other cause have such efficiencie also in respect of the same, that without the helpe of it, it cannot bring forth any such effect; as when two men draw a ship, either of them produceth a whole effect, and moveth the whole ship, but yet not so wholly, but that either hath need of the others help and concurrence. Or secondly, a cause may be said to be totall *totalitate causa*, and that in two sorts: either so as to produce the whole effect without any concurrence of any other cause: in which sense neither God, nor the creature, neither the first, nor the 2^d cause must be said to be a totall cause; or so, as that though some other doe concur, yet the beeing, power of working, and actual cooperation of it, is wholly from the agent with which it doth concur, & so God is a totall cause of all those effects, that he produceth by, and together with the 2^d causes. So that the opinion of them who thinke, that God hath no immediate influence into the effects of 2^d causes, nor immediate concurrence with such causes in producing their effects, is to be exploded out of all Christian schooles & Churches as prophane & heathenish. Wherefore there are, who finding that this first opinion is not to be admitted, flie to a 3^d, little better than the former. For they acknowledge that God hath an immediate influence into the effects of all 2^d causes, but they thinke it to be generall, indefinit, & to be limited & determined, by the different concurrence of 2^d causes. It is true indeed, that God worketh all things as an universall cause: but this may be understood three ways.

For first a cause may be said to be universall, in the universality of predication, as opposite to speciall or particular; as an artificer in respect of this and that speciall kinde of artificers, is generall, and is an universall cause of all workes of art, and they of such speciall workes, as are incident to their severall kindes. Secondly, a cause may be said to be universall, in that it extendeth it selfe to effects of all sorts, in respect of something common to them all, and not in respect of that which is proper to each of them, unlesse the working of it be limited and directed by something else. The fire warmeth the water with which poison is mingled, in the same sort that it doth any other water, and without any difference of its owne action. And the actions of the Sun and fire are such, as that men make use of them to what purposes they please, and accordingly as their working is differently applied, bring forth different effects. Thirdly, a cause may be said to be universall, because the efficiencie and working of it, extendeth it selfe to many things, according to the severall differences of them, without being limited and determined by any other thing. These men suppose that God is an universall cause in the second sense, and that his concurrence and influence, is indefinite and generall, and such as may be taken and applied by second causes, in what sort they will. So that the actions of free will, & the actions of every other second cause, have from the freedome of the will, and the particular quality of the second causes, that they are of this or that sort, good or bad: and not from the concurrence or influence of the first cause, which is indefinite, as is the concurrence and influence of the Sun with other inferiour causes, and as one man may make offer of his helpe and concurrence, to whatsoever another will make use of it. So they suppose God offereth his concurrence to second causes, to be used by them, to what purpose and in what sort they will. According to this conceit, they suppose they can easily cleare the doubt, and free God from all imputation of being author of sin, though he concurre immediately with second causes, in, and to the producing of those actions that are sinfull. For, say they, his concurrence and influence is indefinite, and is by them applied in ill sort to ill purposes. But first, this conceit cleareth not God, from being author of sin. And secondly, it cannot stand with the grounds of Philosophie or divinity. That it cleareth not God from being author of sin, but rather layeth this imputation on him, it is evident. For if the concurrence of God be generall, indefinite and indifferent, and to be determined by the creature, to the producing of good or evill, it followeth; that when the will of the creature determineth it selfe to the specificall act of sin, God also determinately concurrereth with it in particular, to the producing of such an acte in kinde. That this consequence is good it is evident, because whosoever shall offer his help, concurrence, & cooperation, to another indifferently, for the producing of good, or euill, the actes of sin, or vertue, as it shall please him, he concurrereth in truth & indeede, to the producing of the acte of sin in particular, as it is such an acte, if by the will of the other, his concurrence & cooperation bee determined to such an acte in particular. Wherefore if God for his part, offer onely a generall concurrence, & such as is indifferent to the producing of actes of vertue or sinne, accordingly as the will of the second cause shall determine it: it will follow that God concurrereth determinately or in particular, to the producing of the acte of sin; as being determined to the producing of such an acte in particular, by the will of the creature, before he come to actuall cooperation or concurrence. Secondly, this conceit cannot stand with the grounds of true Philosophie or divinitie. For if Gods concurrence were onely generall and indefinite, to bee determined by the will of the creature, the will of the creature should bee before the will of God, in respect of the particularity of things: yea in respect of some reall acte, as an acte, it should be simply the first agent. For according to this fancie, because the creature inclineth to such an acte, & to put a thing in being, therefore God cooperateth. Whence it will fol-

low, that there are 2 beings of things, & that God is not simply the first cause of all those things that have being. 2^d It pertaineth to divine providence, determinately to will, & aforehand to appoint, what afterwards shall be: to move second causes to certaine and determinate effects, and so to dispose all things, that they may attaine the ends for which they were created. But this could not be, if his concurrence were indefinite, & generall only. 3^d If it were as these men imagine, the determination of the will of the creature, should not be within the compasse of things ordered by divine providence, and so God should not have particular providence of every particular thing. That this is cōsequent upon the fancie of indefinite concurrence, it is evident, For if Gods concurrence be indefinite and in generall only, then doth he not truly and efficiently worke, that the will of the creature shall in particular incline to, and bring forth such an individuall action. And if he be not the cause that it so inclineth and worketh; his providence extendeth not to such working, seing his providence extendeth to those things only, wherein he hath a working. So that if these things were so as these men imagine, Gods providence should extend it selfe to contingent things, in a generality only, in that he hath given to intellectuall creatures a freedome, to what, when, and how it pleaseth them: and in particular in respect of things of this nature, he should have a presidence only and no providence. Neither doth that which is alleaged by these men, touching the indifferent concurrence of the Sun, or that of a man offering his concurrence in a generality onely, prove that Gods concurrence is such. For the Sun is a finite and limited thing, having something in act, and something in possibility, and so is man likewise; and therefore they may be determined, to produce such & such individuall acts, by the concurrence of some other cause. But God is a cause of infinite perfection, and a pure act, having nothing admixt of possibility: so that his action and will, cannot be determined & limited by any other. Wherefore the resolution of the best divines is; that Gods concurrence and influence; is not into the effects of 2^d causes, only, but into the 1st causes themselves. So that he doth not only by an immediate concurrence and influence, concur with the second causes, for the bringing forth of such effects as they determine themselves unto, but hee hath an influence into the 2^d causes themselves, moving & working them to bring forth effects; and such effects, as he thinketh good to worke them unto. This is proved by sundry reasons. First (as we see) 2^d causes do not only produce some certain effects and operations, as within some certain kind, but they give unto the their last actuall perfection, & to bee. But this they cannot give unlesse they be made compleat in vertue active, by the first agent: because an agent must be no lesse actuall, then the effect or operation it bringeth forth. But every created agent is mixed and compounded, of actuall being & possibility, & is not so actuall, as an execution, that is a 2^d act; therefore before it can bring forth any execution or effect, it must be made compleat in vertue operative, by the actuall motion of the first agent. 2^d, To be is a most universall act and the proper effect of God only; therefore if we will speak formally, & properly, 2^d causes, in that they give being to their own effects, are but instruments of God: whence it will follow, that they must be moved by him in nature, before they give being to any of their effects. For an instrument doth nothing, towards the producing of the effect of the principall agent, unlesse it be actually moved by the principall agent. 3^d Every such thing as is sometimes an agent in act, sometimes but potentially only, must be moved by some mover that is a pure act, and hath nothing mingled with it of possibility, before it can bring forth any action. But the will of the creature is sometimes actually in action, sometimes but potentially only: therefore it must be moved by the first act, before it can bring forth any action. Which must be granted; for that otherwise the will of the creature, in respect of some actions, should be the first mover of it selfe, and the first determiner. That which is wrought by God, in and upon the 2^d causes, to make them actually to be in action, is a thing that hath a kind of incompleat being, in such sort as colours have
a being

a beeing in the aire, and the power of the act in the instrument of the artificer ; and so often as 2^d causes, whether of naturall or supernaturall order, have in respect of the forme inherent in them, a sufficient active power in the nature of the first act, to bring forth their effects; the helpe or precedent motion of God, whereby he moveth and applyeth the same active powers to operate, is not a qualitie, but is more properly named a powerfull motion, whereby the first and most universall agent so worketh upon them, that the 2^d causes are actually in action, every one in sort fitting to the nature & condition of it. And to this purpose it is, that *Th. Aquinas* hath, that habituall grace is a quality, but the actuall help whereby God moveth us to will a thing, is not a quality, but a certain motion of the mind. And surely it will easily appear, that there is a great difference betweene these. For the habite doth perfit the power of the soule, as a form or first act, implying possibility in respect of actuall operation ; because the habite doth not determine the power actually to worke, but fitteth it only for action, & inclineth it thereunto. But this actuall helpe & moving, putting forth the 2^d causes into their actions, doth not perfit the power of working, but makes the actually to be in action. Lastly, the habit in respect of the nature of it, may be the cause of divers actions, but that actuall help & moving whereof we speak, determineth the will to one individuall action, & yet taketh not from it a power of dissenting and doing otherwise. ⁹ *Alvarez* a great and learned Archbishop, ⁹ *Disp. 24. part. 238.* that hath lately written with good allowance of the Church of *Rome*, layeth downe these Propositions. First, that God by an effectuall will, predetermined all such acts of men and Angels as are good, and all such as are not evill *ex objecto*, though in *individuo* they be evill, and sins *ex mala circumstantia*. Which he proveth out of the 10 of *Esay*, where Almighty God saith, *Assur is the rod of my wrath, he is my staffe, I will send him to a deceitfull Nation, and against the people of my furie will I give him a command. And a little after: Shall the ax boast against him that cutteth with it? or shall the saw bee lifted up against him that draweth it? as if a rod should be lifted up against him that listeth it, and the staffe which is but wood.* Heere it is evident that *Assur* sinned *ex mala circumstantia*, in subduing the nations ; and yet it is cleere that God predetermined that hee should waste and destroy the nations, and that he sent him to that purpose, and moved him so to do. His 2^d Proposition is this, that whatsoever is positive, and of being in an act of sin, though intrinsically, & *ex objecto* evill, it hath God for the first moving cause, & he doth primarily & originally predetermine the will of the creature by an actual motion, to such an act, in that it is an act, & in that it hath beeing, & yet not to the difformity of it. But *Cumel* disputeth strongly against this Proposition in this sort: There are certaine acts, saith he, intrinsically evill, so that in them that which is materiall cannot be separated *a formali malitia peccati*, that is, from the difformity or sinfulness of such an act. So that it implyeth a contradiction, that God should determine our wils freely to bring forth such an action in respect of that which is materiall in it, & not to determine it to bring forth the same action, in respect of that which is formall. And this reason hath greater force against them that hold, that the formality of sinne consisteth in some thing that is positive, as in the manner of working freely, with positive repugnance to the Law of reason, and of God. For if God predetermine, and effectually move, to the producing of evill actions in respect of that which is materiall in them, and the substance of the act: hee must necessarily also predetermine the same actions, in respect of all their positive conditions and circumstances: as the freedome of working, and the positive repugnance to the Law of God. And if he determine the will to work repugnantly to the Law, he must needs move and determine it to sinne; seeing to sinne is nothing else, but to repugne unto the Law. So that it must not be said, that God is the originall cause, that man hath any such action of will as is evill *ex objecto*. For if hee should originally and out of himselfe will any such

such act, hee must be the authour of sinne: seeing such an act is intrinsically evil, so that it cannot be separated from difformity: but whosoever willet the substance of such an act, must also will the difformity annexed thereunto, in the same sort as he willet the substance of it, as is already proved.

Wherefore that wee may rightly conceive, how God may bee said to will actions of this kinde: I will lay downe these Propositions: First, that of the sin of omission no higher cause needeth to be sought, than the deficient will of the creature; and that God no otherwise decreed the entrance of it, but in that he decreed the deniall of that grace, without which he knew such omission would bee. The second, that the sinne of omission is in order before the sinne of commission. The sinne of omission was first in the Angels, saith *Wickliffe*, as it is also in every man that sinneth. Omission, saith *Alexander of Hales*, in the order of sinnes, so farre forth as we may conceive, that there is any order amongst them, is before commission. The third, that the sinner falling into the sinne of omission, putteth himselfe, not onely into an estate of aversion from God, but of opposition also, and being adverse unto God; and so into a necessity of committing sinne, so long as he continueth in that state. For hee that is opposite to God, if hee have any action at all, must of necessity have such as are repugnant to the will and Law of God. The fourth, that God the universall mover, who moveth and worketh all things, to bring forth such actions as are fitting to their condition, ceaseth not to worke and move upon men and Angels, after they are become averse: but he still moveth and impelleth them to doe things fitting to that condition wherein he findeth them, as he doth all other things; and as he worketh in and together with all second causes, such effects as are fitting to their condition: So hee bringeth forth in and with these thus averse, actions fitting to such an estate of aversion, and adverse opposition, that is, such as are beside and contrary to the rule of righteousness. So that to conclude this point, God neither worketh the creature to be evill, for it becommeth evill of it selfe, by falling into the sinne of omission; nor simply and absolutely moveth and determineth it to doe evill: but he moveth it to doe things fitting to the condition wherein it is, even after by it owne fault it is become evill, and produceth in and together with it such actions as are fitting to that estate; that is, such as are evill. And his will being that nothing shall be without action, nor without action fitting to the condition thereof, hee hath setled it by an effectuell and positive decree, that he that will be averse and evill, shall not but doe evill, so long as he is and will be in such an estate and condition. If wee speake, saith *Gregorius Ariminensis*, *de prima mala voluntate, non habuit causam efficientem, quia nulla res fuit qua aliquid faciendo faceret illam malam, sed ipsa desistendo à bona volitione facta est mala: sed male volitionis aliqua est causa*: that is, If wee seeke out how the will of the creature at first became ill, there is no efficient cause thereof to be found, for there was nothing that did any thing to make it evill, but of it selfe by desisting to will that it should, it became evill: but of the act of willing what it should not, there is a positive cause. It is excellent to this purpose that *Luther* hath in his Booke *de servo arbitrio* against *Erasmus*. Reason yeeldeth, saith hee, that God worketh all in all, and that nothing can be done without him, for hee is omnipotent, and this pertaineth to his omnipotencie, as *Paul* saith to the *Ephesians*. Now Satan and man fallen from God, and forsaken of him, cannot will that which is good, that is, such things as please God, or such as he would have to be done; but being turned away to desire such other things as shall please themselves, they cannot but seeke those things that are their owne. This nature of men and Angels thus turned from God, is not nothing, neither is Satan and a wicked man nothing; neither can we say they have no nature, nor will, though they have a corrupt and averse nature. Therefore that which remaineth of nature in a wicked man, and in Satan, as a creature

and the worke of God, is no lesse subject to omnipotencie, and the action of God, than all other creatures and workes of God are. Whereas therefore God moveth and worketh all in all, hee moveth and worketh also in Satan, and the wicked man, and hee worketh in them in such sort, as is fitting to that they are, and as he findeth them, that is, so, that being evill and averse, and yet carried on with the motion of divine omnipotencie, they cannot but doe such things as are averse and evill. As if a horseman shall drive a horse that goeth but on two or three feete; he maketh him goe so as he must needs goe, if hee goe at all, so long as he is thus lame, that is, haltingly. But what should the horseman doe? hee driveth on the lame horse with the other that are sound; they goe well, this ill. It cannot be otherwise, unlesse the horse bee freed from his lamenesse. Heere wee see by this comparison, how that when God worketh in and by them that are evill, such things are done as are evill, but that God cannot doe evill, though hee produce in and by them that are evill, such things as are evill, because he being good cannot doe evill. Yet doth hee use ill instruments, which cannot but be moved with the motion of his power, nor cannot but doe evill if they bee moved. So that the fault is in the instruments which God moveth, and will not suffer to bee idle, that evill things are done when hee moveth them; no otherwise than if a Carpenter using an ill axe, should cut, or rather teare the timber ill favouredly. And hence it commeth, that the wicked cannot but alwayes doe amisse and sinne: because, being carried on by the motion of divine power, they are not suffered to doe nothing, but are forced to will, desire, and doe that which is fitting to the state wherein they are: till they be altered by Gods holy grace and spirit. And hereunto agree all the best learned in the Roman Schooles. If the name of sinne, saith

Gregorius Ariminensis, be taken improperly for an evill act, as for such an act as whosoever doth sinne, for example, for the act of willing something that should not be willed, or for some other inward or outward act which the sinner doth; there is some doubt whether God be an immediate efficient cause of such a sinfull act, or not: and there are solemne opinions one contrary to another touching that point. But without peremptorie defence of the one or the other, which might argue rashnesse, for the present I hold the affirmative as more probable, and as it seemeth to mee, more consonant to the sayings of the Saints. And hee addeth, whereas some speake of the difformity of such a sinfull act, denying God to bee any efficient cause thereof; *Si per difformitatem intelligatur aliqua entitas, quacunque & ubicunque sit, illam coagit Deus, nec scio oppositum dici à Sanctis. Doctores aliqui moderni dicunt, quòd licet actus difformis sit à Deo, difformitas tamen ipsa non est à Deo. Quod dictum potest habere bonum intellectum, non quidem concipiendo quòd difformitas sit aliqua entitas ab actu distincta, qua non causetur à Deo: sed intelligendo quòd licet actus difformis sit à Deo, non tamen est difformis, in quantum est à Deo. Nam non est difformis nisi in quantum contra rectam rationem fit ab homine, non autem à Deo qui nihil agit contra id quod ab eo agendum esse recta ratio indicat. Deus non est ejusdem rei secundum idem actor & ultor; sed est ejus actor, in quantum entitas quadam, ejus verò ultor in quantum est malum. Est autem malum in quantum malè fit, & ideo punit eum à quo malè fit pro ea.* If by the difformity they understand any beeing, or any thing that is positive, whatsoever and wheresoever it is, God is a cause thereof; neither doe I know, saith hee, that the contrary is delivered by the Saints. Indeepe there are certaine moderne Doctours that say, that though the act wherein difformity is be from God, yet the difformity is not; which their saying may have a good sense, not conceiving that the difformity is any positive thing distinct from the act, whereof God should not be an actor: but so understanding it, that though the act which is done otherwise than it should be done be of God, yet it is not done otherwise than it should be done, as it is done by God: for God doth nothing in producing such an act that he should

Lib. 2. d. 34.
35, 36, 37. q. 1.
art. 1.

f De casu Dia-
boli c. 20.

r Hug. erudit
Theolog. de
Sacram. lib. 1.
part. 4. c. 12, 13.

x Lib. 1. q. 13.
part. 1.

x Lib. 1. q. 14.

y In sen. lib. 3.
q. 12.

not doe but the creature only. So that, as the Divines do tell us, God is not an actor and a punisher of the same thing in respect of the same: but he is an actor of the thing in that it is a thing done, but a punisher in that it is ill done. And therefore he punisheth him that hath done ill in doing ill; himself having done the same thing well. *Quid mirum*, saith *Anselm*, si dicamus Deum facere singulas actiones, quae sunt mala voluntate, cum fateamur eum facere singulas substantias, quae sunt in iusta voluntate, & inhonesta actione? that is, What strange thing is it, if we say, that God produceth all those actions which sinfull men do wickedly, seeing we confesse he produceth all those substances, which are brought forth by a sinfull desire of the will, & an dishonest action? God produceth & formeth the same childe in the womb which a man begetteth in adulterie, & yet man only sinneth, and not God. Si vero dicitur, saith *Hugo de S. Victore*, *Deus vult malum*, grave est auditu, & non facile recipit hoc pia mens, de bono quod malum vult; videtur enim hoc solum dici, cum dicitur *Deus vult malum*, quia bonus malum diligit, & approbat quod pravum est, & amicam sibi reputat iniquitatem, & gaudet quasi de consimili, & bonum putat quod malum est: & ideo refutat hoc mens pia, non quia quod dicitur non bene dicitur, sed quia quod bene dicitur non bene intelligitur. Non enim hoc solum dicitur, sed ex eo quod dicitur, aliquid intelligitur quod non dicitur. Quoniam malum esse vult, & malum non vult: that is, If it be said, that God willeth the thing that is evill, men hardly endure to heare it, and a pious & good mind doth not easily admit, that he that is good willeth the thing that is evill; for we conceive nothing else when we say, God willeth that which is evill, but that he that is good loveth that which is evill, and approveth that which is wicked. And therefore a good mind rejecteth such a speech, not because it is not right and good, but because that which is rightly said, is not rightly understood; for this speech is not so to be taken, as if God loved or approved that which is evill, but something is to be understood which is not expressed. And the meaning of this speech is, that God willeth the being of evill, or that evill shall be, and yet willeth not evill, that is, approveth it not. Now when it is said, that God willeth the being of evill, or that evill shall be, the meaning of this saying of *Hugo* is; concerning the sin of omission, that he willeth it no otherwise, but only in that he denieth that grace, which only he knoweth would worke the doing of the contrary good; & concerning the sin of omission, that he produceth in and together with them, that by falling into the sinne of omission are become evill, such actions as are evill. There are, saith *Cameracensis*, who hold, that God hath an efficiencie, and is a cause producing the action that is sinfull, and that he may and doth cause and will that which is sin; as *Ockam*, *Bradwardine*, & sundry other renowned Doctors. And else-where he saith, that according to the opinion of the Master of the Sentences, God only permitteth those evils which are sin, & that he neither willeth their being, or not being. For if he did will their being, he should be the cause of them; which he thinketh must not be granted; and if he did will their not being, they should not be. But *Bradwardine* and others hold, that God willeth those evils that are sins, & that in respect of every thing, he hath an act of evill, either that it shall be, or not be, and not a meere negation of such an act. If we speake, saith *Ockam*, of the sin of commission, we must not thinke that the will of the creature hath an efficiencie, & is so the cause of that act, but that God also (who as immediately produceth every act of the creature, as the creature doth it selfe) hath his efficiencie, and is a cause also even of the difformity that is found in such an act, as well as of the substance of the act. Seeing as wee have already shewed, the difformity in an act of commission, is nothing else but the very act it selfe that is done contrary to the precept. Yet doth not God originally move the creature to doe any such evill act; but contrariwise so made it, and would have so continued it, if the fault had not beene in it selfe, that it should never have done any evill act. But finding it by it owne fault averse and turned from him, notwithstanding all the gracious meanes he used to retain

retaine it, he goeth on moving and carrying it forward with restlesse motions, and produceth in and with it thus averse, actions fitting to such an estate, and such as it must needs bring forth, if it bring forth any at all; that is, such as are evill. Thus hee doth without all fault of his, who must not cease to doe his worke of moving and carrying forward all things with restlesse motions, though by their owne fault being put out of due course, they do not attaine their wished good, but runne themselves into endlesse evils. Thus then God did onely by subtraction and denyall of that grace, without which he saw the creature would not be wonne to continue in that state of good wherein it was to be created, decree and purpose, the entrance of the sinne of omission and aversion; but presupposing this purpose, and foreseeing that which would follow upon it, by his consequent, and conditionall will, he positively decreed the other which is of commission. For seeing man must needs seek an infinite good, & love it infinitely, & if he seek it not in God, must seeke it elsewhere; God did decree that man not continuing to adhere to him, should seeke his chiefe good in himselfe, and so consequently fall into selfe-love, pride, and all other evils of that kind. This is the opinion of many worthy divines in the *Roman Church*, and this is that *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and the rest meant, if any where they affirmed that God doth effectually move, impell, and incline sinfull creatures, to do such things as are evill: namely that God hath setled such a course in things, that they that will not do what they should, shall do that they should not; and that hee will not suffer them that fall from him to do nothing, but will effectually move them to will, desire, and do that, which is fitting to the estate into which they put themselves, so long as they continue in the same, and will not be reclaimed and wonne to returne to him again. And this is agreeable to that of *S. Augustine* that God enclineth or moveth no man to evill, but that he enclineth such as are evill, to this or that evill. With whom *Anselme* writing upon the Epistle to the *Romans* agreeth, where he saith, That God may be said to deliver men up to their own hearts desires, when being prone to evill, he stayeth them not: and addeth, that it is also manifest, that God doth worke in the hearts of men, to incline their wills whithersoever he pleaseth, either to choose things that are good out of his mercy, or to choose things that are evill according to their desires the reasons of his judgement being sometimes manifest, sometimes hid, but alwaies just. For because men have run into some sins, they afterwards fall into many: and God, that long expecteth the sinner, looking that he should returne, when he findeth that he returneth not, but contemneth both his justice and mercy, he casteth some thing in his way, at which he may stumble and fall yet worse then before. *Inter primum peccatum apostasia, & ultimam pœnam ignis, media quæ sunt, & peccata sunt, & pœna peccati.* Whatsoever sinnes do come betweene the first sin of apostasia, and the last punishment which is that of eternall fire they are both sins and punishments, and therefore God may justly deliver up such as fall from him by the first sinne of apostasia, and depart from him unto their owne hearts desires, for the committing of such things as are not seemly.

Thus then we may resolve touching the entrance of sinne. First God purposed eternally to make man a rationall and intellectuall creature, indued with knowledge of all things, and faculty and power to make choice of what hee would. Secondly, Man could not be thus made, and be naturally free from possibility and danger of making an evill choise, disposing amisse of himselfe, and offending against the lawes of the righteous Creator. Thirdly, God wanted not gracious meanes whereby to hold him inseperably to himselfe, and to preserve him infallibly from falling away, though he were not, nor could not be, naturally free from possibility of falling. Fourthly, God foresaw, that, if man were so created and left to himselfe as afterwards hee was, hee would sinfully depart from him. Fifthly, hee saw that it was best to create and leave him so, and that if sinne should enter, hee could take an occasion thereby of the

* Scotus, lib. 1. dist. 41. quæst. unica, sola permissio alicujus actus, & certitudo de permissione non facit certitudinem de illo actu, quia oportet habere aliquam causam effectivam: igitur ex hoc quod Deus præscit se velle permittere Luciferum peccare, ex hoc, inquam, solo non videtur quod sciat Luciferum peccaturum. Solvitur hæc obiectio, quia Deus non solum scit se permissurum, sed etiam scit, se non cooperaturum ei ad actum necessarium, & per consequens omittit: & scit se cooperaturum ad substantiam actus prohibiti sine debitis circumstantiis, & per consequens committit. *This explication of Scotus cleareth the meaning of Calvin & Beza, when they say, God cannot foreknow future things, unless he concur otherwise than by bare permission. See the places objected by Bellarmine, lib. 2. c. 4. de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati, c. lib. 2. cap. 17. de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati.*

the manifestation of greater good, then the world otherwise could ever know. Sixtly, seeing the determination of mans will, that if he should be thus created and left, he would avert from him and sinne would enter, hee determined soe to create him and leave him, and to give way that sinne might enter. Thus then wee doe not say that God did absolutely, without all prescience of the determination of mans will, determine and decree that sinne should enter; but that, foreseeing what would be the determination of his will, if he were so created and left to himselfe, as in his divine wisdom he saw it to be fittest, hee determined so to create and leave him, and purposed by subtraction of grace to give way to the sinne of aversion, or omission, and permissively to suffer it for to enter; and by a positive decree resolved, that averting himselfe from the fountaine of all goodnesse, and the rule of all righteousnesse, hee should runne into innumerable dangerous evils and grievous sinnes of commission.

But *Bellarmino* will say, that *Calvin* denieth that Gods determination, decreeing what shall be, dependeth on this prescience, and that his prescience presupposeth his purpose and decree. * For answer hereunto we must remember, that there is a double prescience; *simplicis intelligentiæ*, and *visionis*. The first is of all those things that are possible, and which upon any supposed condition may be; as was that prescience of God, whereby hee foreknew, that if in *Tyrus* and *Sidon* those things should be done, which afterwards were done among the Jewes, they would repent. This doth not presuppose the decree of God, but extendeth to many things God doth not decree, nor purpose to bee, as it appeareth in the example proposed. The other is of those things onely which hereafter shall bee; and this presupposeth some act of Gods will. For seeing nothing can bee unlesse some act of Gods will do passe upon it, at least not to hinder the beeing of it, nothing can be thus foreseene, as beeing hereafter for to bee, unlesse some decree of God do passe upon it. Of this kinde of prescience, *Calvin* speaketh, and not of the other. For that first kinde of prescience what the creature would do, if it were so created, and left to it selfe, as afterwards it was, was before any decree of God, or determination what hee would doe. But that other, to wit, what hereafter shall be, not so; and therefore *Calvin* rightly affirmeth, that Gods foresight of the entrance of sinne, presupposed his decree that it should enter.

Thus I see not what can be disliked by our adversaries in our doctrine thus delivered, nor what difference can be imagined betweene them and us, touching the entrance of sinne. But, saith *Bellarmino*, *Calvin* affirmeth, that the end for which God purposed to make man, was the manifestation of the severity of his justice, and the riches of his mercie; and that the consideration of this end, was the first thing that was found in God, when hee thought of creating man: so that this purpose was before and without respect unto the prescience of any thing that afterwards might or would be in man; And that because there was not any thing wherein hee could shew either mercy or justice, unlesse sinne did enter, therefore secondly hee purposed, that sinne should enter. So that first hee purposed to punish before hee saw any cause, and then purposed the entrance of sinne, that there might be cause; which is no lesse inexcusable from injustice, crueltie, tyrannie, than if hee should purpose to punish, and so do, without any cause at all. Thus saith hee, it should seeme, that the first originall and spring of sinne, is from the will of God according to *Calvins* opinion.

For answer hereunto wee must note, that *Calvin* doth no where say, that God did purpose the manifestation of his mercy and justice before all prescience, but onely before that, which is named *prescientia visionis*. Secondly, that *Calvin* doth no where pronounce, that simply & absolutely the end wherefore, God purposed to make man, was the manifestation of the severity of his justice, and the riches of his mercy, or that he might save some, and condemne others;

But

But as I conceive according to *Calvins* opinion, foure things are implied in Gods purpose of creating man. First, what hee meant to bestow upon him. Secondly, what hee meant to deny unto him. Thirdly, the foreknowledge what would fall out, upon the bestowing of such benefits onely, and the denying of others, namely, Sinne, and Apostasie. Fourthly, his purpose, notwithstanding his foreknowledge, to bestow upon him onely such benefits of his rich and abundant goodnesse, and no other. So then the end of those benefits, which God purposed in such sort, and in such degree and measure, to bestow upon man in his creation, was not the manifestation of his Mercie and Justice, neither did he purpose the entrance of sinne originally out of his owne liking, that hee might have matter of punishment, as *Bellarmino* injuriously chargeth *Calvin* to affirme; But the end of his purpose of bestowing such benefits onely, and no other, notwithstanding his foreknowledge what would fall out, if so he did, was, that he might shew his Mercie and Justice, in saving and condemning whom he would. And against this, *Bellarmino* neither doeth, nor can except.

Thus having cleared those doubts that occurre in the doctrine of the Divines of the reformed Churches, touching the entrance of sinne; Let us come to the second part, and see what it is that they attribute unto God, when sin is entred. The actions they attribute to God when sinne is entred are three: Limitation, direction, and condigne punishment of one sinne with an other. For the first, that God setteth bounds to wicked men in their wickednesse, not onely in respect of the effect and event, but also of the very inward purpose, affections, and designes, and at his pleasure stoppeth them when he will; I thinke none of our Adversaries will make any question. For the Devill himselfe was limited how farre he should proceede in afflicting. *Job.* : and could not enter into a herde of Swine without leave obtained. For though the will to doe evill be not of God, yet the power is; for there is no power that is not of God.

Touching the second; which is direction, though God be not the Authour and causer of evill, nor may be thought without impiety to put it into men, yet when he findeth it in them, he directeth it, not only in respect of the kinde wherein the person against whom, and the time when it shall breake forth; but also in respect of the end and effect: in which sense it is, that *Bellarmino* and *Stapleton* both say, that though GOD incline not simply and absolutely unto evill, yet hee inclineth and bendeth the wils of them that bee wicked, that they shall bee wicked in this sort, rather than that, at this time, than at some other, against such men, rather than against those they more maligne and desire to despise, if they were left to themselves. ^a This God doth in that he openeth the passage, and maketh way for wickednesse to come forth and shew it selfe in what sort hee pleaseth, and stoppeth all other. Even as a man being in a high Tower, and desiring to cast himselfe downe, there being many passages thorough which hee might cast himselfe out, if a man should stop all but one, though hee might not justly bee said to bee the cause of the fall of him that should thus cast away himselfe, yet might he rightly be said to bee the cause, why hee fell rather this way, and out of this window or passage, than any other. So doth God order, dispose, and direct the wickednesse of men to breake out in what sort, at what time, and against what persons he pleaseth, and no otherwise; and is authour *ordinis in malo*, though not *mali*.

When we say he openeth the way & passage for wickednesse to break forth, we must understand that he doth this in two sorts; either ^a by not hindering it from breaking forth in some one kinde, which hee suffereth no otherwise to shew it selfe, or in that he positively inclineth it hither rather than thither, not by way of cause but of occasion offered. In which sense it is, that *David* saith,

¹ God

^g Lib. 2. c. 13. de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati.
^b Hugo de S. Victore l. 1. de Sacramentis part. 5. c. 29.
^c Ibid. Hugo Qui præcipiti quæ vult ad ruinam viam aperit, quodammodo ipsum inclinât, non impellendo, sed permittendo, & non tenendo: nec auctor illi est ruinæ, sed incedendi ordinator.
^d Thomas in comment. c. 9. ad Rom. citatur à Bellar. l. 2. c. 13. de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati.

2 Sam. 16. 10. ¹ God commanded *Shemei* to curse him, not as if God had either inwardly or outwardly perswaded him so to doe; but because, finding him full of malice against *David*, he so prospered *David* before, that he durst not revile him, nor had no cause to insult upon him: But now he presented him to his eyes in such a miserable estate, forsaken of many, and pursued by his owne sonne, as he knew would occasion these words of insultation, and bitter malediction. Thus then God commanded *Shemei* to curse *David*, not by precept, outwardly requiring him so to doe, nor by perswasion, inwardly inclining him to so vile an action; but by direction, inclining him, by words of malediction to expresse his bitter affection (which long before desired to vent it selfe) now at this time, and for the punishment of *David's* sinnes, rather than at an other time and in an other sort.

Job 1. 21. So when wicked men had spoyle^d *Job* he said, *The Lord hath given, & the Lord hath taken away*, imputing it to God; not as if he had made them to become Robbers, but for that being such, he directed their wickednesse, and used it to the triall of his servant, opening a passage for their wickednesse, and presenting to them such things as he knew would occasion his courage. * As likewise the *Jewes* in crucifying Christ, are said to have done nothing but that which God had before resolutely determined, not as if God had purposed their wickednesse, but onely because knowing what was in them, hee was pleased to direct, guide, and turne their wickednesse and furious malice, to the effecting of his owne purposes.

The third action that we attribute unto God, is, that he punisheth one sinne by an other. In punishments, ^o *Hugo de sancto victore* noteth three things: The matter, with which a man is punished; the contrariety betweene it and the partie punished; and the order of consequence, that where such an offence went before, such an evill shall follow, to make the partie offending feeble the smart of it. In those punishments which be punishments onely, and not sinnes, God is the authour and cause of all these three things implied in the nature of punishments: in those which be punishments and sinnes, God is author onely of the order of consequence, and the contrariety betweene them and the nature of the parties punished; not of the matter wherewith they are afflicted and punished. As for example: Pride is punished by envie, envie is not of God, but the contrariety betweene it and the soule of man, which maketh it bitter and afflictive, is: And the order of consequence, that where pride went before, envie must follow. Neither doth God only punish one sinne with an other, when there is such a dependance of one upon the other, that where one goeth before, the other must follow: but oftentimes, when there is no such necessary dependance, yet he withdraweth his grace, and for the punishment of one sinne, letteth men runne into an other. In this sense, there are three things attributed to God, in the punishment of wicked and godlesse men: The blinding of their understanding: The hardning of their hearts, and the giving of them up unto a reprobate sense.

These things God is said to doe three wayes: First, by subtraction and deniall of that grace which should lighten the understandings, and soften and mollifie the hearts of men: Secondly by giving leave to Satan to work upon them, and no way either strengthening them against him, or weakning his force: Thirdly, occasionally and by accident, when God doth that which is good, which yet he knoweth, through the evill disposition that is in men, will increase their wickednesse, and make it greater than it was before.

^o In annotationibus elucidationis questionum in epistolam Pauli ad Roman. 1. cap. illa verba, Tradidit illos Deus,

CHAP. 24.

Of the Heresie of Origen touching the Image of God, and touching hell, falsely imputed to Calvin

IN the third place, the Jesuite, fearing that men should thinke hee were neere driven and wanted store, he chargeth *Calvin* at once with two heresies of *Origen*. The first concerning the Image of God; the second touching Hell and the punishments of it.

* Touching the first, it is true that *Epiphanius* chargeth *Origen* with heresie, for saying that *Adam* lost the Image of God by his disobedience and sinne: but how justly, it is very doubtfull; seeing neither *Hierome* nor *Theophilus Alexandrinus* (most diligently noting his errours) make any mention of it. And therefore it may be probably thought, as *Alphonsus a Castro* noteth, that if any such thing was found in the workes of *Origen*, it was so delivered by him, as that it might carrie a good construction, and free from heresie. But leaving it uncertaine what it was that *Origen* meant by the losse of Gods Image. For the clearing of *Calvin*, we must note that which *Thomas Aquinas*, (no Heretick I hope in *Bellarmines* judgement) being a canonized Saint of the *Romish* Church, hath fitly observed to this purpose.

Hee noteth first, that the Image of God consisteth in the eminent perfection which is found in men, expressing the nature of God in an higher degree than any excellencie of other creatures doth. Secondly, that this perfection is found principally in the soule. Thirdly, that it is threefold: First, naturall, which is the largenesse of the naturall faculties of understanding and will, not limited to the apprehension or desire of some certaine things onely, but extending to all the conditions of being and goodnesse, whose principall object is God; so that they never rest satisfied with any other thing, but the seeing and enjoying of him.

The second kinde of this perfection is supernaturall, when the soule actually, or at the least habitually knoweth and loveth God aright, though not so perfectly as he may, and shall bee loved hereafter. The third is, when the soule knoweth and loveth God in fulnesse of happinesse. The first is of nature, the second of grace, and the third of glory. The first of these is never lost, no not by the damned in hell: the second, *Adam* had, but lost it, and it is renewed in us by grace: the third wee expect in heaven. To thinke the Image of God, considered in the first sort to be lost, is heresie; but *Calvin* is free from it. To thinke it lost in the second sort is the Catholick doctrine of the Church: for, who knoweth not that man hath lost all right, knowledge, and love of God, by *Adams* fall?

Some retrain the name of the Image of God, to the excellencie of the soules nature, framed to know all things, & never to rest satisfied in any thing, under God: and so generally and absolutely denie, that the Image of God can bee lost or blotted out. These make a difference betweene the Image of God, thus retrained to the largenesse and admirable perfection of the naturall faculties of the soule, and the similitude or likenesse of God, which appeareth in the qualities and vertues of it, making him that possesseth them, partaker of the divine nature, which they confesse to be lost.

Now this similitude is all one with the Image of God in the second consideration set down by *Aquinas*; and therefore in this matter *Calvin* erreth not, but writeth that which is consonant unto the truth.

Touching the second part of this imputation, it is true that *Origen* erred, thinking hell to be nothing else but horror of conscience; but he that looketh in the place in *Calvin* cited by the Jesuite, shall see, that he saith no such thing, but

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^a Hæresi. 64. & in Epistola ad Johannem Episcopum Hierosolymitanum.

^b Contra Hæreses: l. 2. Adam & Eva.

^c 1. Parte summae quest. 93. art. 4. ubi ait glossam distinguere triplicem imaginem: creationis, recreationis, & similitudinis, prima invenitur in omnibus; secunda in iustis tantum: tertia vero solum in beatis.

^d Hier. in Epist. ad avitum.

the cleane contrary. So that the Reader shall finde *Bellarmino* to bee constant, and still like himsele, adding one calumnation to an other.

C H A P. 25.

Of the Heresie of the Peputians, making women Priests.

Lib. 2. verb.
absolutio.

THe fourth Heresie imputed unto us by our Adversaries, is that of the *Peputians*, who gave women authority to intermeddle with the sacred ministerie of the Church. That wee doe so likewise, they endeavour to prove, by misreporting the words of *Luther*. There are two things therefore which *Luther* saith, in the place alleadged by them. First, that in absolution and remission of sinnes in the supposed Sacrament of Penance, a Bishop or ordinary Presbyter may doe as much, as the Pope himselfe; which *Alphonsus à Castro*, writing against Heresies, confesseth to bee true. The second, that when, and where no Presbyter can bee found to performe this office, a Lay-man, yea or a woman in this case of necessitie, may absolve; which our Adversaries neede not to thinke so strange, seeing themselves give power to women, to baptize in case of necessitie: which (I thinke) is as much a ministeriall act, as to absolve the penitent, in such sort, as absolution is given in the Church of *Rome*. And yet they would thinke themselves wronged, if from hence it should bee inferred, that they make women Priests and Bishops. But *Bellarmino* reporteth the words of *Luther*, as if he should say absolutely, that a woman or childe hath as much power and authority from God in these things, as any Presbyter or Bishop: wherein hee is like himselfe.

Absolution, in the Primitive Church, was the reconciling and restoring of penitents to the peace of the Church, and to Communion of the Sacraments, from which, during the time of their penitencie, they were excluded. This in reason none could doe, but they to whom the dispensation of the Sacraments was committed, and who had power to denie the Sacraments. The Popish absolution is supposed to bee a Sacramentall act, Sacramentally taking away sinne, and making the partie absolved partaker of the remission of it. This is a false and erronious conceit. *LUTHER* thinketh it to bee a comfortable pronouncing, and assuring of good to the humble, penitent, and sorrowfull sinner: which though ordinarily, and *ex officio*, the Minister bee to doe, yet may any man doe it with like effect, when none of that ranke is, or can bee present. Thus when the matter is well examined, it is meerely nothing, that *Bellarmino* can prove against *Luther*.

But that which hee addeth, touching our late dread Sovereigne *Elizabeth* of famous memorie, that shee was reported and taken as chiefe Bishop within her dominion of *England*, &c. is more than a Cardinall lye, and might be seeme the father of lyes, better than any meaner professour of that facultie.

For the Kings and Queenes of *England*, neither doe, nor have power to doe any ministeriall act, or act of sacred order, as to preach, administer Sacraments, & the like: But that power and authority, which we ascribe unto them, is, that they may by their princely right, take notice of matters of Religion, and the exercise of it in their kingdomes; That they may, and in dutie stand bound to see that the true Religion bee professed, and God rightly worshipped: That God hath given them the sword to punish all offenders against the first or second Table, yea though they bee Priests or Bishops. That neither the persons, nor the goods of Churchmen are exempted from their power: That they hold their Crownes immediately from God, and not from the

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Romish Antichrist; that it was the *Lucifer*-like pride of Antichrist, which appeared in times past in the Popes, when they shamed not to say, that the Kings of *England* were their villaines, vassals, and slaves. Thus then the fourth supposed heresie wee are charged with, proveth to be nothing but a diuelish slander of this shamelesse Jesuite.

Wee say therefore, to silence this slanderer, that we all most constantly hold the contrary of that hee imputeth unto us; and that wee thinke, there is no more dangerous or presumptuous wicked boldnesse, than for any man not called, set apart, and sanctified thereunto, to intermeddle with any part of the sacred ministerie of the Church.

C H A P. 26.

Of the supposed Heresie of Proclus and the Messalians, touching concupiscence in the regenerate.

THe fift Heresie which hee endeavoureth to fallen upon us, is, he saith, the heresie of *Proclus*, of whom *Epiphanius* maketh mention. But what was the Heresie of *Proclus*? Let *Bellarmino* tell us for our learning. It was (saith he) that sin doth alwayes continue and live in the Regenerate: for that concupiscence is truly and properly sinne, which is not taken away by Baptisme, but only allayed, stilled, and brought, as it were, into a kinde of rest and sleepe by force thereof, and the working of faith. In this, *Bellarmino* sheweth his intolerable either ignorance, or impudence, or both. For *Epiphanius*, in the place cited by him, refuteth the heresie of *Origen*, who denied the resurrection of the bodies of men, as thinking such bodily substances (which we see are continually subject to alteration here in this world) not capable of immortality; and that God did put these bodies upon *Adam* and *Eve* after their sinne, at that time when he is said to have made them coates of skinnes. This *Epiphanius* refuteth, shewing that God, who onely hath immortality, made man though out of the earth, yet by the immediate touch of his owne hands; that he breathed into him the breath of life, for that he meant hee should be immortall; that man had flesh and blood, and a true bodily substance before his fall, as is proved by that of *Adam* concerning *Eve*, *This is now flesh of my flesh and bone of my bone*; that there was no evill found in the world, such as death is, in the beginning; that man voluntarily sinned against God, and thereupon God brought in death; that even as the Schoolemaster useth correction, not for any delight he hath in it, but for that thereby hee intendeth to bring his Schollers to forsake their negligent and disordered courses, and to doe those things hee prescribeth to them; In like sort, God seeing that sinne was entred, brought in punishments to repress it: and seeing that it would be eternall, if man did continue immortall, hee brought in death to make an end of it. For (saith *Epiphanius*) sin is so deeply rooted in us, that it cannot bee quite killed nor pulled up by the rootes, while the body and soule remaine together. Even as (saith hee) when some wilde figge-tree groweth in the wals of a goodly and stately building, and defaceth and hideth the beauty and glory of it, the boughes and branches may be cut or broken off, but the roote which is wrapped into the stones of the building, cannot bee taken away, unlesse the wals bee throwne downe, and the stones cast one from an other: So the sinne which dwelleth in us, hath the rootes of it so inwrapped into our nature and the parts of it, that howsoever the boughes and branches may be cut and broken off, the roote remaineth while wee carrie about us this body of death, and will cause more branches to grow forth, till by death the parts of our nature, to wit, the soule and the body, bee sundred and divided. And as the wall may bee raised againe, and the stones thereof

thereof in due sort laid together, when the rootes of the trees, which formerly grew into it, be taken forth: So when the roote of sinne is removed by death out of mans nature, God will bring these parts of his nature together againe, and give him that immortality both of body and soule, which hee intended to him in his creation, and would have given him, had not death beene necessary for the rooting out of that sinne hee voluntarily fell into.

That sinne is so deeply rooted in the nature of man, that it cannot be plucked up but by death, *Epiphanius* saith it is evident by that of the Apostle, who pronounced of himselfe, that *to will was present with him, but he found no ability to performe: that the good hee would doe, hee did not, and the evill that hee would not doe, that hee did; and, that yet it was not hee that did it, but sinne that dwelleth in him*; But this (saith hee) it is proved, that sinne is not pulled up by the rootes, that it is not dead but living, that there is no man but hath evill thoughts and desires, which grow from this bitter roote of sinne, which neither Baptisme nor Faith doe wholly remove or kill, that sin is only repressed, resisted, and stilled from raging and prevailing in such sort as it did before, but not wholly taken away.

Thus then wee see, that *Epiphanius* most excellently delivereth that, in the defence of the trueth against *Origen*, and such like hereticks, which *Bellarmino* imputeth unto us, as heresie condemned by *Epiphanius*. Wherein surely he was either grossely abused by others, making him beleieve *Epiphanius* saith that, which most peremptorily he denieth; or else hee was willing to deceive and abuse others.

Howsoever, this advantage we have gotten thereby, that our assertion, that sinne remaineth after Baptisme, and that the roote of it is not taken away nor killed, till by death the soule and body be divided, is proved to be the ancient doctrine of the primitive Fathers.

But if *Epiphanius* faile him, *Bellarmino* hath an other author whereon to relye: for hee saith, *Theodoret* reporteth, that the *Messalians* were condemned for hereticks, because they thought that Baptisme, as a Razor, shaveth away sinnes past, but doth not take away the roote of sinne, and that therefore for that purpose wee must flie to the force of prayer.

This opinion of the *Messalians*, touching the not taking away the roote of sinne, in such sort as they understood it, and *Theodoret* disliked it, wee also condemne. For wee thinke, that Baptisme doth not take away sinnes past, but the very roote of all sinnes, which is Originall sinne, though not wholly; (for then wee should dissent from *Epiphanius* before alleadged) yet in such sort, as I will deliver in that which followeth.

The error of the *Messalians* *Bellarmino* attributeth unto us, because wee teach, that concupiscence in the regenerate is sinne. For the better clearing of this point, wee must observe, that the *Romanists* doe erre most dangerously in the matter of originall sinne, and naturall concupiscence. For first they teach, that the contrariety betweene the spirit and the flesh, the pronenesse inordinately to desire things transitorie, sensible, and outward, and the difficultie to that which is best, are the primitive conditions of the nature of man: and consequently, that concupiscence neither after nor before Baptisme in the regenerate nor unregenerate is sinne or punishment of sinne, but a condition of pure and sole nature. For if a man had beene created in a state of pure nature (that is, having all that pertaineth to the integritie of nature, and nothing else) it would have beene found in him. Neither doe they make any doubt, but that GOD might have created man in the beginning with all those defects hee is now subject unto, and yet without all sinne.

For, the being subject to them argueth not sinne: but whereas they were restrained, bridled, and suppressed by addition of supernaturall qualities, the ha-

6 Hæreticarum
fabularum: l. 4.
These Hereticks
thought, that
Baptisme doth
not take away
originall sinne,
which is the
roote of all o-
ther, nor deliver
us from the
power of Satan,
nor give spirit
and grace to
resist sinne.
These errors we
condemne, and
therefore wee
are unjustly
charged with
the heresie of
the Messalians

ving of them at libertie, by voluntary losse of those qualities, so not without sinne.

Thus then, howsoever they talke of concupiscence in the regenerate, and would seeme to denie it to bee sinne in them onely, yet they doe as well denie it to bee sinne in men not regenerate, as in the regenerate, and make it onely a punishment of sinne, if yet they yeeld so much unto the trueth. For indeede according to their erroneous conceit, concupiscence is a sequele of nature, and not a punishment of sinne: so that all that they doe or can say, is nothing but this, that concupiscence was naturall, and such a thing as might bee found in the integrity of nature, that it was restrained by supernaturall grace, added above that nature requireth for the perfecting of her integrity; that the having it now free and at libertie, to provoke, move, and incline us to sin, is the punishment of that sinne, whereby wee deprived our selves of supernaturall grace.

But we say contrary to this absurd conceit of theirs: First, that all these defects and evils, to wit, contrariety betweene the better and meaner faculties of the soule, pronenesse to doe evill, and difficultie to doe good, doe arise and grow out of the want of that originall righteousnesse, the property whereof is, to subject all unto God, and to leave nothing voide of him.

Secondly, that this righteousnesse was essentially required to the integrity of nature. So that there is no state of sole and pure nature, without addition of sinne or grace, as the Papists fondly imagine; for that the nature of man is such, as must either be lifted above it selfe by grace, or fall below it selfe, and be in a state of sinne.

Thirdly, that all declinings and swarvings from that perfect subjection unto God, and entire conjunction with God, which grace worketh, are sinnes and decayes of natures integrity: and consequently, that concupiscence, being a declining from that entire subjection to, and conjunction with God, is truly and properly sinne, whatsoever our Adversaries teach to the contrary.

Fourthly, that originall righteousnesse is said to bee a supernaturall quality, because it groweth not out of nature, and because it raiseth nature above it selfe; but that it is naturall, that is, required to the integritie of nature.

Neither should it seeme strange to any man, that a quality not growing out of nature, should be required necessarily for the perfecting of natures integritie; seeing the end and object of mans desires, knowledge, and action, is an infinite thing, and without the compasse and bounds of nature. And therefore the nature of man cannot, as all other things doe, by naturall force, and things bred within her selfe, attaine to her wished end; but must either by supernaturall grace be guided and directed to it, or being left to her selfe, faile of that perfection shee is capable of, and fill her selfe with infinite evils, defects, and miseries.

This may suffice for refutation of the vaine and idle conceits of the Papists, concerning three estates of man; the one of grace, the other of nature, and the third of sinne. Out of which we may observe, that howsoever they endeavour to make shew of the contrary, yet indeede they thinke that concupiscence is not sinne, neither in the regenerate, nor unregenerate. Whereupon it is, that *Bellarmino*, speaking of the guilt of concupiscence, which the Divines say is taken away in Baptisme, though the infirmity remaine, saith, it must be understood of that guilt which causeth concupiscence, not which is caused of it. For (saith he) originall sinne maketh guilty, and subjecteth men to concupiscence, but concupiscence doth not make them guilty that have it, and therefore it is not sinne, neither before nor after Baptisme.

But we say with *Augustine*, *Sicut cecitas cordis, quam removet illuminator Deus, & peccatum est, quo in Deum non creditur; & poena peccati, quâ cor superbam dignâ animadversione punitur, & causa peccati, cum mali aliquid cecit cordis*

Lib. 5. c. 13. de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati. Hugo de sancto Victore dicit concupiscentiam spiritus inordinatam esse culpam: concupiscentiam carnis poenam & culpam, &c. Alex. de Hales p. 2 q. 105. memb. 2. art. 1. d. Contra Julianum lib. 5.

errore committitur : ita concupiscentia carnis, adversus quam bonus concupiscit spiritus, & peccatum est, quia inest ei inobedientia contra dominatum mentis ; & poena peccati est, quia reddita est meritis inobedientis ; & causa peccati est, defectione consentientis, vel contagione nascentis. As the blindnesse of heart, which God removeth when he lightneth those that were formerly in darknesse, is a sinne, in that by reason of it, men beleeveth not in God ; and a punishment of sinne, where with the proude hearts of wicked men are justly punished ; and a cause of sinne, when, erring by reason of this blindnesse of heart, they doe those things that are evill : so the concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good spirit doth strive and covet, is a sin, because there is in it a disobedience against the dominion of the minde, and a punishment of sinne, in that it falleth out by the just judgement of God, that they who are disobedient unto God, shall finde rebellious desires in themselves ; and it is a cause of sinne, in that men either by wicked defection consent unto it, or by reason of the generall infection of humane nature, are borne in it.

Wee thinke therefore there should be no question made of concupiscence, and other like defects and evils found in the nature of man, but that they are in their owne nature sinfull defects. And hereof, I am well assured, none of the Fathers ever doubted : but how farre they are washed away and remitted in Baptisme, which is the matter about which *Bellarmino* wrangleth and taketh exception against us, let us now consider.

e Part. 4. q. 8. de Sacramento Baptismi, membr. 8. art. 2.

f Dicitur concupiscentia culpa ante Baptismum quia tum dominatur & habetarentiam debita justitiae sibi conjunctam. Alex. de Hales part. 2. q. 105. membr. 7. art. 1.

g Peccatum originis transit reatu, manet actu : in actuali peccato praecedit actus, sequitur reatus, nec dicitur in originali peccato actus peccati quo fit, vel quo est, sed quo remanet ad exercitium Alex. de Hales part. 2. q. 105. membr. 6.

Alexander of Hales the first and greatest of all the Schoolemen, noteth divers things most fitly to this purpose, out of which we may easily resolve what is to be thought of this matter. First therefore hee observeth, that there are two sorts of finnes : some naturall, which are in the person from the generall condition of nature ; some personall, that are acted by the person, and so defile the nature, as all actuall finnes. Secondly, that concupiscence is of the first kinde, being an evill contracted and cleaving to nature, not personally acted, or wrought by us. Thirdly, that concupiscence may be considered, either as it hath full dominion, and is a prevailing thing in them that have it : or as it is weakened, and hath lost that strength, dominion, and command which formerly it had. Fourthly, that concupiscence, while it hath dominion is a sinne defiling, and making guilty both the nature and person in which it commandeth all : but if it lose this dominion, it cleaveth to the nature onely, and is not imputed to the person for sinne, unlesse he some way yeeld unto it, be drawne by it, or suffer himselfe to be weakened in well doing, by the force of it. Fifthly, that the benefits of grace are not generall, but speciall, and of priviledge, not freeing the whole nature of man from sinne and punishment, as sinne corrupted and defiled all, but that they extend onely personally to some certaine. Sixthly, that when men are borne anew in Baptisme, they are freed from all that sinne which maketh their persons guilty before God, and consequently from all punishments due to them, for any thing their persons were chargeable with.

But because they still remaine in that nature, which is of the masse of malediction, therefore sinne cleaveth to their nature still, and they are subject to the common punishment of hunger, thirst, death, and the like. Seventhly, that the dominion of that sinne, which is of nature, is taken away by the benefit of regeneration in Baptisme. Whence it cometh, that the persons of men baptized are not chargeable with it, though they remaine still in that nature wherein it is. And consequently that the punishments, which they are subject unto (because they remaine in the communion of that nature which is not generally free from sinne) cease to be unto them in the nature of destroying evils, serve to diverse good purposes, and turne to their great benefit.

So then wee say, with the Fathers, and best learned of the Schoolemen, that concupiscence in men not regenerate is a sinne, corrupting and making guilty both the nature and the person wherein it is ; and that in the Regenerate it cleaveth

cleaveth to nature as a sinne still, but having lost the dominion it had, so that it cannot make the person guilty, nor prevailing with it, nor commanding over it. *Regnum amittit in terra, perit in caelo*: It is driven from the kingdom it formerly had in the Saints of God, while they yet remaine on earth, but it is not utterly destroyed till they goe from hence to heaven. Thus then, I hope, it appeareth that we are farre from the error of the *Messalians*, and doe fully accord with the Catholick Church of God, and that the *Romanists* are not farre from the heresie of *Pelagius*.

C H A P. 27.

Of the Heresies of Novatus, Sabellius, and the Manichees.

THe sixt heresie that wee are charged with, is that of *Novatus*, who would not have those that fell in the time of persecution, reconciled and received againe to the communion of the Church upon their repentance. But we receive all Penitents whatsoever, and therefore this lying slander may be added to the rest to make up a number.

But they will say, the *Novatians* were condemned for denying penance to be a Sacrament, and that therein at least wee agree with the *Novatians*. This is as false as the rest: for it is most certaine, that the absolution which was given in the primitive Church, disliked by *Novatus*, was not taken as a sacramentall act, giving grace and remitting sinnes, but as a judiciall act, receiving them to the peace of the Church, and the use of the Sacraments, which had beene formerly put from them. This, the best and most judicious of the Schoolemen confesse, besides the infinite testimonies that might be alleadged out of the Fathers to prove the same. It was then an admitting to the use of the Sacraments, not it selfe a Sacrament.

But *Calvin* saith, that the speech of *Hierome*, that *penitentia* is *secunda tabula post naufragium* is impious, and cannot be excused, and therefore it seemeth he inclineth to the *Novatians* heresie in denying the benefit of penitencie to distressed and miserable sinners that seeke it. *Augustine* in his Booke *De mendacio ad Consentium*, maketh it a disputable question, whether a man that usually lieth, speaking trueth at some one time, with purpose to make men thinke it like the rest of his lying speeches, wherewith they are well acquainted, may not be said to lie when hee speaketh trueth, because he intendeth to deceive, and doeth deceive. Surely, if this man should speake any trueth I feare the Reader would thinke it a falsehood, because his ordinary manner is selfe dome or never to speake any trueth. Doeth *Calvin* say the speech of *Hierome* is impious, and not to be excused, as hee reporteth he doth? Surely no: but that if it be understood as the Papists understand it, it cannot be excused. For they conceive thereby, that the Sacrament of Penance is implied, which *Hierome* never thought of.

But hee will say, the *Novatians* refused to have those that they baptized, to receive imposition of hands, with which was joyned in those times the anoynting of the parties with oyle. Surely so they did, but so doe not wee: for we thinke of the use of imposition of hands, as *Hierome* doth in his Booke against the *Luciferians*. But touching the use of oyle, though at that time there was no cause for the *Novatians* to except much against it, yet now that it is made the matter and element of a Sacrament, and that by a kinde of consecration, the ground whereof we know not, wee thinke wee doe not offend in omitting it, no more than the Church of *Rome*, in omitting innumerable ceremoniall observations of like nature, that were in use in those times.

a See that which we have noted cap. 7 out of A-lex. of Hales & Bonavent. affirming that the Minister is a mediator betwene God and men, dealing with God by way of intreaty, with men by way of command: by prayer and petition obtaining for sinners remission at Gods hands: and by authority and power resting in him, restoring them to the Churches peace.

Lib. 1. de mendacio, ad Consentium, cap. 4.

c See Dionyfius Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, cap. 2, part. 2. where a great number of ceremoniall observations are mentioned, which are long since growne out of use in the Church of Rome.

The seventh is the heresie of *Sabellius*, which he saith was revived by *Servetus*. So it was indeede, that *Servetus* revived in our time, the damnable heresie of *Sabellius*, long since condemned in the first ages of the Church. But what is that to us? How little approbation hee found amongst us, the iust and honourable proceeding against him at *Geneva* will witnesse to all posterity.

The eighth is the heresie of the *Manichees*, which taught, that evils which are found in the world, were from an evill beginning, so making two originall causes, the one good, of things good; the other evill, of things evill. It is true that this was the damnable opinion of the *Manichees*. But will the shamelesse companion charge us with this impiety? I thinke hee dareth not: for hee knoweth that wee teach, that all the evils that are in the world had their beginning, and did proceede from the freedome of mans will, which while hee used ill, hee overthrew and lost both himselfe and it, that while hee turned from the greater to the lesser good, and preferred the creature before the Creatour, hee plunged himselfe into innumerable defects, miserie, perplexities, and discomoforts, and iustly deserved, that GOD, from whom thus wickedly hee departed, should make all those things which formerly hee appointed to doe him service, to become feeble, weake, unfit, and unwilling to performe the same.

But, saith he, *Luther* affirmeth, that all things fall out by a kinde of absolute necessitie, whence the heresie of the *Manichees* may bee inferred. The answer to this objection is easie; for *Luther* taketh necessity for infallibility of event, thereby meaning, that all things fall out infallibly, so as God before disposed and determined: but doth not imagine a necessity of coaction enforcing, nor a naturall and inevitable necessitie, taking away all freedome of choyce, as our Adversaries injuriously impute unto him.

If this of *Luther* faile, as indeede it doeth, *Bellarmino* hath an other prooffe and demonstration that wee are *Manichees*, for that *Calvin* denyeth man to have freedome of choyce in any thing whatsoever. This is a most false and injurious imputation. For, though *Calvin* deny that man can doe any thing in such sort, as therein to be free from the direction and ordering of Almighty GOD; yet hee confesseth that *Adams* will in the day of his creation was free, not onely from sinne and miserie, but also from limitation of desire and naturall necessity, and left to her owne choyce in the highest matter, and of most consequence of all the rest; and that man, by making an evill choyce, did runne into those evils, which he is now subject unto. *Calvin* then is not worse than the *Manichees*, as making God the author of those evils, which the *Manichees* attribute to an evill beginning, as *Bellarmino* is pleased to pronounce of him: but is farther from that hellish conceit, than *Bellarmino* is from hell it selfe, if hee repent him not of these his wicked and hellish slanders.

But, saith hee, the *Manichees* blamed and reprehended the Fathers of the Old Testament, and so also doeth *Calvin*, therefore *Calvin* is a *Manichee*. This is as if a man should thus reason with *Bellarmino*: *Porphyry* blamed *Paul*, as an arrogant man, for reprehending *Peter*, that was his ancient, and before him in the faith of Christ, and *Bellarmino* disliketh him for persecuting the Church of GOD in the time of his infidelity, therefore *Bellarmino* is as bad or worse than *Porphyry*. For the *Manichees* thought that the Old Testament was from an evill beginning, and therefore exaggerated all the faults and sinnes of the Fathers that then lived, for confirmation and strengthening of this their blasphemie. But *Calvin* hateth this impiety more than the *Romanists*, who imagine a greater difference betwixt the state of the *Jewes* and the *Christians*, than hee doeth.

It is therefore an ill consequence, *Calvin* doth not hide, nor excuse, but condemn the murther and adulterie of *David*, the drunkenesse of *Noe*, and the incest of *Lot*, therefore hee is like the *Manichees* that thought the old Testament was from an evill beginning. Surely there is neither good beginning, nor ending to be found in the writings of this slanderous Jesuite.

Ad illud de Jacob. Licet aliqui conentur multum salvare eum, & aliquos Patres Veteris Testa-

menti non fuisse mentitos, cum tamen in aliis concedant eos habuisse Legem imperfectam, & gratiam modicam respectu nostri, qui & Legem habemus perfectam, & gratiam superabundantem, & de multis non negatur aliquando mentiri, vel fuisse mentitos, non videtur multum rationabile negare illos fuisse mentitos vel potuisse mentiri: quia si ita est, & si laudamus bona facta eorum, & illa sumamus in exemplum, mala tamen nec recipimus in exemplum, nec pertinaciter excusamus. Et *Judeth* ipsa se ornavit ea intentione, ut *Holofernes* caperetur in aspectu suo, & hoc volendo cum velle peccare secum mortaliter, & velle alium velle peccare mortaliter est peccatum mortale: unde non videtur omnino certum, quod excusata sit ab omni peccato mortali: & licet factum ejus narretur in Scriptura, & recitetur in Ecclesia tanquam laudabile, quantum ad aliqua quae erant ibi religiositatis, aliqua tamen ibi annexa, nec laudantur, nec licent. *Scorus lib. 3. distinct. 38. quae est unica.*

CHAP 28.

Of the Heresies of the Donatists.

THe next Heresie imputed unto us, is that of the *Donatists*, who denied those societies of Christians to be the Churches of God, wherein wicked men are tolerated, and the rules of discipline are not observed: and thought, that the Church, whose communion we must hold, doth consist onely of the good and elect people of God.

Touching the first part of this imputation, we disclaime it as most unjust and injurious. For (as I have shewed in the first part) we confesse, that wicked and godles men are oftentimes tolerated in the true Church of God, either through the negligence of the guides thereof, or upon due consideration of the scandals and evils that would follow, if they should be rejected and cast out, by reason of their greatnesse, power, or number.

Touching the second part, in what sense onely the good and elect people of God are of the Church, and how and in what degree hypocrites, wicked men, and reprobates, while they hold the profession of the trueth, may be said to be of the Church, I have likewise cleared in the first part.

But, saith *Bellarmino*, the *Donatists* thought the Church to be onely in *Africa*, and the Protestants thinke it to bee onely in the Northerne parts of the world, and therefore they are not farre from *Donatisme*. Surely, as farre as he is from any honest and sincere meaning. For, none of the Protestants have any such conceit, as to thinke the Church of God so straitned, as that it should be no where found but in the Northerne parts of the world, where themselves doe live. But the *Romanists* may much more justly be charged with *Donatisme*, who deny all the societies of Christians in the world, wherein the Popes seete are not kissed, and his words holden for infallible Oracles, to pertaine to the true Church of God: who acknowledge no true Churches of Christ, but their owne conventicles, so casting into hell all the Christians of *Ethiopia*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Gracia*, and *Russia*, for that they stand divided from the communion of the Church of *Rome*. Which unchristian censure wee are far from thinking that all those societies of Christians, notwithstanding their manifold defects and imperfections, be, and continue parts and limmes of the true and Catholick Church of God.

Lastly he saith, the *Donatists* committed many outrages against true Catholick Bishops, spoyled the Churches of God, & prophaned the holy things they found in them. But what can he conclude from hence against us? With which of these impieties can he charge us? Our blood hath bin spilt by them like water in the streets, our bodies tormented and consumed with fire and sword; and

and all this by the procurement of the Antichristian Bishops, sworn enemies of Christ, and vassals of Antichrist. Yet have wee hurt none of them, but in patience possessed our soules, knowing that our judgement is with God, and that when hee maketh enquire for blood, hee will finde out all their barbarous acts of cruelty, which they have done against us. Wee have prophaned nothing that is holy, wee have removed and abolished nothing, but the monuments of grosse idolatry, and therefore we are not to be compared to the *Donatists*. If in any place in popular tumults, or confusions of warre, whereof ever the *Romanists* have beene the causes, there have beene any thing done in furie, that was not fit, we cannot excuse it, nor could not remedie it.

C H A P. 29.

Of the Heresies of Arrius and Aërius.

Haec voces, quæ extra Scripturam sunt, nullo casu à nobis suscipiuntur. Maximinus apud Aug. contra Max. lib. 1. in initio: unde Aug. l. 3. c. 14. contra eundem sic habet. Pater & Filius unius sunt ejusdemque substantiæ: hoc est illud homousion, quod in Concilio Niceno adversus hæreticos Arrianos à Catholicis Patribus veritatis auctoritate & auctoritatis veritate firmatum est, quod postea in Concilio Ariminensi propter novitatem in verbis minus quam oportuit intellectum, quam tamen fides antiqua pepererat. multis paucorum fraude deceptis, hæretica impietas sub hæretico Imperatore Constantio labefactare tentavit: sed post non longum tempus libertate Catholicæ Fidei prævalente, posteaquam vis verbi, sicut debuit intellecta est, homousion illud Catholicæ Fidei sanitate longè latèque defensum est: quid est enim homousion, nisi unius ejusdemque substantiæ? quid est homousion, nisi ego & pater unum sumus? Sed nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense, tanquam præjudicaturus, proferre Concilium, nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris: Scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumcunque propriis, sed utriusque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet.

THe tenth imputation is of *Arrianisme*, which Heresie wee accurse to the pit of hell, with all the vile calumniation of damned slanderers, that charge us with it. Neither did ever any of our men incline unto it, or give any occasion of so execrable an heresie. Touching traditions, which, *Bellarmino* saith the *Arrians* did refuse, they were not blamed for denying unwritten verities. For, I hope the *Romanists* will not disadvantage the Catholick cause so much, as to confesse that the Godhead of Christ, which was the thing the *Arrians* denied, cannot be proved by Scripture, and that the Fathers were forced to flie to unwritten traditions for prooffe of it. But they were blamed, for that, when the thing had prooffe enough by Scripture, they refused the word *Consubstantiall* (most happily devised to expresse the truth against the turnings and sleights of Hereticks) onely because they found it not in Scripture: as if no words nor formes of speech might be allowed, but those onely that are there expressely found.

The eleventh is the Heresie of *Aërius*. *Aërius* condemned the custome of the Church, in naming the dead at the Altar, and offering the sacrifice of the Eucharist, that is, of thanksgiving for them. He disliketh set Fasts, and would not admit any difference betweene a Bishop and a Presbyter. For this his rash and inconsiderate boldnesse and presumption, in condemning the universall Church of Christ, hee was justly condemned. For the practice of the Church at that time, was not evill in any of these things, neither do we concur with *Aërius* in the reprehension of that primitive and ancient Church. For howsoever we dislike the Popish manner of praying for the dead, which is to deliver them out of their fained Purgatorie, yet do we not reprehend the primitive Church, nor the Pastors and Guides of it, for naming them in their publick prayers, thereby to nourish their hope of the resurrection, and to expresse their longing desires of the consummation of their owne, and their happinesse that are gone before them in the faith of Christ. If any of the Fathers did doubtfully extend the prayers then used, further than they were originally or generally intended or meant, it was not to be imputed to the whole Church.

Of our allowance of set Fasts, I have spoken before: and of the difference betweene a Bishop and a Presbyter, I shall have a fit occasion to speake in examining the note of succession, and the exceptions of the *Romanists* against us touching the same. If it bee said, that sundry of our Divines seeme to acquite *Aërius* in these points, they are to bee conceived, as understanding his reprehension to have touched the errors and superstitions, which even then per-

stantio labefactare tentavit: sed post non longum tempus libertate Catholicæ Fidei prævalente, posteaquam vis verbi, sicut debuit intellecta est, homousion illud Catholicæ Fidei sanitate longè latèque defensum est: quid est enim homousion, nisi unius ejusdemque substantiæ? quid est homousion, nisi ego & pater unum sumus? Sed nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense, tanquam præjudicaturus, proferre Concilium, nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris: Scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumcunque propriis, sed utriusque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione concertet.

haps began in some places, and among some men, to grow into practices and doctrines of the Church, which were not evill nor erroneous For otherwise his reprehension, if it bee understood to extend to the generall practice and judgement of the Church, is not, nor may not be justified.

C H A P. 30.

Of the Heresie of Jovinian.

THe twelfth heresie imputed to us is the heresie of *Jovinian*, concerning whom wee must observe, that *Augustine* ascribeth unto him two opinions, which *Hierome* mentioneth not, who yet was not likely to spare him, if he might truly have beene charged with them.

The first, that *Mary* ceased to be a Virgine, when shee had borne Christ; the second, that all finnes are equall. If these were the opinions of *Jovinian*, as it may very well bee doubted, wee condemne them, and his errour therein, as much as the *Romanists* doe. For, wee thinke, that *Mary* continued a Virgine, in, and after the birth of Christ. But they will say, many of the Protestant Divines doe teach, that the doores of *Maries* wombe were opened when Christ was borne, and from thence it will follow, that shee ceased to bee a Virgine. This consequence wee denie: for otherwise *Tertullian*, *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, and sundry other of the Fathers shall bee proved to have denied the virginity of *Mary* after the birth of Christ, which yet they all most constantly beleaved. But they know well that no such thing can bee concluded from thence. For, as *Tertullian* aptly noteth, there is *virgo à viro*, and *virgo à partu*; that is, a virgin may be so named, because shee hath not beene a mother, nor the doores of her wombe opened by bearing a childe; or because she hath knowne no man, though shee have borne a childe. In this sort a virgin may remaine a virgin, and yet be a mother and beare a childe, with the opening of the doores of her wombe if this childe thus conceived in her, & borne of her, were not begotten by man, nor the doores of her wombe opened by the knowledge of a man. So that though it be granted, that Christ when he was borne, opened the wombe of *Mary* his mother, yet shee remained a virgin still, because that which was conceived in her, was of the Holy Ghost. Neither should our Adversaries in reason presse this argument so much, seeing their owne Schoole-men confesse, there may be an opening of the wombe, in such as still remaine virgins. Thus then we say with the Fathers, that Christ being *Maries* first-borne, may be said more properly to have opened the wombe of *Mary* his mother, than any other first borne doe, because hee found it shut when he came to the birth, which they doe not. But, that from hence a deniall of *Maries* virginity will follow, we deny. And therefore we are wronged in this challenge, as in the rest.

Touching the opinion of the paritie of finnes, which is in the second place imputed to *Jovinian*, we hold it to be a Stoicall Paradoxe. Their argument to prove that we thinke all finnes to be equall, because, as they suppose, we denie the difference of veniall and mortall finnes, and thinke all finnes to bee mortall, is very weake; first, because we doe not deny the difference betweene veniall and mortall finnes, as shall appeare in that which followeth; and secondly, because if wee did make all finnes to bee mortall, yet of mortall finnes one may be, and is greater and more grievous than an other.

The opinions that *Hierome* imputeth to *Jovinian* are foure: the first, that

^a Aug. lib. de hæresibus c. 83.

^b Tertul. de carne Christi.

^c Lib. 2. c. 7. in Lucæ 2.

^d Lib. 2. contra Pelagianos.

^e Tertul. dicit Mariam partu facti corporis lege peperisse, & Tertul. divus Ambrosius quoque sub-

scribit. Rhena. in arg. in lib. Tertul. de carne Christi.

^f Lib. de carne Christi.

^g Durand. l. 4. d. 44. q. 6. Verissimum est bea-

tum Virginem Mariam per-

manisse virginem in partu,

& post partum, sicut ante: fuit enim virgo non solum ex ca-

rentia experientie delectationis venerat per quam pro-

prie amittitur virginitas, sed etiam membri

corporalis integritate: nec ta-

men propter hoc fuerunt duo corpora si-

mul, quia fieri potuit dilataio membrorum

& meatuum naturalium sine interruptione vel aliqua fra-

gione: sicut secundum Aug. 14. de civit. Dei, fuisset in omnibus mulieribus, in statu innocentie. Nolimequidem dicere, quod viros nonnullos doctos certe atque Catholicos sine cuiuspiam reprehensione nostri ætate dixisse video, Christum modo quodam matris uterum aperuisse. Maldonatus in Lucæ 2. 25.

^g Hier. l. 1. & 3.

contra Jovinianum.

there

there is an equality of joyes and rewards in heaven. This opinion wee doe not hold, neither can it be deduced by necessarie consequence from the words of *Luther*, where he saith, that all Christians are as holy and just as the mother of God. For hee speaketh of imputed righteousness, which is equall in all men, from which no imparity of joy can flow; but he never denieth inherent righteousness to be more in one than in another, and more in *Mary* the mother of Christ than in any other. Now from this imparity of inherent righteousness it is, that there are so different degrees of joy and glory found among the Saints of God that are in heaven.

The second opinion which *Hierome* condemneth in *Jovinian*, is, that there is no difference betweene abstinence from meates, and the sober and due taking of them with thanksgiving. This we judge not to be so truly delivered by him, as was to be wished. For, eating with thanksgiving is a matter of ordinary sobriety and temperance, but abstinence is an extraordinary act of Christian mortification and humiliation, and being rightly used hath those effects the other hath not; though neither meate, nor abstinence from meate doe simply commend us unto God, fasting being a thing not absolutely, and for it selfe, but onely respectively to certaine ends, to bee judged good.

The third assertion of *Jovinian* was, that they which are baptized with water and the Holy Ghost, are not subject to temptation nor sinne. This is not onely an error, but a damnable heresie, if it were so delivered by him as it is reported by *Hierome*. That which *Calvin* saith, that true faith which is found in them that are called according to purpose (as *Augustine* speaketh, following blessed *Paul*) cannot be wholly extinguished, nor finally lost, is most true, but hath no agreement with that of *Jovinian*, that the regenerate is neither subject to temptation, nor sinne. For *Calvin* denieth not, but that the elect and chosen servants of God may and doe oftentimes fall very dangerously, but that such is the love of God towards them whom he hath called according to purpose, that he is alwayes with them, to raise them up againe, if they fall: and that this is the difference betweene them, and such as God hath not ordained unto life, that they fall into the hands of God, who suffers them not to be broken, or utterly to perish; whereas the hand of God, even his heavie hand falleth upon the other, to crush and breake them to peeces, as *Hugo de sancto Victore* hath most excellently observed. This therefore is but a calumination like the rest, when *Bellarmino* doth charge *Calvin* with the heresie of *Jovinian* in this respect.

The fourth and last assertion of *Jovinian* is, that married persons, virgins, and widowes, if they differ not in other workes of vertue, and therein excell one another, are of equall merit. This assertion, howsoever it pleaseth *Hierome* to taxe, I am well assured the best learned both of the Fathers and Schoolemen doe approve. For, virginity in that it addeth over and above the ordinary chastity and purity, which ought to be found in married folkes, though it be a kind of splendor & beauty of vertue, yet it is no vertue, nor degree of vertue, as *Gerson* proveth. For that the married folkes could not have all vertues: nay, because all vertues are connexed, not having this of virginity they could have none. Besides that, no vertue is lost but by sinne, whereas virginity may bee lost by that which is no sinne, as by the act of Matrimonie. All vertues in their times and places are commanded, and not left free and counselled onely: but virginity is never imposed by precept, and therefore it is no vertue. Lastly, there is no vertue but being lost, by repentance may bee recovered againe: but virginity being lost cannot be recovered againe, therefore it is no vertue. These reasons are laid down by *Gerson*, wherby in his judgment it is most clearly proved, that virginitie in that it addeth over and above ordinary chastity and purity, is no vertue; and consequently that the bare and sole having of it, maketh not them that have it more acceptable unto God, than others that

De Sacramentis fidei. lib. 2. p. 13 in tractatu, an charitas semel habita amitti possit. Gers. p. 3. de consiliis Evangelicis & statu perfectionis fol. 67. Occam l. 3. q. 11. in sententia ostendit, quomodo connexae sunt omnes virtutes, non obstante apparenti repugnantia, & quomodo matrimonio juncti virtutem virginitatis habere dici possunt: ad virginitatem, inquit, requiritur abstinencia carnis eo modo quo Deus vult talem abstinenciam esse, & similiter actus carnis eo modo quo Deus vult esse.

that have it not, unlesse they excell them in vertue. It is then a state of life wherein if all things bee answerable in the parties that imbrace it, there are fewer occasions of distractions from God, and more opportunities of attaining to the height of excellent vertue, then in the opposite estate of marriage; yet so, as that it is possible for some married men so to use that estate, that they may be no way inferiour to any that are single. This doth *Gregory Nazianzene* most confidently and peremptorily defend, in his Oration made in the praise of *Gorgonia* his sister. Our whole life, saith hee, is divided into two sorts or kindes, to wit, marriage and single life; whereof the one, that is single life, as it is more excellent and divine, so it is of more labour and perill. The other, as it is more meane, and of lesse esteeme, so it is subject to lesse perill. *Gorgonia* avoiding the inconveniences of both estates, whatsoever she found in either of them behoofefull, beneficiall and commodious she tooke, and made the height of the excellent perfection of the one estate, and the safety and securitie of the other, to concur and meete together. Shee was chaste and undefiled, without scornfull disdain, mixing the commodities of single life, with marriage, and shewing by evident prooffe, that neither of those estates is in it owne nature such, as that it should wholly joyne us to God, or the world, or wholly divide, and separate us from these, so that the one of these should be a thing altogether to be avoided, and the other to be desired; but that it is the minde that doth rightly use both marriage and single life, and that either of these is as fit a matter for a skilfull workeman to worke upon, and to bring forth the excellent worke of vertue. And in his oration in the praise of *Basill* hee saith, *There have beene some found that living in the state of marriage have so carried themselves, as that they made it evident, that marriage is no impediment or hinderance, but that therein men may attaine to as great glory of vertue, as in virginity or single life. By which it may appeare, that marriage and virginity are rather diverse sorts and kindes of life, then differences and degrees of living better or worse.*

These sentences of *Nazianzene* are very different, from the inconsiderate speeches of *Hierome*, that hee is wont to use in comparing these two states of life together. For, who knoweth not, that hee was so farre in love with the one, and carried away with the admiration of it, in such sort, that hee spake too basely of the other, and indeede otherwise then truth and reason would permit. If this bee not so, let them that thinke otherwise tell mee what they thinke of these sayings of his. *Melius est nubere quam uri: si per se nuptie sint bona noli illas incendio comparare, sed dic simpliciter, Bonum est nubere. Suspecta est mihi omnis bonitas ejus rei, quam magnitudo alterius mali, malum esse cogit inferius. Ego autem non levius malum, sed simplex per se bonum volo. Si bonum est mulierem non tangere, malum est ergo tangere: nihil enim bono contrarium est, nisi malum, &c.* So then as wee do not approve any private opinion of *Jovinian*, contrary to the judgement of Gods Church: So on the contrary side, wee dare not approve these and the like rash and inconsiderate speeches of *Hierome*, being contrary to the truth of scripture, and the judgement of the rest of the Fathers, who are wont so to compare marriage and virginity, that the difference betweene them should be *bonum & melius*, both good, but the one better then the other; not *bonum & malum*, the one good and the other evill. For so to thinke is to fall into the heresie of *Marcion*, and *Tatianus*.

Contra Jovinianum, his bookes against Jovinian were excepted against by those of the Church of Rome, whereupon hee writeth an apologie. Certè constat Hieron. hac de causa Romæ male audisse. Rhen. in arg. in lib. Tertul. de exhortatione ad castitatem.

C H A P. 31.

Of the Heresies of Vigilantius.

Nulli autem animarum omnino inferos patere satis dominus in argumento illo pauperis requiescentis & divitis ingemescantis ex persona Abraham sanxit non posse inde religari renunciatorem dispositionis inferni &c. Tertul. de anima. Luc. 16.
 Athanasius aut quisquis auctor est quæstion: ad Antiochum quæst. 11. 13. Ibid. l. 8. Etymolog. c. 9. Theophrast. in 8. Mathei prorsus negant animas mortuorum viventibus unquam apparere, & cur fieri non conveniat multas rationes afferunt. Maldonatus in Luca 16. & 27. 28. Vide supra. c. 9. In Romanis vel totius Occidentis partibus intolerabile est & sacrilegium si sanctorum corpora tangere quisquam fortassis voluerit, & ibid. quis præsumat inspicere? lib. 3. in dictione 12. Epist. 30.

THe next heresie that wee are supposed to fall into, is that of *Vigilantius*. The opinions imputed to him by *Hierome*, and disliked are these. The first, that the Saints departed pray not for the living. The second, that they abide in some certaine place, and are not every-where. The third, that the vigils of the Saints are not to be kept, nor their bodies, and the reliques, and the ashes that remaine of them to be honoured, but dispitely trampled under feete. The fourth, that Bishops are bound to marry, and may not bee admitted unlesse they doe first marry. The fift, that it is better to give almes of our goods, according to that abilitie wee have, and to retaine a sufficiencie to our selves, then to sell away all, and give whatsoever we have at once to the poore. Two other assertions there are wherewith *Bellarmino* chargeth *Vigilantius*, to wit, the impugning of the invocation of Saints, and the condemning of the adoration of Saints, and their reliques. Thereby intending to make his Reader beleieve, that there was a controversie betweene *Hierome* and *Vigilantius* about these things; That *Hierome* did defend invocation of Saints, whereof yet hee speaketh not one word, and that hee justified the adoration of Saints, and their Reliques, which yet in expresse words hee disclaimeth and condemneth, saying, that *the Church honoureth them, but adoreth them not.*

For the opinions wherewith *Hierome* chargeth him, this we briefly answer. First, if hee absolutely denied that the Saints departed doe pray for us, as it seemeth he did by *Hieromes* reprehension, wee thinke hee erred. For wee hold they do pray in *genere*. Touching the second, whether the Saints do abide in some one place appointed for their rest, or be present every-where, how peremptory soever *Hierome* be, wee wish the Reader to consider how doubtfully *Augustine* hath written of this matter in his booke *de curâ agenda pro mortuis*. And that *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, and sundry other have resolutely delivered, that the soules of men departed do never returne nor intermeddle with the living, any more. Touching the third, which is the keeping of the vigils of the Saints, we know they were long since by the decree of a Councell condemned and forbidden, and that the Church of *Rome*, doth not continue nor retaine any such use or custome at this day. But whereas he is said to have denied any honour to be given to the bodies of Gods Laints, and dispitely to have used them, if so hee did, wee cannot but as much condemne his impietie therein, as *Hierome* did. Neither do we suffer any with us to despise the blessed Saints of God, to trample their bodies under feet, or cast them into the fire, as *Bellarmino* most falsely and unjustly accuseth us. But this indeed we confesse we have done, remembring the saying of *Gregory* and other of the Fathers affirming that neither the bodies of the Saints, nor any parts of them ought to be brought into open view, or handled with the hands of men; and that the burying of them, & hiding them from the sight of men is a duty we owe unto them: wee have caused Reliques which were wont superstitiously to be adored, and offered to be seene and handled of men, to be honourably buried. If any thing have beene disorderly done in the confusions of warre, and popular tumults, they know our answer, we cannot excuse it, nor could not remedie it. Touching the fourth we say, that Bishops neither are bound to marry, nor abstaine from marriage. Touching the last, we say, that Christian perfection standeth in this, that wee set not our hearts upon riches, that wee be not proud of them, nor trust in them, that wee be ready if it be for Gods glory or our owne soules good

good to leave all : But for giving away all at once, or retaining to our selves a sufficiencie, neither the one nor the other is absolutely, a matter of more perfection. For, sometimes, and for some men it is better to keepe and retaine a sufficiencie, and to give according to the proportion of their abilitie, then to give away all at once : and sometimes, for some men, upon some occasion, and in some state of things, it argueth more perfection, to give away, relinquish, and forsake all at once. Perfection therefore essentially consisteth not in riches or poverty, nor in the refusing to have any propertie in any thing, as thereby expressing the state of things in the time of mans innocencie: but in the affection of the minde, alwaies ready to forsake all for the glory of God, the profession of the faith of Christ, and the attaining of eternall salvation. See to this purpose *Gerson* in his booke *de consiliis evangelicis*, wherein hee excellently handleth, and cleareth this matter of Christian perfection.

C H A P. 32.

Of the heresie of Pelagius touching originall sinne, and the difference of veniall and mortall sinnes.

THe fourteenth heresie wee are charged with, is *Pelagianisme*, which *Bellarmino* endeavoureth to fasten upon us three waies. First, because *Zuinglius* did sometimes seeme to deny originall sinne, as did the *Pelagians*. Secondly, because *Calvin* and others teach, that the children of the faithfull are holy, by the right of their birth. Thirdly, because wee say that all sinnes are by nature mortall.

To the first of these objections wee say, there is no more reason to charge us with the private opinion of *Zuinglius*, which himselfe afterwards corrected and none of his followers ever in the *Helvetian* Church defended, then for us to charge them with the error of *Pighius* and *Catharinus*, who taught more peremptorily the same error that *Zuinglius* did, if not a worse and more dangerous. For whereas hee acknowledged most greivous evils to be found in the nature of man since *Adams* fall, which no way could have beene in the integrity of nature, though hee will not call them by the name of sinne; They hold, that originall sinne is not subjectively and inherent in every of us, but that *Adams* sinne is imputed to us, and wee punished for his offence, that all the evils the sonnes of *Adam* are subject to, are the conditions of nature, and consequently not newly brought in by *Adams* sinne, with sundry other erroneous conceits of the like nature.

¶ Bell. l. 5. c. 15. de amissione gratiæ & statu peccati proponit & damnat errorem Pighii & Catharini.

Touching the second objection that *Bucer*, and *Calvin* deny originall sinne, though not generally, as did *Zuinglius*, yet at least in the children of the faithfull: if hee had said that these men, affirme the earth doth move, and the heavens stand, hee might have as soone justified it against them, as this hee now saith.

For they most constantly defend, the contrary of that hee imputeth to them. But, saith hee, they teach that the Children of the faithfull are borne holy, or are holy by the right of their birth. O inconsiderate Jesuite! is this the ground of that vile and unjust imputation? Doth not *Paul* say so in expresse words, *1. Corinth. 7.* and wilt thou make him a *Pelagian* likewise? But, saith hee, *Calvin* and *Bucer* teach that the children of Christians by the right of their birth are comprehended in the covenant of grace, and so understand the holinesse attributed to them; whence it will follow that they are borne without originall sinne. To this wee answer, that the children of beleeving parents may be understood to bee comprehended in the covenants of mercie and grace, by

the right of their birth, either as beeing already in the covenants by actual admission, in that they are borne of such parents, or for that in the covenant betweene God and their parents, their parents offering them unto God, and his admission of them, and taking them to be his children upon such offer made, are covenanted and agreed upon. If *Calvin* and *Bucer* did teach, that the children of the beleeving parents are already in the covenant by actual admission, in that they are borne of such parents, it will follow that they were the children of grace by nature, and not of wrath, and consequently not borne in sinne. But they teach no such thing, but understand the comprehension in the covenants in the other sense, namely that the offering of them unto God by their parents, and his acceptation of them upon such offer made, are covenanted and agreed upon in the covenants betweene God and their parents. Now then as beleeving parents have good assurance that God will receive their children as his owne children by adoption, and forgive them the sinne they are borne in, if they present and offer them to Baptisme, as they are bound by covenant to doe, as much as in them lyeth; So if by inevitable impossibilitie they be hindered and cannot, they hope of Gods goodnesse in this behalfe, and are moved so to hope, by sundry rules of equitie, whereof *Gerson* and diverse others do speake, whom I hope *Bellarmino* will not pronounce to be *Pelagian* heretickes.

^a Gers. 3. part.
serm. de nativitate
Virginis
Mariæ conf.
Cajetan in 3
Thomæ quæst.
9. alias 68. art.
2.

The second thing, wherein *Bellarmino* supposeth wee agree with the *Pelagians*, is the deniall of the difference or distinction of veniall and mortall finnes. That the *Pelagians* did expressely and directly denie this distinction of finnes, there is no auncient writer that reporteth. *Bellarmino* therefore proveth it to be consequent upon that which they taught concerning the perfection of righteousness, supposed by them to be so full and absolute, as not to admit any imperfection, or any the lightest finnes to be where it remaineth. How good this consequence is, and how well he proveth that hee intendeth, I referre to the judgement of the Reader, and will not now examine. But whether the *Pelagians* were in an error touching the difference of finnes, or no, I will make it cleare and evident that wee are not. For wee do not deny the distinction of veniall and mortall finnes: but do thinke, that some finnes are rightly said to be mortall and some veniall; not for that some are worthy of eternall punishment, and therefore named mortall, others of temporall onely, and therefore judged veniall, as the Papists imagine: ^b but for that some exclude grace out of that man in which they are found, and so leave him in a state wherein hee hath nothing in himselfe that can or will procure him pardon: and other, which though in themselves considered, and never remitted, they be worthy of eternall punishment, yet do not so farre prevaile, as to banish grace, the fountaine of remission of all misdoings.

^b Cajetan in
primam secundam
quæst. 87.
art. 5.

^c De vita spiri-
tuali animæ
lect. 1.

All finnes then in themselves considered are mortall, ^a as *Gerson* doth excellently demonstrate. First because every offence against God may justly be punished by him in the strictnesse of his righteous judgements with eternall death, yea with annihilation; which appeareth to be most true, for that there is no punishment so evill, and so much to be avoided, as the least sin that may be imagined: so that a man should rather chooseth eternall death, yea utter annihilation, than commit the least offence in the world. Secondly, the least offence that can be imagined, remaining eternally in respect of the staine and guilt of it, though not in act, as doe all finnes unremitted, must be punished eternally: for else there might some sinfull disorder and *anarchia* remaine not ordered by divine justice. But wheresoever is eternity of punishment, men are repelled from eternall life and happinesse: and consequently every offence that eternally remaineth not remitted, excludeth from eternall glorie and happinesse, and is rightly judged a mortall and deadly sinne. All finnes then are mortall in them that are strangers from the life of GOD, because they have dominion and full command in them, or are joyned with such as have; and

so leave no place for grace which might crie unto God for the remission of them. But the elect and chosen servants of God, called according to purpose, do carefully endeavour, that no sins might have dominion over them, and therefore notwithstanding any degree of sin they runne into, they retaine that grace which can and will procure pardon for all their offences.

Thus all finnes in themselves considered, and never repented of, forsaken, nor remitted, are mortall. All finnes (that against the Holy Ghost excepted) are veniall *ex eventu*, that is, such as may be, and oftentimes are forgiven through the mercifull goodnesse of God, though there be nothing in the parties offending while they are in such state of sinne, that either can or doth crie for remission. The finnes of the iust not done with full consent (and therefore not excluding grace, the propertie whereof is to procure the remission of finnes) are said to be veniall, because they are such, and of such nature, as leave place in that soule wherein they are, for grace that may and will procure pardon.

By that which hath beene said, I hope it doth appeare, that we teach nothing touching the difference of veniall and mortall finnes, that *Bellarmino* himselfe can except against, and that wee differ very much from the *Pelagians*, who thought that no sinfull defect can stand with grace, or a state of acception and favour with God. For wee reject this their conceit, as impious and hereticall, and do confesse that all finnes not done with full consent, may stand with grace, and so be rightly named veniall.

C H A P. 33.

Of the heresie of Nestorius falsely imputed to Beza and others.

THe next heresie, it pleaseth this hereticall Romanist to charge us with, is that of the *Nestorians*. Let us see how he endeavoureth to fasten this impiety upon us. First, saith he, the *Nestorians* contemned the Fathers, and so do the *Protestants*, therefore they are *Nestorians*. The consequence of this argument we will not now examine. But the minor proposition is most false. For wee reverence and honour the Fathers much more then the Romanists do, who pervert, corrupt, and adulterate their writings, but dare not abide the triall of their doctrines, by the indubitate writings of antiquitie.

Secondly, (saith hee) the *Nestorians* affirmed, that there were two persons in Christ, and so divided the unitie of his Person. But the *Protestants* thinke so likewise. Therefore they are *Nestorians*. The assumption we deny, and he doth so much as endeavour to prove it, but proceedeth particularly to prove *Beza* a *Nestorian* hereticke: in which he hath as ill successe as hee had in the rest of his slanderous imputations.

Beza (saith hee) teacheth, that there are two hypostaticall unions in Christ; *Ergo* two hypostases or persons: which was the heresie of *Nestorius*. The consequence of this argument is too weake to inforce the intended conclusion. For when *Beza* saith, There are two hypostaticall unions in Christ, the one of the body and soule, the other of the nature of God and man, hee doth not conceive that the union of the body and soule do in Christ make a distinct humane person or subsistence, different from that of the Sonne of God: (for hee every-where confesseth, that the humane nature of Christ, hath no subsistence, but that of the Sonne of God, communicated to it) but hee there-

Deus dupliciter habet esse in creaturis.

1. per illapsum in omni natura & creatura. 2. per circuminfectionem in natura assumpta, & licet per illapsum Deus sit intimus omni creaturae, & interior quam ipsa sibi aut forma materiae, tamen per circuminfectionem sit intimior naturae assumptae: quia necesse est naturam assumptam amittere proprium esse substantiae, si quod ante assumptionem in ea fuit: vel si nunquam ipsum habuit, subintrare esse substantiae naturae ad quam assumitur, ut sit idem suppositum subsistens in duplici natura. *Picus Apolog. q. 4.*

fore calleth it an hyhomaticall union, because naturally it doth cause a finite and distinct humane person or subsistence, and so would have done here, if the nature flowing out of this union, had not beene assumed by the sonne of God, and so prevented and stayed from subsisting in it selfe, and personally sustained in the person of the sonne of God. This doctrine is so farre from heresie, that hee may justly be suspected of more then ordinarie malice, that will traduce it as hereticall. Yet hath *Beza* to stop the mouthes of such clamorous adversaries, long since corrected and altered this forme of speech, which hee had sometimes used.

C H A P. 34.

Of the heresie of certaine touching the Sacrament, and how our men deny that to be the body of Christ that is carried about to be gazed on.

THe sixteenth heresie, imputed to us, is the heresie of certaine, who, what they were, the Jesuite knoweth not, nor what their heresie was, as it should seeme by his doubtfull and uncertaine manner of speaking of it. This unknowne heresie, defended by hee knoweth not whom, he saith *Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon*, and other worthy and renowned Divines (with whom he is no way matchable either in pietie or learning, though hee weare a Cardinals hatte) do teach. But what monster of heresie is it, that these men have broached? Surely, that Christs body is not in the Sacrament, or sacramentall elements, but in reference to the use appointed by Almighty God; nor longer then the Sacrament may serve for our instruction, and the working of our spirituall union with Christ; and that therefore it is not the body of Christ, that dogs, swine, and mice do eate, as the Romanists are wont to blaspheme: and that it is not fit to dispute, as their impious Sophisters doe, of the passage of it into the stomacke, belly, and draught, of vomitting it up againe, and resumming it when it is vomited, with infinite other like fooleries, which every modest man loatheth and shameth to heare mentioned. Secondly, that it is not the body of Christ, which the Popish Idolaters carrie about in their pompons, solemne and Pontificall Processions to be gazed on and adored, to drive away divels, to still tempests, to stay the overflowing of waters, to quench and extinguish consuming and wasting fires: But that the body of Christ is present in and with the sanctified elements, onely in reference to the use appointed, that is, that men should be made partakers of it.

¶ Hugo de sancto victore de sacram. fidei. li. 2. p. 9. c. 13. Bonavent. l. 4. dist. 13. art. 2. q. 1. 2.

¶ De corona militis. lib. 2. ad uxorem. Hieron. adversus Jovin. quare non ingrediuntur Ecclesias, &c. Rhenanus annotat. in lib. de corona militis. c. Justinus Mart. tyr. apolo. 3. prope finem. d. Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 23.

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This participation, according to the auncient use, was first and principally in the publike assemblie: secondly, in the Primitive Church the manner of many was, to receive the Sacrament, and not to be partakers of it presently, but to carrie it home with them and to receive it privately when they were disposed, as *Tertullian* and others do report. Thirdly, the manner was to send it by the Deacons, to them, that by sicknesse, or other necessary impediment were forced to be absent; and to strangers. Yea, for this purpose they did in such places where they communicated not every day, reserve some parts of the sanctified elements, to be sent to the sicke, and such as were in danger of death.

This reservation was not generally observed, as may appeare by the Canon of *Clemens*; prescribing, that so much onely should be provided for the outward matter of the Sacraments, as might suffice the Communicants; and

that if any thing remained, it should presently be received by the Clergie. Neither could there be any place for, or use of reservation, where there was a daily Communion, as in many places there was: nor in any place for such reservation as is used in the Church of *Rome*, for weekes, and moneths, seeing there was generally in auncient times in all places twice a weeke, or at least once every weeke, a Communion, from whence they might be supplied that were absent.

The Romanists consecrate every day, but make their reservations from some solemn time of communicating. as Easter, or the like; and this not onely, or principally, for the purpose of communicating any in the mysteries of the Lords body and blood, but for circumgellation, ostentation, and adoration, to which end the Fathers never used it. Neither is that, which is thus unto this purpose reserved, the body of Christ, as our Divines do most truly pronounce. The manner of the Primitive Church was as *Rhenanus* testifieth, if any parts of the consecrated elements remained so long as to be mustie and unfit for use, to consume them with fire, wick I thinke they would not have done to the body of Christ. This sheweth they thought the sanctified elements to be Christs body no longer, than they might serve for the comfortable instruction of the faithfull, by partaking in them. But the Romanists at this day as the same *Rhenanus* fitly observeth, would thinke it a great and horrible impietie, to doe that which the Fathers then prescribed and practised.

So then *Calvin* doth thinke that the Romish reservation doth not carry about with it the body of Christ, as the Papiists foolishly fancie, and yet I hope is in no heresie at all. Neither doth hee any where say, that the elements consecrated and reserved for a time, in reference to an ensuing receiving of them, are not the body of Christ; but saith onely, that there were long since great abuses in reservation, and greater in that every one was permitted to take the Sacrament at the hand of the publike Minister in the Church, and carry it home with him: which I thinke this Cardinall will not deny, if hee advisedly bethinke himselfe.

C H A P. 35.

Of the heresie of Eutiches, falsely imputed to the Divines of Germany.

THe next heresie, imputed unto us, is *Eutichianisme*; wick is directly opposite and contrary to the former error of *Nestorius*. This hee chargeth first upon *Zuinckfeldius*, whom wee reject as a franticke and seduced miscreant, and do in no wise acknowledge him to be a member of our Churches. Secondly, upon *Brentius*, *Jacobus Smidelinus*, and other learned Divines of the German Churches.

The heresie of *Eutiches* was, that as before, so after the incarnation there was but one onely nature in Christ, for that the nature of God was turned into man, that there was a confusion of these natures. Doe any of the German Divines teach this blasphemous doctrine? No, saith *Bellarmino*, not directly and in precise tearmes, but indirectly, and by consequent they doe. If wee demand of him what that is which they teach, whence this impietie may by necessary consequence be inferred, hee answereth, the ubiquitary presence of the body and humane nature of Christ. For, saith hee, ubiquity being an incommunicable property of God, it cannot be communicated to the humane nature of Christ, without confusion of the divine and humane natures. But he should remember that they, whom he thus odiously traduceth, are not so ignorant, as to thinke, that the body of Christ, which is a finite and limited nature,

fore calleth it an hyhomaticall union, because naturally it doth cause a finite and distinct humane person or subsistence, and so would have done here, if the nature flowing out of this union, had not beene assumed by the sonne of God, and so prevented and stayed from subsisting in it selfe, and personally sustained in the person of the sonne of God. This doctrine is so farre from heresie, that hee may justly be suspected of more then ordinarie malice, that will traduce it as hereticall. Yet hath *Beza* to stop the mouthes of such clamorous adversaries, long since corrected and altered this forme of speech, which hee had sometimes used.

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Of the heresie of Eutiches, falsely imputed to the Divines of Germany.

THe next heresie, imputed unto us, is *Eutichianisme*; wick is directly opposite and contrary to the former error of *Nestorius*. This hee chargeth first upon *Zuinckfeldius*, whom wee reject as a franticke and seduced miscreant, and do in no wise acknowledge him to be a member of our Churches. Secondly, upon *Brentius*, *Jacobus Smidelinus*, and other learned Divines of the German Churches.

The heresie of *Eutiches* was, that as before, so after the incarnation there was but one onely nature in Christ, for that the nature of God was turned into man, that there was a confusion of these natures. Doe any of the German Divines teach this blasphemous doctrine? No, saith *Bellarmino*, not directly and in precise tearmes, but indirectly, and by consequent they doe. If wee demaund of him what that is which they teach, whence this impietie may by necessary consequence be inferred, hee answereth, the ubiquitary presence of the body and humane nature of Christ. For, saith hee, ubiquity being an incommunicable property of God, it cannot be communicated to the humane nature of Christ, without confusion of the divine and humane natures. But he should remember that they, whom he thus odiously traduceth, are not so ignorant, as to thinke, that the body of Christ, which is a finite and limited nature,

ture, is every where, by actuall position or locall extension, but personally onely in respect of the conjunction and union it hath with God, by reason whereof it is no where severed from God, who is every where.

^a Uniri Hypo-
staticè Deum
& hominem,
nihil est aliud
quàm naturam
humanam non
habere propri-
am substanti-
am, sed assump-
tam esse à ver-
bo æterno, ad
ipsam verbi
substantiam.
Bellarm. de in-
carn. l. 3. c. 8.

This is it then, which they teach, That the body of Christ doth remaine in nature and essence finite, limited, and bounded, and is locally in one place; but that there is no place where it is not united personally unto that God that is every-where: in which sense they thinke it may truly be said to be every-where. For the better clearing of this point, wee must remember that it is agreed upon by all Catholike Divines, that the humane nature of Christ hath two kindes of being, the one naturall the other personall. The first, limited and finite; the second infinite and incomprehensible. For seeing the nature of man is a created nature and essence, it cannot but be finite: and seeing it hath no personall subsistence of it owne, but that of the sonne of God communicated to it, which is infinite and without limitation, it cannot be denied to have an infinite subsistence, and to subsist in an incomprehensible and illimited sort, and consequently every-where. Thus then the body of Christ *secundum esse naturale*, is contained in one place; but *secundum esse personale*, may rightly be said to be every-where.

It were easie to reconcile all those assertions of our Divines touching this part of Christian faith, in shew so opposite one to another, and to stop the mouthes of our prattling adversaries, who so greedily seeke out our verball and seeming differences (whereas their whole doctrine is nothing else but an heap of uncertainties and contrarieties) if this were a fit place. But let this briefly suffice for the repelling of *Bellarmines* calumnation, and let us proceed to examine the rest of the objections.

C H A P. 36.

*Of the supposed heresie of Zenaïas Persa; impugning
the adoration of Images.*

THe next heresie, hee imputeth unto us, is the impugning of the adoration and worshipping of Images: the first author of which impiety, as this impious Idolater is pleased to name it, was *Zenaïas Persa*, as

Nicephorus reports. But whatsoever the Jesuite thinke, *Nicephorus* credit is not so good, that upon his bare word wee should believe so shamelesse a lye. For *Augustine*, which was before the Persian, (in his booke *De moribus Ecclesie, libro primo, capite tricesimo quarto*) hath the same heresie, as it pleaseth these heretickes to call it. *Nolite, inquit, consecrari turbas imperatorum, qui in ipsa vera religione superstitiosi sunt. Novi multos esse sepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores, quos mores Ecclesia condemnat, & quotidie corrigere studet.* And

^a Greg. Sere-
no Massiliensi
lib. 9. cap. 9.
frangi non de-
buit quod non
ad adorandum
in Ecclesiis,
sed ad instru-
endum solum.
modò mentes
fuit nescienti-
um colloca-
tum.

^b Gregory, after, the time of this supposed Persian, doth condemne the adoration of Images. And ^c the Councell of *Frankford* likewise after his time, as appeareth by *Hincmarus*, and others.

Besides if *Nicephorus* follow the judgement of the Fathers of the second *Nicene* Councell, hee meaneth nothing else, by that adoration of Images, which hee approveth, but the embracing, kissing, and reverent using of them, like to the honour wee do the Bookes of holy Scripture, not that religious worship which consisteth in spirit and truth, which the Papists yeeld to their Idols. And so there is as great difference of judgement betweene him and *Bellarmino*, as betweene him and us.

^d Auctores antiqui omnes conveniunt in hoc quod in Concilio *Francfordiensi* sit reprobata Synodus 7. quæ decreverat imagines adorandas: ita *Hincmarus*, *Aimoinus*, *Regino*, *Ado*, & alii. *Bellarmin. lib. 2. de sanctorum imaginibus. c. 14.*

that

That which *Bellarmino* addeth against *Calvin* and others, touching the time that Images were first brought into the Church if this place did require the examination of it, wee should finde him as notable a trisler therein, as in all the rest.

c Quis adorat vel orat intuens simulacrum, qui non sic afficitur ut

ab eo se exaudiri putet? itaque homines talibus superstitionibus obligati, plerumque ad ipsum solem dorsum ponentes preces fundunt statuæ, quam solem vocant: & cum sonitu maris à tergo feriantur, Neptuni statuam quam pro ipso mari colunt, quasi sentientem gemitibus feriunt: hoc enim facit, & quodammodo extorquet illa figura membrorum, &c. Hoc venerantur quod ipsi ex auro & argento fecerunt: sed dicent, & nos habere instrumenta & vasa ex huiusmodi materia in usu celebrandorum sacramentorum &c. & sunt profectò ista instrumenta, seu vasa, quid aliud quam opera manuum hominum? ceterum num quid os habent, & non loquuntur, &c. numquid iis supplicamus quia per ea supplicamus Deo? illa causa maxima impietatis insanæ, quòd plus valet in affectibus miserorum forma similis viventi, quæ sibi efficit supplicari, quam quod manifestum est, non esse viventem, ut debeat a vivente contemni. *Aug.* in *Psalm.* 113. vide *Walafridum Strabonem* de rebus *Eccles.* de imaginibus, &c.

C H A P. 37.

Of the error of the Lampetians, touching voves.

THe error of the Lampetians was, as *Alphonsus à Castro* supposeth, that it is not lawfull for men to vowe, and by vowing to lay a necessity upon themselves of doing of those things, which freely and without any such tye, might much better be performed.

If they dislike simply all vowing, wee doe not approve their opinion, as may appeare by that which *Kemnissius*, *Zanchius*, and others have written to this purpose, and therefore wee are unjustly said to favour their error. That which *Bellarmino* addeth for the strengthening of this his unjust imputation, is a meere calumnation. For *Luther* doth not say, that a man should vowe to do a thing as long as hee shall be pleased, and then to be free againe when hee shall dislike that which before hee resolved: but that all voves should be made with limitation, to be so farre performed, as humane frailtie will permit, and that it is better after a vow made to breake it, and to descend to the doing of that which is lawfull and good, though not carrying so great show of perfection as that which by vow was promised, than under the pretence of keeping it, to live in all dissolute wickednesse as the manner of the Popish votarie is: whereupon the Fathers are cleare, that marriage after a vow made of single life, is lawfull, and that it is better to marrie, than continuing single to live lewdly and wantonly.

a The Romanists admit dispensations wholly discharging from Voves & Commutations: whereby men are taught, it sufficeth to perform some other

things instead of that they vowed. *b* Si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est ut nubant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant. *Cypr.* lib. 1. *Epist.* 11. *Epiphanius* hæresi 61. ostendit melius esse post votum jungi matrimonio & acta pœnitentia recipi in Ecclesiam, quam quotidie telis occultis vulnerari. *August.* de bono viduitatis. Though he do mislike them that vow, and performe not, yet he reproveth them also, that thinke marriages after voves to be void, and to be dissolved.

C H A P. 38.

Of the heresie of certaine, touching the veritie of the body and blood of Christ communicated to us in the Sacrament.

THe last heresie might well have beene omitted. For these Heretiques condemned by *Theodoret*, *Ignatius* and others, denied the verity of Christs humane nature, and thereupon condemneth the Sacrament of his body and blood. So that it was not the imputing of Popish

a Impatibilis Dialog. 3. mirum est, *Bellarmino* hanc hæresin tam anti-

quam putare, cum *Alphonsus à Castro* hæresi 4. de Eucharistia, dicat, omnes qui huius perversi dogmatis mentionem fecerunt asserere fuisse *Berengarii* inventionem.

Transub-

Transubstantiation, as *Bellarmino* idly fancyeth, that was reprov'd in them, but the denying of the truth of that body and blood, which all true Christians doe know to be mystically communicated to them in the Sacrament, to their unspeakable comfort. How then can wee be charged with the heresie of these men, seeing wee neither deny the veritie of Christs humane nature, nor make the Sacrament to be a naked figure or similitude onely, but acknowledge that it consisteth of two things, the one earthly, and the other heavenly; and that the body of Christ is truly present in the Sacrament, and communicated to us, though neither Capernaitically to be torne with the teeth, nor popishly to be swallowed, and carried downe into the stomacke and belly.

Thus then we see, how fondly this Cardinall hereticke hath endeavoured to prove us heretickes, and to hold the old condemned heresies of those cursed Arch-heretickes, whose frensies wee condemne much more than hee, and his fellowes doe. So that he is so farre from demonstrating either our consent with condemned heretickes that were of old, or their consent with the aunient Fathers, and consequently the antiquity of their profession, that contrarily all that are not blinded with partiality, may easily see, that the whole course of Popish doctrine is nothing but a confused mixture of errors; and all that they write against us, nothing but meere calumnation and slander.

C H A P. 39.

Of Succession, and the exceptions of the adversaries against us in respect of the supposed want of it.

THUS then having taken a view of whatsoever they can or do alleage, for proove of the antiquitie of their doctrine, which is the first note of the Church assigned by them; let us come unto the second, which is Succession, and see if they have any better successe in it, than in the former. In what sense Succession may be granted to be a note of the true Church, I have shewed already: let us therefore see how, and what our adversaries conclude from thence against us, or for themselves.

^a Bellar. 4. de
notis Ecclesiaz
c. 8. not. 3.

^b Contra Luci-
ferianos.

^c Lib. 4. Ep. 10.

By this note, say they, it is easie to prove, that the reformed Churches are not the true Churches of God. ^b *Ecclesia non est, quae non habet sacerdotem*, saith *Hierome* against the Luciferians. *It can be no Church, that hath no Ministry.* And *Cyprian* to the same purpose pronounceth, that *the Church is nothing else, but, Plebs episcopo adunata*. Thus therefore from these authorities they reason; Where there is no ministerie: there is no Church. But, amongst the Protestants there is no Ministerie: therefore, no Church. The Minor proposition or assumption of this argument we deny; which they endeavour to prove in this sort; There is no lawfull calling to the worke of the Ministry, amongst the Protestants; therefore no ministry. The defects they suppose to be in the calling of our Bishops and Ministers, are two fold: first, for that they that ordained them, in the beginning of this alteration of things in the state of the Church, had no power so to doe. Secondly, for that no man may be ordained, but into a void place, either wherein there never was any Pastour or Bishop before, as in Churches in their first foundation: or, wherein there having beene, their place is now void, by the death, deprivation, or voluntary relinquishment of them that possesse it before, that so they who are newly elected and ordained, may succede into the void roomes of such as went before them, and not intrude upon their charge, whereunto they are still justly intituled: Our Bishops and Pastours were ordained and placed in the beginning of the reformation of religion, where there were Bishops already in actuall possession. These being the defects, which they suppose to be in the calling of our Bishops and Ministers, let us see how they prove that they say.

That

That they, who ordained our Ministers in the beginning of the alteration of Religion, had no power so to doe, thus they proove. No Bishop may be esteemed and taken as lawfully ordained, unless hee be ordained of three Bishops at the least; and they, such as have beene ordained in like sort, and so ascending till wee come to the first, whom the Apostles did constitute by their Apostolike authoritie, received immediately from Christ the Sonne of God, whom the Father sent into the world. But the Pastors and Bishops of the reformed Churches had no such ordination; therefore they wanted that calling which should make them lawfull Bishops and Pastors.

It is true, that the auncient Canons regularly admit no ordination, as lawfull, wherein three Bishops at the least do not concur. But *Bellarmino* ^{d Bellarm. l. 4. de notis Eccles. l. 2. c. 8. nota 5.} and his fellowes do not thinke this number of Bishops imposing hands to bee absolutely and essentially necessary. For they confesse that by dispensation, growing out of due and just consideration of the present occasions and state of things, one Bishop alone may ordaine, assisted with Abbots, which are but Presbyters and no Bishops; nay, which by the course of their profession, and originall of their order, are lesse interested in the government of the Church, than the meanest Presbyter having care of soules. *Monachus plangentis non docentis officium habet.* A Monke is a mourner, hee is no teacher in the Church of G O D. The Romanists thinking therefore, that in some cases, the ordination which is made by one Bishop alone, assisted with Presbyters, is lawfull and good, cannot generally except against the ordination of the Bishops and Pastours of all the reformed Churches. For in *England, Denmarke*, and some other places, they which had beene Bishops in the former corrupt state of the Church, did ordaine Bishops and Ministers, though perhaps precisely three did not alwaies concur, in every particular ordination.

But they will say, whatsoever may be thought of these places, wherein Bishoppes did ordaine, yet in many other, none but Presbyters did impose hands; all which ordinations are clearly void: and so, by consequent, many of the pretended reformed Churches, as namely those of *France*, and others, have no ministerie at all. The next thing therefore to be examined is, whether the power of ordination bee so essentially annexed to the order of Bishops, that none but Bishops may in any case ordaine. For the clearing whereof wee must observe, that the whole Ecclesiasticall power is aptly divided into the power of order, and jurisdiction. *Ordo est rerum parium dispositio: pariumque unicuique sua loca tribuens congrua dispositio:* that is, *Order is an apt disposing of things, whereof some are greater, and some lesser, some better, and some meaner, sorting them accordingly into their severall rankes and places.* First therefore, order doth signifie that mutuall reference or relation, that things sorted into their severall rankes and places, have betweene themselves. Secondly, that standing, which each thing obtaineth, in that it is better or worse, greater or lesser then another, and so accordingly sorted and placed, above or below other, in the orderly disposition of things. The power of holy or Ecclesiasticall order, is nothing else, but that power which is specially given to men sanctified and set apart from others, to performe certaine sacred supernaturall, and eminent actions, which others of another ranke may not at all, or not ordinarily meddle with: As to preach the word, administer the Sacraments, and the like.

The next kinde of Ecclesiasticall power, is that of Jurisdiction. For the more distinct and full understanding whereof wee must note, that three things are implied in the calling of Ecclesiasticall Ministers. First, an election, choyce,

quod tamen in principio non ita fuisse dicunt: Monachi quippe & Eremum habitantes olim Presbyteros habuisse dicuntur

e Hier. contra Vigilantium non procul a fine: & ad Heliodorum. Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor, illi de altari vivunt, mihi quasi instructus arboris securis ponitur ad radicem, si munus ad altare non deferro. Linden. Panop. lib. 4. c. 7. Monachi olim omnes erant laici, & omnes templi choro excluderantur. Hugo erudit. Th. ol. de Sacr. fid. lib. 2. part. 3. cap. 4. ut intrinsecus quietius vivant ordines ministerii divini, per indulgentiam Monachis conceduntur, non ad exercendam praedicationem in populo Dei, sed ad celebrandam intrinsecus communionem Sacramenti Dei.

or designement of persons fit for so high and excellent imployment. Secondly, the consecrating of them, and giving them power and authority to intermeddle with things pertaining to the service of God, to performe eminent acts of gracious efficacie, and admirable force, tending to the procuring of the eternall good of the sonnes of men, and to yeeld unto them whom Christ hath redeemed with his most pretious blood, all the comfortable meanes, assurances, and helpes that may set forward their eternall salvation. Thirdly, the assigning and dividing out to each man, thus sanctified to so excellent a worke, that portion of Gods people which hee is to take care of, who must be directed by him in things that pertaine to the hope of eternall salvation. This particular assignation giveth, to them that had onely the power of order before, the power of Jurisdiction also, over the persons of men.

f Whereupon to ordaine Presbyters City by City, and Church by Church is all one. Act. 14. 23.

Titus 1. 5. Euaristus, ut Damasus ait, titulos in urbe Rom. Presbyteris divisit. Platina in vita Euaristi.

g Hier. contra Luciferianos. h As Christ doth nothing without his father, so do you nothing without the B. whether you be Presbyter, Deacon or Layman.

Ignat. ad Magnes. idem habet in epist. ad Smyrneses.

Tertullian. de Baptismo.

The right to give Baptisme hath the Bishop, then the Presbyters and Deacons, but not without the Bishop: authority for the honour of the Church.

Concil. Arelat. 1. can. 19. Pres-

byteri sine conscientia Episcopi nihil faciunt. i Epiphanius hæresi. 75. Concilium Anciranum can. 13. Hieron. epist. 38. ad Euagrium: quid facit Episcopus, excepta ordinatione, quod non facit Presbyter. k Concil. Carth. 2. can. 4. Carth. 3. can. 31. 32. 158. l Hieron. contra Luciferianos: ob honorem sacerdotii fit, ut soli Episcopi manus imponant. m Thomas 3. p. in addit. q. 40. art. 5. Bonavent. 4. dist. 24. ar. 2. q. 3. Dominicus à Soto l. 10. de iustitia & jure q. 1. art. 2. & in 4. dist. 24. q. 2. art. 3. Armacanus l. 1. ostendit nullum prælatum plus habere de potestate sacramentali sive ordinis, quam simplices sacerdotes. Cameracensis in 4. quæst. 4. Contarenus de Sacramentis. lib. 4.

saltem,

Thus then it is necessary, that the people of God bee sorted into severall portions, and the sheepe of Christ divided into severall flocks, for the more orderly guiding of them, and yeelding to them the means, assurances and helpes that may set them forward in the way of eternall life; and that severall men bee severally and specially assigned, to take the care and oversight of severall flocks and portions of Gods people. The Apostles of Christ and their successours, when they planted the Churches, so divided the people of God converted by their ministerie, into particular Churches, that each Citie and the places neare adjoyning, did make but one Church. Now because the unity and peace of each particular Church of God, and flocke of his sheepe, dependeth on the unity of the Pastor, and yet the necessities of the many duties that are to be performed in Churches of so large extent, require more Ecclesiasticall Ministers then one; therefore though they bee many Presbyters, that is, many fatherly Guides of one Church, yet there is one amongst the rest, that is specially Pastour of the place, who for distinction sake, is named a Bishop; to whom an eminent and peerelesse power is given, for the avoiding of Schismes and factions: and the rest are but assistants and coadjutors, and named by the generall name of Presbyters. So that in the performance of the acts of Ecclesiasticall Ministry, when he is present and will do them himselfe, they must give place: and in his absence, or when beeing present hee needeth assistance, they may doe nothing without his consent and liking. Yea so farre for order sake is hee preferred before the rest, that some things are specially reserved to him onely, as the ordaining of such as should assist him in the worke of his ministerie, the reconciling of Penitents, confirmation of such as were baptized, by imposition of hands; dedication of Churches, and such like.

These being the diverse sorts and kindes of Ecclesiasticall power, it will easily appeare to all them that enter into the due consideration thereof, that the power of Ecclesiasticall or sacred order, that is, the power and authoritie to intermeddle with things pertaining to the service of God, and to performe eminent acts of gracious efficacie, tending to the procuring of the eternall good of the sonnes of men, is equall and the same in all those whom we call Presbyters, that is fatherly Guides of Gods Church and people: & that, only for order sake, and the preservation of peace, there is a limitation of the use and exercise of the same. Hereunto agree all the best learned amongst the Romanists themselves, freely confessing that that, wherein a Bishop excelleth a Presbyter, is not a distinct and higher order, or power of order, but a kinde of dignitie and office or imployment onely. Which they prove, because a Presbyter ordained per-

saluum, that never was consecrated or ordained Deacon, may notwithstanding do all those actes that pertain to the Deacons order: (because the higher order doth alwayes imply in it the lower and inferiour, in an eminent and excellent sort) But a Bishop ordained *per saltum*, that never had the ordination of a Presbyter, can neither consecrate and administer the Sacrament of the Lordsbody, nor ordaine a Presbyter, himselfe being none, nor doe any act peculiarly pertaining to Presbyters. Whereby it is molt evident, that that wherein a Bishop excelleth a Presbyter, is not a distinct power of order, but an eminencie and dignity onely, specially yeelded to one above all the rest of the same ranke, for order sake, and to preserve the unitie and peace of the Church. Hence it followeth, that many things which in some cases Presbyters may lawfully doe, are peculiarly reserved unto Bishops, as *Hierome* noteth; *Potius ad honorem Sacerdotii, quam ad Legis necessitatem*; Rather for the honour of their Ministry, than the necessity of any Law. And therefore wee reade, that Presbyters in some places, and at sometimes did impose hands, and confirme such as were baptized: which when *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* would wholly have forbidden, there was so great exception taken to him for it, that he left it free againe. And who knoweth not, that all Presbyters in cases of necessity may absolve and reconcile Penitents; a thing in ordinary course appropriated unto Bishops? and why not by the same reason ordaine Presbyters & Deacons in cases of like necessity? For, seeing the cause why they are forbidden to doe these acts, is, because to Bishops ordinarily the care of all Churches is committed, and to them in all reason the ordination of such as must serve in the Church pertaineth, that have the chiefe care of the Church, and have Churches wherein to imploy them; which onely Bishops have as long as they retaine their standing: and not Presbyters, being but assistants to Bishops in their Churches; If they become enemies to God and true Religion, in case of such necessity, as the care and government of the Church is devolved to the Presbyters remaining Catholick, and being of a better spirit: so the duty of ordaining such as are to assist or succede them in the worke of the Ministry pertaines to them likewise. For if the power of order and authority to intermeddle in things pertaining to Gods service, be the same in all Presbyters, and that they be limited in the execution of it, onely for orders sake, so that in case of necessity, every of them may baptize and confirme them whom they have baptized, absolve and reconcile Penitents, and doe all those other acts, which regularly are appropriated unto the Bishop alone; there is no reason to be given, but that in case of necessity, wherein all Bishops were extinguished by death, or being fallen into heresie, should refuse to ordaine any to serve God in his true worship; but that Presbyters as they may doe all other acts, whatsoever speciall challenge Bishops in ordinary course make unto them, might doe this also. Who then dare condemn all those worthy Ministers of God, that were ordained by Presbyters in sundry Churches of the world, at such times as Bishops in those parts where they lived, opposed themselves against the truth of God, and persecuted such as professed it? Surely the best learned in the Church of *Rome* in former times, durst not pronounce all ordinations of this nature to be void. For not onely *Armachanus*, a very learned and worthy Bishop, but, as it appeareth by *Alexander of Hales*, many learned men in his time and before, were of opinion, that in some cases, and at some times Presbyters may give orders, and that their ordinations are of force, though to doe so, not being urged by extreame necessity, cannot be excused from over great boldnesse and presumption. Neither should it seeme so strange to our Adversaries, that the power of ordination should at sometimes be yeelded unto Presbyters, seeing their *Chorepiscopi*, Suffragans, or Titular Bishops that live in the Diocesse and Churches of other Bishops, and are no Bishops according to the old course of Discipline, doe daily in the *Romish* Church, both confirme children and give orders.

Contra Lucian
ferianos.
Pervenit ad
nos quosdam
scandalizatos
fuisse quod
Presbyteros
Chrismate tan-
gere in fronte
eos qui bap-
tizati sunt pro-
hibuimus, &c.
Greg. Januarii
Episcopo l. 3. in
dist. 12. Epist.
26.
p. Carth. 3. can.
32.

9 Videtur quod
si omnes Epis-
copi essent de-
functi, Sacerdo-
tes minores
possent Episco-
pos ordinare.
Armachanus l.
11. in q. Arme-
norum cap. 7.
Alex. de Hales.
part. 4 q. 9.
memb. 3. art. 1.
dicunt quidam
quod ex de-
mandatione
Papae ordina-
tus potest con-
ferre ordinem
quem habet

* Synodus
 Chalced. can. 6.
 f. Episcopus
 præter judi-
 cium Metropoli-
 tani & finiti-
 morum Episco-
 porum non or-
 dinandus. Con-
 cil. Laodice-
 can. 12. si Epi-
 scopus ab omni-
 bus Episcopis
 qui sunt in pro-
 vincia aliqua
 urgente neces-
 sitate non or-
 dinatur, certe
 tres Episcopi
 debent in unum
 esse congregati,
 ita ut etiam
 ceterorum qui
 absentes sunt
 consensum li-
 teris teneant,
 Concil. Nic.
 can. 4.
 * Concil. Anti-
 ochenum, can.
 13.
 * Concil. An-
 ciranum can.
 13. decretum
 Johannis 3. ep.
 ad Germaniæ
 Episcopos. An-
 tiochenum
 cap. 10.

All that may bee alleadged out of the Fathers, for prooffe of the contrary, may bee reduced to two heads. For first, whereas they make all such ordinations void as are made by Presbyters, it is to bee understood according to the strictnesse of the Canons in use in their time, and not absolutely in the nature of the thing; which appeares, in that they likewise make all ordinations *sine titulo* to bee void: All ordinations of Bishops ordained by fewer than three Bishops with the Metropolitane: all ordinations of Presbyters by Bishops out of their owne Churches without speciall leave: whereas I am well assured, the *Romanists* will not pronounce any of these to be void, though the parties so doing are not excusable from all fault. Secondly, their sayings are to bee understood regularly, not without exception of some speciall cases that may fall out.

Thus then wee see, that objection which our Adversaries tooke to be unanswerable, is abundantly answered out of the grounds of their owne Schoolemen, the opinion of many singularly learned amongst them, and their owne daily practice, in that *Chorepiscopi* or Suffragans, as they call them, "being not Bishops, but onely Presbyters, whatsoever they pretend, and forbidden by all old Canons to meddle in ordination, yet doe daily with good allowance of the *Roman* Church, ordaine Presbyters and Deacons, confirme (with imposition of hands) those that are baptized, and doe all other Episcopall acts, whiles their great Bishops lord it like Princes, in all temporall ease, and worldly bravery.

The next thing they object against us, is, that our first Ministers, what authority soever they had that ordained them, yet had no lawfull ordination, because they were not ordained & placed in void places, but intruded into Churches, that had lawfull Bishops at the time of those pretended ordinations; and consequently, did not succede but encroach upon other mens right. To this wee answer, that the Church is left voyde, either by the death, resignation, deprivation, or the peoples desertion and forsaking of him that did precede. In some places, our first Bishops and Pastours found the Churches voyd by death, in some by voluntary relinquishment, in some by deprivation, and in some by desertion, in that the people, or at least that part of the people that adhered to the Catholick verity, who have power to choose their Pastour, to admit the worthy, and refuse the unworthy, did forsake the former that were wolves and not Pastours, and submitted themselves to those of a better spirit. Of the three first kindes of voidance there can bee no question; of this fourth, there may: and therefore I will prove it by sufficient authority, and strength of reason.

* Lib. 1. ep. 4.

* Cyprian, Cecilius, Polycarpus, and other Bishops, writing to the Clergie, and people of the Churches in *Spaine*, whereof *Basilides* and *Martialis* were Bishops, who fell in time of persecution, denied the faith, and defiled themselves with Idolatry, perswade them to separate themselves from those Bishops, assuring them that the people being holy, religious, fearing God, and obeying his Lawes, may and ought to separate themselves from impious and wicked Bishops, and not to communicate with them in the matters of

y Lib. 1. ep. 4.

Gods service, *quando ipsa plebs maxime habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi*; that is, seeing the people hath authority to choose the worthy, and to refuse the unworthy. And *Occam* to the same purpose saith in this sort:

* Part. 1. 5. 28.

Si Papa & maxime celebres Episcopi incident in heresin, ad Catholicos devoluta est potestas omnis judicandi: If the Pope & the principall Bishops of the *Christian* world doe fall into heresie, the power of all Ecclesiasticall judgement is devolved to the inferiour Clergie, and people remaining Catholick. This opinion of Cyprian and the rest, if our Adversaries shall dislike or except against, may easily be confirmed by demonstration of reason. For if it doe fall out, that the Bishops and a great part of the people fall into error, heresie,

heresie and superstition, I thinke our Adversaries will not deny but that the rest are bound to maintaine and uphold the ancient veritie; who being not so many nor so mighty, as to bee able to eject those wicked ones by a formall course of judiciall proceeding, what other thing is there left unto them, but either to consent to their impieties, which they may not doe, or to separate themselves, which is the thing our Adversaries except against, in the people of our time. Now having separated themselves from their former supposed and pretended Pastours, what remaineth, but that they make choyce of new to bee ordained and set over them; if not by the concurrence of such and so many, as the strictnesse of the Canon doth ordinarily require to concur in ordinations, yet by such, as in cases of necessity, by all rules of equity are warranted to performe the same.

C H A P. 40.

Of Succession, and the prooffe of the trueth of their doctrine by it.

THus having examined the allegation of the Papists, endeavouring to prove against us, that wee have not the true Church amongst us, because, (as they falsely suppose) wee lack the visible Succession of Pastours and Bishops, let us see what they can conclude from this note of Succession, for themselves. In this part ^a *Bellarmino* sheweth himselfe to be a notable trifler. For first hee saith, that if there bee no Church where there is no Succession, then where there is Succession continued, the true Church doth remaine still. Secondly, being pressed with the example of the *Grecians*, amongst whom a continuall Succession of Bishops hath ever beene found, he answereth, that Succession doth not prove affirmatively that to bee the true Church where it is found, but negatively, that not to bee the true Church where it is wanting: contrary to himselfe, who requireth in the notes of the Church (amongst which hee reckoneth Succession to bee one of the principall) that they be not onely inseparable, without which the true Church cannot bee, but proper also, and such as cannot be found in any other society, but that which is the true Church of God. Thirdly, againe forgetting himselfe, he maketh Succession proper to the true Church, and such a note as may prove all those societies of Christians true Churches which have it; and disliketh *Calvin*, for saying that more is required to finde out the true Church than personall Succession; and that the Fathers did not demonstrate the Church barely by personall Succession, but by shewing, that they that succeeded, held the faith of those that went before them. Thus he sheweth plainly that he knoweth not what he writeth.

^a De notis Ecclesiae, cap. 8.

^b Stapler. contro. de Ecclesia in se questione 4. art. 2. expositione articuli notabili. ^c Irenaeus l. 4. c. 43. illis Presbyteris obediendum esse dicit, qui cum Episcopatus successione Charisma acceperunt veritatis. Tertul. de praescrip. praeter ordinem Episcoporum ab initio decurrentem requirit consanguinitatem doctrinae. Aug. Epist. 165. enumeratis Episcopis Romanis: in hoc (inquit) ordine nullus invenitur Donatista.

This matter of Succession ^b *Stapleton* hath much more aptly delivered than *Bellarmino*, confessing, that not bare and personall Succession, but lawfull Succession is a note of the true Church: and defineth that to be lawfull Succession, when not onely the later succede into the voyde roomes of those that went before them, being lawfully called thereunto, but also hold the faith, their predecessours did. In this sort the Fathers were wont to reason from Succession, in the controversies of Religion: First, they reckoned up the successions of Bishops from the Apostles times; and then shewed, that none of them taught any such thing as was then called in question, but the contrary; and consequently, that the Apostles delivered no such thing, but the contrary.

To *Bellarmino*'s disjunction, that either the Fathers made it appeare to Catholics or to Hereticks, that the succeeding Bishops held the same faith, the former did; we answer, They made it appeare to both: for so doth ^c *Irenaeus* prove the tradition of the Apostles to be for him, and against the Hereticks hee refuteth, because he can number all the Bishops in the principall Churches from the Apostles times downeward, none of which ever taught any such thing,

^c Irenaeus, l. 3. cap. 3.

e Lib. j. cap. 2.

thing, as those Hereticks dreamed, but the contrary. That which *Bellarmino* addeth, that if it had appeared to Hereticks, that the true faith had beene kept by succeeding Bishops, they would have yeelded to it, is as little to the purpose as the rest. For, we doe not say, it did appeare unto them, they held the truth, but that they held the same faith their predecessours held. Now, though the Fathers made this appeare unto them; yet they feared not to oppose themselves, as the same *Irenaeus* witnesseth, affirming, that when it was proved against the Hereticks of those times, that in the succession of Bishops, those that succeeded held the same faith the former did, without any alteration, and consequently the Apostles doctrine was still continued in their Churches; they thought themselves wiser than the Apostles themselves, affirming that they mingled the Law and the Gospel together, taking exceptions of ignorance and imperfection against them and their doctrine.

Thus then we see, the Fathers did not reason barely from personall succession, but by shewing affirmatively, the faith they defended to have beene received by all those Bishops, whose succession they urged against their Adversaries; and negatively, by proving, that none of them ever beleevd any such things, as their Adversaries dreamed. If the *Romanists* will dispute against us in this sort, and demonstrate that the Fathers successively held those opinions they doe, and that none of them were of that judgement in matter of faith that we are of, wee will most willingly listen unto them. But this they doe not, and therefore their talking of the Fathers reasoning from succession, when they dare not reason as the Fathers did, is most vaine and idle.

C H A P. 41.

Of Unitie, the kindes of it, and that Communion with the Roman Bishop is not alwayes a note of true and Catholick profession.

a Bellar. de notis Ecclesiae, li. 4. c. 10. not. 7.

THe next note of the Church assigned by them is Unitie. The Unitie of the Church consisteth principally in three things. First, in observing and holding the rule of faith once delivered to the Saints. Secondly, in the subjection of the people to their pastours: and thirdly, in the due connexion of many Pastours, and the flocks depending on them, among themselves. All these kindes and sorts of Unitie wee thinke necessarily required in some degree, in all those societies of Christians, that will demonstrate themselves to be the true Churches of God; and deny not, but that Unity in this sort expressed and conceived, is a most apt note of the true Church.

The Papists suppose, that besides these kindes and sorts of Unitie before expressed, there is also required an other kinde of Unitie to the being of the Church, namely subjection to, and union with that visible head, which (as they thinke) Christ hath left in his stead to governe the whole body of the Church, and to rule both Pastours and people. This head, as they suppose, is the Bishop of *Rome*, from whose communion sith wee are fallen, they inferre, that we are divided from the unity of the true Church.

b Dicunt quidam articulum esse fidei quod Benedictus exempli gratia sit Papa, quod absque eo non

This last kinde of Unitie devised by the Papists, wee denie to bee necessarily required to the being of the true Church. First therefore, let us see what may bee said for, or against the necessitie of this kinde of Unitie; and in the next place consider, what our Adversaries can conclude for themselves, or against us, from that kind of Unitie, which we acknowledge to be necessary.

ffet salus, cum tamen salus Ecclesiae in solum Deum ordinetur absolute & essentialiter, in hominem Christum de ordinata lege, sed accidentaliter in Papam mortalem; alioquin cum vacat sedes per mortem naturalem vel civilem Papae, ut potest si sit haereticus depositus, quis hominum saluum esse possit? Gerf. part. 1. de pace, idem parte 4. serm. de Angelis Papam agnoscere de necessitate salutis esse ambigunt nonnulli, sufficere dicentes ut verum Ecclesiae caput Christus agnoscatur.

rily

rily required to the beeing of the true Church.

If the union of all Christians with this supposed visible head, which is the Bishop of *Rome*, were necessarily required as a perpetuall dutie, then was there no true Church in the time of the Anti-popes, when the wisest knew not who were the true Popes, and who were usurpers. If they shall reply, that it is necessary to hold communion with the true, if hee may bee knowne; this hath no more warrant of reason than the former, seeing the best learned amongst themselves thinke, that not onely the Pope, but also the whole Clergy and people of *Rome* may erre, and fall into damnable heresies: in which case it is the part of every true Christian, to disclaime all communion with them, and to oppose himselfe against them, and all their hereticall impieties. ^d That it is possible for the Pope to erre and become an heretick, so many great Divines in the Church of *Rome* have at all times most constantly defended, that the greatest patrons of the infallibility of the Popes judgement at this day, are forced to confesse, it is not necessary to beleeve, that the Pope cannot erre, but that it is onely a matter of probable dispute.

Genf. de modo habendi se tempore schismatis.

d See cap. 7.

Thus then it is evident to all that will not wilfully oppose themselves against the trueth, that consent with the *Roman* Bishop cannot bee made a perpetuall and sure note of the true Church. Nay, the *Grecians* most constantly affirme, that the Pope taking all to himselfe, and challenging to bee head of the universall Church, hath bene the cause of the Churches division. But because *Bellarmino* is so excellent a Sophister, that hee is able to prove anything to bee true, though never so false and absurde: let us see how hee proveth, that consent with the Bishop of *Rome* is a note of the true Church, in such sort, that whosoever holdeth communion with him, is a Catholick, and contrarily whosoever forsaketh his communion, is an Heretick or Schismatick.

This hee endeavoureth to make good by the testimonies of sundry of the ancient Fathers, wrested against their knowne meanings, and undoubted resolutions, in other parts of their workes and writings. His first allegation is out of *Irenaeus*, in his third Booke and third Chapter, against heresies. But if wee consider the circumstances of the place, and the occasion of the wordes cited by *Bellarmino*, wee shall easily see, they prove no such thing as hee laboureth to enforce. For *Irenaeus* in that place sheweth, how all heresies may bee refuted, by opposing against them the tradition of the Apostles; which hee saith, wee may easily finde out and discern, how contrary it is to the frantick conceits of Hereticks, by taking a view of them, which were ordained Bishops by the Apostles in the Churches of Christ, and their successours to this present time, which never taught nor knew any such thing as these men dreame. Now because it would bee tedious to reckon all the succession of Bishops succeeding one an other in every Church, therefore hee produceth the succession of the Bishops in the *Roman* Church, in steede of all; because, that being the most famous and renowned Church of the world, constituted and founded by the two most principall and glorious Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, whatsoever was successively taught and received in that Church, and consequently delivered unto it by those blessed Apostles, must needs be the doctrine and tradition of the rest of the Apostles, delivered to all other Churches of the world. For what was there hidden from these Apostles, that was revealed unto any of the rest? and what would they hide from this principall Church, that was any way necessary to bee knowne? Therefore, saith *Irenaeus*, the producing of the *Roman* succession, is in steede of all. For it must needs bee, that what this most principall Church received from these great Apostles, that & nothing else the other did receive from their Apostles and first Preachers: which he expresseth in these words: *Ad hanc Ecclesiam propter potentioorem principalitatem, necesse est omnē convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est,*

cos, qui sunt undique fideles. Bellarmine's sense of these words, that all Churches must frame themselves to beleeve what the Church of Rome beleeveeth, and prescribeth to others to be beleeved, no way standeth with the drift of *Irenaeus* in this place, as may appeare by that which hath beene said: and therefore this allegation might have beene spared.

• Lib. 1. Ep. 3.

f But hee will say, Cyprian calleth the Roman Church the principall Church, whence sacerdotall unitie hath her spring: hereunto we answer, that the Roman Church not in power of overruling all, but in order is the first and principall: and that therefore while she continueth to hold the truth, and incroacheth not upon the right of other Churches, shee is to have the priority: but that in either of these cases shee may be forsaken, without breach of that unity, which is essentially required in the parts of the Church.

g Cyprian, l. 4. Epist. 8.

h Lib. 2. Ep. 1.

i Firmilianus Cypriano Epist. 75.

His next authorities are out of *Cyprians* Epistles: in the first of which Epistles wee shall finde, that there were certaine Schismatics, that fled from their owne lawfull Bishop and superiours, with complaints to other Bishops and Churches, and amongst the rest to the Church and Bishop of Rome; not knowing (saith *Cyprian*) or at least not considering, that the Romans are such as will not give entertainment to such perfidious companions, nor listen to lying and false reports. For that is the meaning of those words, *Ad quos perfidia non possit habere accessum*. But *Bellarmino* wresteth the words to another sense, to wit, that infidelitie and error in faith can never finde place among the Romans, as being secured from all possibility and danger of erring. So that, that which Saint *Cyprian* speaketh of perfidious dealing, that he interpreteth of infidelity and error of faith. So good construction the Jesuite is wont to make of the words of the Fathers. But let this suffice for the clearing of the first place alleadged out of *Cyprian*, and let us proceede to the second; the circumstances whereof are as followeth. *Cornelius* was elected and ordained Bishop of Rome: A Schisme grew in that Church about this his election: *Cyprian*, though he approved the election of *Cornelius*, yet did forbear to write unto him as Bishop, till others also might bee satisfied touching the validity of the same; at which *Cornelius* seemed to be grieved: *Cyprian* sheweth him the reasons that moved him to doe as hee did, and withall how carefully, to avoide all scandals, hee wished all that went to Rome, to hold the roote of the true Catholick Church, which was on *Cornelius* part, and not to be carried away with the faction of Schismatics, who opposed themselves against their lawfull Bishop, and brake the unitie of the Church. How this will prove, that all Christian men and Churches must perpetually hold communion with the Roman Church, and that this is a note of the true Church, I see not. There was a division in the Roman Church about the election of *Cornelius*: *Cornelius* in *Cyprians* judgement, was rightly chosen, and so the roote and ground of the true Church was with him and his true partakers and not with his Adversaries, that factiously & schismatically opposed themselves against him: *Cyprian* wisheth all men to adhere unto their lawfull Bishop, and not to the faction of Schismatics, rent from the roote of the true Churches unitie. Therefore (say our Adversaries) all Churches must for ever hold communion, upon perill of damnation, with the Church of Rome. How weake this consequence is, hee is very weake in understanding that doeth not see. But howsoever, surely *Cyprian* is very unadvisedly alleadged to this purpose, who peremptorily standeth upon it, that every Bishop ought to have his liberty of judgement, (as being accomptable onely unto God) and that no Bishop should make himselfe a judge of an other: Who dissenteth from *Stephen* Bishop of Rome, and feareth not to challenge him for pertinacie; yea, so hot was the contention betweene *Cyprian* and *Stephen*, that *Cyprians* comforts feared not to charge him with heresie, and favouring of Hereticks. So farre were the Bishops of those times from prostrating themselves at the Popes feet, and thinking it their duty to submit themselves upon paine of damnation to all his determinations, as his vassals are every where now taught to doe.

The next allegation is out of *Ambrose*, who in his funerall Oration, hee made upon the death of *Satyrus* his brother, reporteth of him, that being desirous to be partaker of the holy mysteries, yet before hee would proceede in an action of that consequence, hee called to him the Bishop of the place, and asked

asked of him; if hee held communion with the Catholick Bishops; and because hee should not mistake him, whether he held communion with the Bishop of Rome, who at that time both in the truth of the thing, and in the opinion of *Satyrus* was Catholick, and best knowne both to him and the Bishop, of whose faith hee inquired. This was done in the time of the Schisme of the *Luciferians*, as appeareth by the place of *Ambrose*. Now what consequence is this? *Satyrus* asked of the Bishop, of whom hee was to receive the holy mysteries, whether hee held communion with the Catholick Church; and to avoide all ambiguity, expressed what hee meant, by asking him, whether he agreed with the *Roman Church*, which at that time, in his opinion, held the true profession; therefore the *Roman Church* can never erre. As if I being in *France*, or *Germany*, meeting with some Christians, of whose faith I doubt, should demand of them, whether they hold the true Catholick Religion; and adde, for explication of the meaning of my question, whether they hold the profession of the reformed Churches in *England* and *Scotland*, which at this time I think to bee the true Churches of God: doth it follow, that I thinke these Churches can never erre, or fall from the sincerity of the Christian profession? or that for ever it must be a note of the sincere professours of the Christian faith, to hold communion with these Churches, howsoever they degenerate? The same answer serveth for the places alleadged out of *Hierome*, *Optatus*, and *Augustine*; and particularly touching ^k *Hierome*, who knoweth not that he affirmeth directly, that *Liberius* the Bishop of *Rome*, fell into heresie? and ^l disliketh the customes of the *Roman Church*? and will not have that See and the Bishops of it, to give lawes to all Christendome; saying, *Orbis major est urbe*, and that though hee say ^m here, that *Peters* chaire is the rock the Church is builded upon, yet against ⁿ *Jovinian* hee professeth, that *super omnes ex equo Ecclesia fortitudo solidatur*: The Church is equally founded upon all the Apostles. And in ^o another place, *A Bishop, whether of Rome, or of Eugubium, is ejusdem meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii*; equall in merit and office, howsoever riches and the honour of places seeme to make some difference. *Hierome* was a man of a violent spirit, and wrote many things, that must have a favourable construction, to make them accord with that, which else-where hee hath delivered. Touching ^p *Leo*, who saith, that, *that which Christ meant should pertaine to the office of all the Apostles, was principally yeelded to Peter, and from him, as from an head, derived to the rest*, must be understood onely of a principality of order, and that he first in time received the promise of that which was meant to all, to expresse the unity that must be in all. For otherwise it neither standeth with the truth, nor the judgement of the Fathers, that the Apostles received their office and authority by derivation from *Peter*, or held it in a subordination under him; seeing they were all called and continued immediately by Christ himselfe, without any dependance on *Peter*, or receiving any thing from him, as is easie to demonstrate out of *Cyprian*, and the consent of the most ancient Fathers. But because these authorities are too weake to prove the thing intended, therefore from these *Bellarmino* fleeth to experience, from whence he thinketh he may fetch a better prooffe.

All Churches of the world, saith he, that ever divided themselves from the fellowship of the *Roman Church*, like boughes broken from a tree, and deprived of the nourishment they formerly received from the roote, did presently wither away and decay. The falshood of this saying of *Bellarmino*, is too apparant. For the Churches of *Greece*, *Armenia*, *Ethiopia*, and *Syria*, continued a long time after they had forsaken the communion of the *Roman Church*. Yea, many of them continue to this day, holding a more sound and sincere profession of Christian veritie, than the *Romanists* doe. It is true indeede, that many of the famous Churches of the world have beene swallowed up of *Mahometisme* and barbarisme: but to attribute that their fall to their

^k In Catalogo scriptorum Ecclesiast.

^l Hiero. Evangelio.

^m Epist. ad Damasum de nomine Hypostasis.

ⁿ Lib. I. contra Jovinianum.

^o Hiero. Evangelio.

^p Epist. 89. ad Episcopos Vinnensis provincie.

separation from the Church of *Rome*, is upon as good ground, as to attribute the cause of *Goodwin-sands* to *Tenterton-steeple*. That which he addeth, that none of the Churches divided from *Rome*, had ever any learned men after their separation, sheweth plainly, that his impudencie is greater than his learning. For what will hee say of *Oecumenius*, *Theophylactus*, *Damascenus*, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Elias Cretensis*, *Nilus Carbasilas*, and innumerable more, living in the *Greeke* Churches, after their separation from the Church of *Rome*? Surely these were more than matchable with the greatest Rabbines of the *Romish* Synagogue. But, saith hee, they could never hold any Councell since their separation. If hee meane Generall, it is not to bee marvelled at, seeing they are but a part of the Christian Church: If Nationall or Provinciall, it is most childish, and by sundry instances to be reprov'd.

C H A P. 42.

That nothing can be concluded from them, or against us, from the note of Unitie, or Division opposite unto it.

THus having cleared that which *Bellarmino* objecteth, to prove, that subjection to, and union with the Bishop of *Rome*, is implied in that Unity which is required to the being of the Church. Let us come to the other part, and see, whether any thing may bee concluded from that unity, which wee confesse to bee required to the being of the true Church, either against us, or for them. First therefore, the Jesuite reasoneth against us in this sort; All they that are of the true Church, must hold the unity of the faith once delivered to the Saints: but there are sundry Hereticks, erring damnably in matters of faith, as *Zuinkfeldians*, *Anabaptists*, *Trinitarians*, and the like, gone out of the reformed Churches: therefore they are not the true Churches of God.

If this kinde of reasoning were good, he might prove, that those Churches wherein the Apostles lived, were not the Churches of God, because out of them proceeded sundry Hereticks, as ^a *Hymeneus*, *Philetus*, ^b *Nicolaus*, ^c *Simon Magus*, and the like. But, saith he, there be two differences betweene the Apostolick Churches, and the reformed Churches in this respect: the first, that the doctrine of the reformed Churches it selfe, and of it own nature, breedeth dissention: the second, that when there is difference growne, they have no rule by direction wherof to make an end of controversies. But the divisions that grow from the Catholick Church, proceede meerely from the malice of Sathan, and have no foundation in the doctrine of it; and if any difference doe arise, it hath a meanes to end all controversies by, which is, the determination of a Councell or the chiefe Pastour. Both these differences we deny: for, neither doth our doctrine of it selfe breed dissention and diversitie of opinions: neither are wee without meanes of composing controversies, if they arise. If *Bellarmino* will prove, that our doctrine of it selfe breedeth division, hee must shew that the grounds and principles of it are uncertaine, and such as may occasion error, contrariety, and uncertainty of judgement; which he neither doth, nor can doe. For the ground of all our doctrine is the written word of God, interpreted according to the rule of faith, the practice of the Saints from the beginning, the conference of places, and all light of direction, that either the knowledge of tongues, or any part of good learning may yeeld. This surely is the rule to end all controversies by, and not the authoritie of a Councell, or the chiefe Pastour, as *Bellarmino* fondly imagineth. ^d For, they both must follow the direction of this rule in all their determinations. ^e Whereupon the Booke of God, and monuments of antiquity were alwayes wont to be brought into the Councils, whereby the Fathers might examine all matters controverted, or any way doubted

^a 2 Tim. 2. 17.

^b Revel. 2. 6.

^c Acts 8. 18.

^d Nec movere quenquam debet quod concordem professionem patrum præposui decreto generalis Concilii, etiam si de toto orbe existentes convenirent Episcopi: quin imò in tractatibus fidei huic post Scripturas tota Conciliorum inquisitio se conformabit ut regula Waldens. doctrinal. fidei. l. 2. art. 2. cap. 19.

^e Cusanus de concordantia catholica. l. 2. cap. 6.

doubted of. Now as wee want not a most certaine rule, whereby to judge of all matters of controversie and difference: so in examining things by the direction of this rule, wee require that Christian moderation in all men, that ever was found in the servants of God; that no man presume of his owne wisdom, judgement, and understanding, nor hastily pronounce, before conference with others: *For the spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets; and God is the God of order, and not of confusion.* It is therefore a vile calumny of *Bellarmino*, when hee saith, that with us every one preferreth himselfe before others, and every one taketh on him peremptory judgement of an other. For, contrariwise, wee teach all men to submit their private opinions to the examination of others, the meaner to respect those of greater place and quality, the fewer the more; and those men which pertinaciously contradict the doctrine agreed upon by consent of all that are in authority, or the greater part, wee reject from the communion of our Churches, and so with us, an end is made of all controversies.

The rule then with us is most certaine and infallible, knowne to all; to wit, the Scripture or the written word of God, expounded according to the rule of faith, practice of the Saints, and the due comparing of one part of it with an other, in the publick confessions of faith, published by the Churches of our communion. In all which there is a full consent, whatsoever our malicious Adversaries clamorously pretend to the contrary: and all those that stubbornly resist against this rule, or any thing therein contained, and refuse to bee ordered by it, wee reject as factious and seditious Schismatics. Thus doe wee disclaime all *Anabaptists, Familists, Zuinkfeldians, Trinitarians*, and all other Sectaries whatsoever. But, saith *Bellarmino*, how is it then that there are so many divisions, not onely from your Churches, but also in your Churches, and amongst them that you take for your brethren, and men of your owne communion, as *Lutherans, Calvinists, Flaccians, Melancthonists, Hosiandrines*, & the like? To this wee answer, that this diversity is to bee imputed wholly to our Adversaries. For, when there was a reformation to be made of abuses and disorders in matters of practice, and manifold corruptions in very many parts of Christian doctrine; and in a Councell by generall consent it could not bee hoped for, (as *Gerson* long before out of his owne experience saw and professed) by reason of the prevailing faction of the Popes flatterers but this was necessarily to be assayed severally, in the particular kingdomes of the world: it was not possible but that some diversity should grow, while one knew not, nor expected to know what an other did. Yet it so fell out by the happy providence of God, and force of that maine truth they all sought to advance, that there was no materiall or essentiall difference amongst them, but such as, upon equall scanning, will bee found rather to consist in the divers manner of expressing one thing, and to be but verball upon mistaking, through the hasty and inconsiderate humours of some men, than any thing else. Yea I dare confidently pronounce, that after due & full examination of each others meaning, there shall be no difference found touching the matter of the Sacrament, the ubiquitary presence, or the like, betweene the Churches reformed by *Luthers* ministry in *Germany*, and other places, and those whom some mens malice called *Sacramentaries*: that none of the differences betweene *Melancthon* and *Illyricus*

ceive: for he acknowledged, that sinne is formally nothing but a want of rectitude, and an aberration: but as wee call that adion sinne, wherein defect and want of rectitude is found, so likewise he feared not to call the essentiall powers of the soule, averse from God, and disordered in their motions and inclination, by the name of originall sinne, because they are originally sinfull, *Smidelinus* cleareth *Hosiander*, shewing that his opinion was that by the active and passive righteousness of Christ, performed in his humane nature, as by causes meritorious, we find favour with God, & have communion with him, and are made partakers of his essentiall righteousness: not transfusing it into us, or confounding it with us, as many mistooke him but by such a kind of participations as that is where small creatures partake of Gods divine perfections, and that so partaking of his righteousness, we may doe that is right in his sight.

except

P. 3 dialog.
ipolog. judi-
um de Concilio
Constantiens.

h See Chap. 35.
i That which
Illyricus said
touching origi-
nall sin, which
hee affirmed to
be an essentiall
corruption, was
not so meant, as
if sinne were a
positive thing,
or an essence or
substance, as
many did con-

except about certaine ceremonies, were reall: that *Hosiander* held no private opinion of Justification, howsoever his strange manner of speaking, gave occasion to many so to thinke and conceive. And this shall be justified against the proudest Papist of them all.

But, saith *Bellarmino*, your Churches are so torne and rent with dangerous divisions, that not onely one of you dissenteth from an other, but the same man oftentimes from himselfe: and herein giveth instance in *Luther*, whose judgement varied in divers things of great consequence. Touching *Luther*, we answer, that he was a most worthy Divine, as the world had any in those times wherein hee lived, or in many ages before; and that for the clearing of sundry poynts of greatest moment in our Christian profession, much obscured and intangled before, with the intricate disputes of the Schoolemen, and *Romish* Sophisters, (as of the power of nature, of free will, grace, justification, the difference of the Law and the Gospel, faith and workes, Christian liberty, and the like) all succeeding ages shall ever be bound to honour his happie memory. In all these things he was ever constant: yea, all these things he perfectly apprehended, and to the great joy of many mens hearts delivered both by word and writing, before he departed from the *Romish* Synagogue; and out of these, and more diligent search of the Scripture and Fathers, then was usuall in those times, by degrees saw and descried those Popish errors, which at first hee discerned not.

That herein he proceeded by degrees, and in his later writings disliked that which in his former hee did approve, is not so strange a thing, as our Adversaries would make it seeme to be. Did not *Augustine* (the greatest of all the Fathers, and worthiest Divine the Church of God ever had since the Apostles times) write a whole Booke of *Retractions*? Doe we not carefully observe what things he wrote, when hee was but a Presbyter, and what when he was made a Bishop, what before hee entred into conflict with the *Pelagians*, and what afterwards? Did hee not formerly attribute the election of those that were chosen to eternall life, to the foresight of faith, which afterward he disclaimed, as a meere *Pelagian* conceit? So that his Adversaries (as appeareth by the Epistles of *Prosper* and *Hilarius*) did not onely charge him to be contrary to the Fathers, but to himselfe also. Did *Ambrose* in his time complaine, that he was forced to teach before he had learned, and so to deliver many things, that should neede and require a second review? Doth not their *Angelicall Doctor* in his *Summe of Theologie*, correct and alter many things that he had written before? Let not our Adversaries therefore insult upon *Luther*, for that hee saw not all the abominations of Popery at the first, but let them rather confidet of, and yeeld to the reasonablenesse of the request which in the Preface of his workes he maketh to all Christian and well minded Readers, to wit, that they would reade his Bookes and writings with judgement, and with much commiseration, and remember that hee was sometimes a Friar, nourished in the errors of the *Romish* Church, so that it was more painefull to him to forget those things he had formerly ill learned, than to learne anew that which is good.

But, say they, *Luther* himselfe witnesseth, that contrariety and contradiction is a note of falshood; and therefore his writings being contradictory, the later to the former, his whole doctrine must needs be false, even in his owne judgement. Let them that thus reason against *Luther*, know, that his meaning is not, that whosoever retracteth and correcteth that he formerly taught, is thereby convinced of falshood, and his whole doctrine proved to be erroneous; but that those assertions that doe implice contradiction and contrariety, that stand wholly upon doubtfull, uncertaine, and perplexed disputes, and so overthrow themselves, doe thereby appeare to be false. Of which nature are all the principall parts of the *Romish* doctrine. For example; Transubstantia-

De tribuna-
lib. atque admi-
nistrationis in-
fulis ad Sacer-
dotium raptus,
docere vos ce-
pi, quod ipse
non didici, ita-
que factum est,
ut prius docere
inciperem,
quam disce-
re: discendum
ergo mihi si-
mul & docen-
dum est, quoni-
am non vaca-
vit ante discere;
& quantum li-
bet quisque pro-
fecerit, nemo
est qui doceri
non egeat dum
vivit, Ambr. of
ficio, l. 1. c. 1.
Luther in hu
Preface before
his workes,
in Bellar. l. 4. c.
10. de notis Ec-
clesiae ait, Lu-
therum sic di-
cere in libro de
votis Monasti-
cis.

tion is one of the greatest mysteries of Popish Religion, and all Papists at this day doe firmly hold and beleeeve it : yet it is demonstratively proved by their own best Divines, that such a totall conversion or transubstantiation of the Sacramentall elements into the body and blood of Christ, is impossible, and implieth in it fundry contradictions, and consequences of horrible impieties.

For is it not implied in the nature of the transubstantiation, or totall conversion of one substance into an other, that the one must succeed the other in being? and that the former must cease to be, & the later thereupon begin to be? whence it will follow, that the later of the two substances, into which the conversion is made, was not, nor had no being before. Now what greater blasphemie can there be, than to thinke Christs body had no being, till the mising Priests had wrought this miraculous Transubstantiation? It is true, that one substance may be changed into an other, as was *Lots* wife into a pillar of salt: but that one substance should passe, and be totally transubstantiated into an other, having the same being, without all difference before the supposed Transubstantiation, that after it hath, and nothing being new in it, in respect of substance or being, implieth a contradiction; and therefore the sacramentall elements cannot be transubstantiated into Christs body and blood.

That which *Bellarmino* hath out of *Scotus* of *Transubstantiatio productiva* and *adductiva*, is the most childish folly that ever was: For this is that he saith; The substance of the sacramentall elements is annihilated, and they returne into that nothing out of which they were formerly taken, and then Christs body commeth into the place where they were before; therefore the one substance may be said to be changed into the other. If this reason be good, when one man removeth out of his place, into which an other upon his remove doth enter, the former may be said to be transubstantiated into the later. For, as the former of the two supposed men goeth out of his place into some other, whereupon the other succeedeth him, not in being, but in place: so the sacramentall elements goe out of their place, and returne to that nothing, out of which they were created, and the body of Christ succeedeth them, not in being, which it had the very same while they were, but in place.

Neither can this supposed conversion of the elements into the body of Christ, be the cause of Christs being in the Sacrament, but rather of their own ascension and going up into heaven. For, though when one substance is turned into an other not being before the conversion, but by the conversion beginning to be, that, into which the conversion is made, occupieth and possesseth the place the other held: as when *Lots* wife was converted into a pillar of salt, the pillar stood in that place, where shee was when shee was converted: yet if one substance should be changed into an other preëxistent, the converted should get the place of that into which it were converted; so that the bread and wine on the mylticall table, being converted into the body and blood of Christ sitting in heaven at the right hand of God, should goe up into heaven, and not bring him to the table. And yet this was the principall reason that moved the Authours of Transubstantiation, to like better of that than of any other construction of Christs words. For that they supposed thereby the body of Christ might bee made present in the Sacrament, without any change of place or locall motion, in respect of it selfe. Which yet *Scotus*, *Occam*, and the later Schoole-men doe utterly reject. So sweetely doe these men agree, that talke so much of unity. Verily I am perswaded, there are more materiall and reall differences amongst them, touching this one Sacrament, than there are appearing differences or controversies amongst those of our Religion, touching all points of Religion.

the bread may bee said to be turned into Christs body: and this is called by them *Transubstantiatio adductiva* *Biel* in *Canonem Missæ*, lect. 40. hath a more foolish conceit than the former: see *Scotus* in 4. distinct. 21. *Scotus* in 4. distinct. 23. q. 1. *Scotus* in 4. distinct. 10. quæst. 1. 9 In 4. quæst. 6.

For

n The conversion or turning of one thing into another, as then when upon the ceasing of the former, the later beginneth to be in such sort as the conversions: if it be substantiall, the former ceasing to be, that substance was, the later begins to be that substance was not before. Wherefore if bread be substantially turned into Christs body, the ceasing of the substance of bread is the beginning of the substance of his body: this is called by *Scotus*, transubstantiatio productiva: and is confessed to be impossible in respect of the substance of bread, and the body of Christ. Wherefore they say, that one substance may be said to be turned into the other, when upon the ceasing of the former, the later begins to have the same qualities, apparell, place, and employment the former had: and so suppose the body of Christ filling the same place that the bread did, but now ceaseth to do, (returning into that nothing out of which it was taken) that.

* Cameracensis
sent. 4 in q. 6.
f Thomas in
quodliberali-
bus quæstioni-
bus quodlibeto
3. q. 1. art. 2.
Durandus lib.
4. distinct. 11.
quæst. 1.
* Confessio Be-
rengarii est, pa-
nem & vinum
post consecra-
tionem esse ve-
rum corpus &
sanguinem
Christi; & sen-
sualiter non so-
lum in Sacra-
mento, sed et
iam in veritate
manibus Sacer-
dotum tractari,
& frangi, & si
delium denti-
bus atteri.
* Corpus Chri-
sti est totum in
tota hostia &
totum in quali-
bet parte: hinc
dubitat an
retinet distan-
tiam partium?
distinguit Sco-
tus ordinem
partium in to-
to, & in loco:
primum retine-
re dicit, non
secundum. Oc-
cam probat se-
cundum non
posse esse sine
primo, nec pri-
mum sine se-
cundo; unde
probat corpus
Christi in Eu-
charistia, non
habere distan-
tiam vel ordi-
nem partium
in toto vel lo-
co, vel per con-
sequentes nul-
lam figuram

nec esse organicum, & proinde nec animatum. Occam l. 4. q. 4. Cameracensis in 4. quæst. 3. * Quod Ponti-
fex errare in iudicando possit, asseverantissime à plerisque pronuntiatur. Picus Theoremate 4. ubi etiam con-
cilia errare posse ostendit. y Pighius hierarch. lib. 6. cap. 1. 2. 4. putavit universalium conciliorum Constans-
tinum inventorem fuisse: quem divinorum mysteriorum atque adeo Romani Pontificis auctoritatis ignarum
fuisse pronuntiat: hunc reprehendit Andradius de generalium Conciliorum auctoritate lib. 1. fol. 10. idem
Andradius ait, si universi Patres in Synodo aliquid definirent unanimiter, cui definitioni sola persona Papæ
contradiceret, Synodo standum esse, & non iudicio Papæ: & idem sensisse ait Turcetrema. & tamen etiam
hi Basilienfes damnabant, ut patet ibidem. Gallia Synodum Florentinam pro Oecumenica nunquam habuit,
noluit audire, nec perfectam admisit. Andr. de script. & tradit. auctoritate, lib. 2. fol. 251. Constantiensis
Synodum Oecumenicam esse negat Cajetanus, affirmat Andradius in eodem lib. fol. 253.

For is it not so, that there are foure opinions touching the presence of
Christ in the Sacrament, and three of them different from Transubstantiation?
So that notwithstanding the decree of the *Laterane Councell*, many of the wi-
sest and best learned were of opinion, that Transubstantiation cannot be dedu-
ced from the Scripture, or the Churches determination. Did not *Thomas A-*
quinas, and the rest of that time deny that one body may bee locally in more
places than one at one time, and reject it as a thing impossible, and implying
contradiction? And doe not the Papists at this day judge us Hereticks for being
of the same opinion? Did they not in *Berengarius* time thinke, that the very
body of Christ is torne with teeth, and yet without hurt, by a strange miracle?
And was not *Berengarius* in his recantation forced to say so much? yet at this
day this conceit is holden most absurd and foolish. Doe not some of them say,
that the body of Christ goeth downe into the stomach and belly, and is eaten
of mice and dogges? And doe not others detest this blasphemous impiety? Do
not some of them say, there are accidents in the Sacraments without substance?
And doe not others affirme, that those accidents are inherent in the aire? Doe
not some of them say, that when the Priest breaketh that which he holdeth in
his hands after consecration, it is no true breaking, but a deceiving of the sense?
Others, that hee truly breaketh, and yet nothing is broken? others, that
Christs body is broken? and others, that the accidents are broken? Such a bro-
ken Religion have these men devised, that neither the Fathers, nor any before
Barbarisme had possessed all, ever thought of. Doe not some of them say, that
Christ in the Sacrament retaineth his owne proportion of parts, figure and fa-
shion? And doe not others say and demonstratively prove, that if hee be in the
Sacrament, hee hath no distance of parts, no figure, no fashion, nor organicall
disposition of body, and consequently no life? The rest of the infinite mazes,
that these men turning out of the direct way, have lost themselves in, I have no
pleasure to treade out. But those few examples may suffice to shew, that their
whole doctrine is full of uncertainty, contrariety, and contradiction, and doth
testifie against it selfe, that it is not of God.

It were easie to shew, that all Popish doctrine is nothing else but a masse of
uncertainties and contradictions, shewing that they are out of the way, that
professe it, and know not how to finde either it, or themselves. If any Papist
dare deny this, it shall be proved against him in particulars. But they will say,
notwithstanding all these differences, yet they submit their judgements to the
censure of the Pope and Councell, and therefore their divisions are not danger-
ous nor hereticall.

How false and shamelesse this answer is, the infinite number of them that
have ever judged, that the Pope may erre and become an Heretick, doth appa-
rantly demonstrate.

If they shall say, that they dare not relye upon the infallibility of the
Popes judgement, yet they rest in the determination of generall Councels;
it will bee found that they are as doubtfull touching the authority of Coun-
cels as they are concerning the Pope, some saying, they are meeere humane
inventions; others, that they are nothing if the Pope confirme them not; others
that they are, though hee refuse to confirme them; and others, that both may

erre: some reiecting one Councell, and some another, as appeareth by the contrarie judgment of Papists, of the Councelles of *Constance*, *Basill*, *Pisa*, and *Florence*.

But they will say, they all hold that, which the Catholike *Romane* Church doth hold, and in other things, not yet agreed upon, thinke euery man at his pleasure. This is as much, as if they should have sayd, that wherein soeuer they all agree, they all agree, and wherein soeuer they differ, each faction doth differ from another, and carefully prouideth, that nothing shall passe against it by publike consent, as appeareth in the matter of *Maries* conception, and sundry other things, which no Councell durst euer determine, for feare of offending the contrarie factions dissenting about these things. Thus then, I hope, it appeareth out of that which hath bene spoken, that by the note of unity and diuision the *Romanistes* are found to bee in error, and not we. What degree of unity is necessarily required in the true Churches of God; and what diuisions may be found among the societies of Christians, and yet not cause them to cease to be the true Churches of God, I have sufficiently cleared in that part, wherein I shewed, what is the nature of schisme and heresie.

C H A P. 43.

Of Vniuersalitie.

THe next note of the Church, is vniuersality: concerning which many things have bene spoken in the former part, touching the notes of the Church in generall. Wherefore passing by those things, let us in this place observe only these few things following. First therefore to the Vniuersality of the Church it is required, that it extend to all times, places, and sorts of men. Secondly, this Vniuersality is not found in any one Church, limited either in respect of time, or place. Thirdly, from hence it followeth, that it is no where found, but in that blessed number of Christians, that have bene, are and shall bee. Fourthly, it cannot bee a note of the true Church, that is the multitude of men now living in the world, as being found in it; For that multitude is not vniuersall, but limited in respect of time, being onely the number of them, that live at one time, and may be limited also in respect of place: for it is not necessary, that the Church be in all places at one time, but it sufficeth if it bee successively. Fifthly, Vniuersality may be a note of the true Church, in respect of particular societies of Christians, limited in time, and place, though not by having it, yet by demonstrating themselves, to pertaine to the unity of that Church that hath it, This no particular Church can doe, but by proving, that it holdeth the common faith once deliuered to the Saints, without hereticall innovation, or schismaticall violation, of the unity and peace of the Christian world.

a Bellar. lib. 4.
c. 7. de notis
Ecclesie no-
ta. 4.

This being the way for particular Churches to demonstrate themselves to bee Catholike, by proving they hold the Catholike faith, it is easie from hence to conclude, that the reformed Churches are the Catholike Churches of God. First, for that that being Catholike, as *Vincentius Lirinensis* defineth it, which is and hath bene holden at all times, and in all places, by all Christians, that have not bene noted for noueltie, singularity, and diuision; whatsoever hath bene so received, wee receive as the undoubted truth of God: neither is there any of the things which wee impugne, and the Papists defend, that is Catholike, but they all carry the markes of nouelty and uncertainty. Secondly, touching the communion the people of God should have among themselves, our aduersaries shall neuer prove, that wee have at any time giuen occasion of those breaches that now appeare; But wee will proue against them that they

b Contra pro-
fanos heretico-
rum novitates.

haue, and so the note of Vniuersality maketh nothing for them, or against us.

Touching the name of Catholike, devised to expresse those both men, and societies of men, which hold the common faith without faction or diuision, I haue spoken sufficiently in the former part, touching the notes of the Church, and so need not here to insist upon it. Thus haue we runne through the examination of the principall notes of the Church, assigned by our aduersaries: but, because they adde unto these certaine other, I will briefly examine their proofs taken from thence, for themselves, or against us.

C H A P. 44.

Of the Sanctity of Doctrine; and the supposed absurdities of our profession.

THese notes are, Sanctity and efficacie of doctrine, our own confession, miracles, and predictions, the felicity and infelicity of such as defend or impugne the truth; and lastly, the holy and religious conversation of the Professours of the truth. Let us take a view of these in such sort and order, as they are proposed by them. They place in the front the Sanctity and efficacie of doctrine.

A lyer (they say) should haue a good memory; but surely our aduersaries, of all the lyers that euer were, haue the worst memories: by reason whereof euery second page of their writings, if not euery second line, is a refutation of the first. *Bellarmino* divideth his tract of the notes of the Church, into two parts. In the first he sheweth, what things are required in the notes of the Church, and there hee saith, truth and Sanctity of doctrine is no note of the Church. In the latter, he doth particularly assigne the notes, whereby he supposeth the Church may be knowne, and reckoneth truth, Sanctity, and efficacie of doctrine, amongst the rest. But let us pardon him this oversight, and see how hee proueth by this note, that we are not, and that their faction is, the true Church of God.

Our doctrine is false, absurd, and vnreasonable; and theirs, full of truth, reason, and equitie: Therefore our Churches are not the true Churches of God, and theirs are. Both parts of the Antecedent of this argument we deny. For he shall neuer bee able to prove the absurdities he imputeth unto us; but we are able to demonstrate against him, that the whole course of Popish doctrine is most absurd, false and impious.

But least hee should seeme to say nothing, hee produceth foure instances, wherein he supposeth there is apparant and very grosse absurditie. The first he proposeth in this sort: The Protestants teach, that a man is justified by speciall faith, whereby he perswadeth himselfe that he is iust. Now then he reasoneth thus; When men beginne to beleeeve, either they are iust, and then their faith justifieth not, being in nature after their justification, and finding them already iust, when it beginneth; or else they are not iust, and then speciall faith making a man beleeeve he is iust, is false, and so a man is justified by a lye. To this horned argument wee answere, that speciall faith hath sundry actes, but to this purpose specially two: the one, by way of petition humbly intreating for acceptation and fauour; the other, in the nature of comfortable assurance, consisting in a perswasion that that was graunted, which was desired. Faith, by her first act, obtaineth and worketh our justification, and doeth not find us iust when wee beginne to beleeeve: by her second act, shee doeth not actively iustifie, but finding the thing done, certifieth and assureth us of it, and so is no lying perswasion, as this lying companion is pleased to pronounce it to bee. So then, speciall faith in her first act, which is a kinde of petition, is before justification, and procureth or obtaineth it, but then shee hath not the perswasion of it; in her second act, shee presupposeth the thing

thing done, and already obtayned, and so truly perswadeth the beleeuers of it, but procureth not the doing of it.

The second palpable and grosse absurdity of the Protestants doctrine is, that it is not lawfull to say the Lords prayer. This the Cardinall proueth, because no man of the Protestants Religion can, without dissimulation, aske forgiveness of sinnes, which is one of the principall petitions of that prayer. This petition they cannot make, because they hold, that all right beleeuers and justified men are without sinne, and know themselves so to be; and therefore cannot be excusable from vile dissimulation, and mocking of God, in asking the remission of their sinnes. The impudencie of this imputation is, such, as I thinke all moderate Papists are ashamed of it. For, doth any of us thinke, that the justified man is voyd of all sinne? Or is it consequent, if a man know himselfe to be justified, that then he may not aske remission of his sins? Doe not many right learned and wise amongst themselves teach, that a man may be sure he is in state of grace, and justification, by the ordinary working of Gods spirit? and doe not all Papists think, that by speciall revelation men may be sure they are in state of grace, as *Paul* and sundry others were? Doe all these teach, that men thus assured of their justification, know themselves to have no sinne, & consequently, nothing whereof they should aske forgiveness? Surely, herein I thinke both they & wee agree, that in the justified, the dominion of sinne ceaseth, sin hath no longer dominion over them, and that proportionably the guilt of condemnation is taken away; but that there are still remainders of sin in them, not perfectly extinguished; & that, though while they remaine in the state of justification, they sin not with full consent, to the excluding of grace, and subiecting of themselves to the guilt of condemnation, yet there are many sinfull evils they runne into, which subiect them to Gods displeasure, & for which hee will not faile to judge them, if they judge not themselves. For the weakening & abolishing of these sinfull evils, and the averting of that displeasure, wherewith God is displeased with men for them, the justified doe pray unto God, which is, to aske forgiveness of sinnes, as in the Lords prayer is meant. For the petition is understood of the sinnes of the servants of God, and such as are in state of grace, as *Augustine* teacheth. Thus then the justified man knoweth, that the dominion of his sins is taken away, and that the guilt of condemnation, whereunto they subiect such as are under the dominion of them, is already remoued, and therefore he doth not desire nor aske forgiveness of sinnes in this sort: but the inherence of sin he acknowledgeth in himselfe, notwithstanding his justification, which still subiecteth him to Gods displeasure, & punishments, accompanying the same. These things hee desireth to be remoued, and in this sense asketh forgiveness of sinnes.

If it be replied, that the remission of the sins of the justified is full and perfect, and that therefore they that know themselves to be justified, cannot aske remission, which they know they have perfectly already; Wee answer, that the remission of the sins of the justified, is full and perfect, not for that they are already freed actually from the inherence of sinne, and the displeasure of God disliking it, but because they haue full title unto, and right in that mercy of God; which, as it hath already deliuered them from the dominion and condemnation of sin, so it will in the end wholly free them, from the inherence of it, and the displeasure of God disliking it.

His next allegation is more frivolous then the former. The *Anabaptists*, saith he, doe most certainly & assuredly perswade themselves, that they are accepted of God, & therefore they haue true faith, according to the doctrine of the Protestants, who define faith to be the assurance of the mercifull goodnes of God; and doe the Protestants deny the to be justified, unless they forsake their errors, and

Alex. of Ales,
Ioh. Bacon, Vega,
Ambrosius
Catharinus,
and diuers o-
ther, of whom
see cap. 7.

Est peniten-
tia bonorum &
humilium fide-
lium penè quo-
tidiana, in qua
pectora tundi-
mus, dicentes,
dimitte nobis
debita nostra,
illa vtrique quæ
humane fragi-
litati parua, ta-
men crebra,
subrepunt. Aug.
Seleucianæ E-
pist. 109. ora-
tio quotidiana,
quam docuit
Dominus, delet
quidem quoti-
diana peccata,
cum quotidie
dicitur, dimitte
nobis debita
nostra. De ciui-
tate Dei, l. 2 c.
cap. 27.

and so by consequent do say, they have true faith, and yet are not justified; which is to affirme that they are just, and not just. To this we answer, that there is as great difference betweene true confidence and assurance, (which onely is to be named faith) and that which is found in heretickes, as betweene the joy and gladnesse that is fantastickall, and is found in men dreaming, and that which is true and in men waking.

That quietnesse of minde either proceedeth from senselesse stupiditie in men having cauterized consciences, though there be just cause of fearefull apprehensions; or from the not finding or having any matter of condemning remorse: even as some men are touchied with no griefe, or afflicted with any smart or paine, though no part be found or well in them. because they are in a dead and senselesse stupiditie: and others feelee not paine, because they are perfectly well. It is not therefore every assured confidence that is faith, but true confidence. Neither is it to be doubted, but that heretickes do oftentimes confidently perswade themselves they please God, and thinke they embrace true pietie, as men dreaming do perswade themselves they injoy and possesse all things, though they possesse nothing. But as men waking know the things they apprehend, are so indeed as they apprehend them, and not in fancie onely, as men sleeping are deluded: so true Christians know the perswasion they have of Gods goodness towards them, groweth from due and just consideration, and not from deceivable fancie and imagination onely, as in heretickes it doth. This point is excellently cleared by *Alexander of Hales*, the first, and greatest of all the Schoolemen, whose reasons and proofes, that true Christians may be assured, they are in state of grace and acceptation with God, *Bellarmino* cannot answer.

Joan. Baconus lib. 3. dist. 30. q. 1. art. 2. an. habentem charitatem posse certitudinaliter scire se esse in charitate. 4 Part. 3. quæst. 61. memb. 7. art. 3.

Thus wee have seene the supposed absurd positions, wherewith the Jesuite charged all Protestants in generall. In the next place, hee produceth such as are proper to the *Lutherans*; and in the last place, such as are peculiar to the *Calvinists*. For thus it pleaseth him to tearme us, by these names of faction and division; whereas it is Antichrists pride that hath made all the breaches in the Christian world, and would have laid all waste, if God had not preserved a remnant.

The error wherewith hee chargeth the *Lutherans*, is, that children, when they are baptised, have faith, hope, and love. Is this an error? are they justified, sanctified and made the temple of the holy Ghost, when they are baptised; and have they neither faith, hope, love? doth not justification imply all these in it? But they have not the act of faith; no more they have of reason: have they not therefore the facultie of reason? This then is that which these men teach, whom it pleaseth these Antichristian sectaries odiouly to name *Lutherans*, namely, that Children, when they are adopted, and made the sonnes of God, when they are justified or sanctified, are filled with the habites or potentiall habilities of these vertues, and that they have the beginning, roote, and seed of faith, hope, and love. For the farther clearing of this objection, read *Kemnitius* in his *Examen of the Tridentine Councell*.

The error of the *Calvinists*, touching absolute necessitie, and that God is the author of sinne, is but the imagination of the *Romanists*, as I have already sufficiently shewed. For *Calvin* and wee all detest both these absurdities.

CHAP. 45.

Of the Paradoxes and grosse absurdities of Romish Religion.

THus then the Paradoxes and grosse absurdities, which this Cardinall adversary of Gods true religion imputeth unto us, are but the fancies of his owne idle braine. But if wee should enter into the examination of the severall parts of their profession, it were not hard really

really to convince them, of the most senselesse follies, that ever the world was acquainted with. But because it would be tedious and unseasonable, in this generall controversie of the Church, to enter into the particular handling of things more fitly reserved to their owne proper places; I will only touch some few things, that may seeme to concerne the whole frame and fabricke of their Religion.

They all hold at this day, that the infallibilitie of the Popes judgement, is the rocke on which the Church is builded; and that this is the difference betweene a Catholique and a Heretique, that, though both beleve many divine and supernaturall truthes, yet they build not themselves upon the same grounds of perswasion. For the Catholique builds himselfe upon the sure ground of the infallibilitie of the Churches chiefe Pattours judgement: but the Heretique upon other things, yeelding him satisfaction concerning the truth of that hee beleeveth, whatsoever the judgement of the Pope bee. And yet the same men which thus teach, doe say, it is no matter of faith, to acknowledge, or not to acknowledge, the infallibilitie of the Popes judgement; and that a man may bee a true Catholique, that thinketh the Pope may erre.

These two assertions are directly contradictorie. The first they imbrace, because they finde the authority Papall to be the surest stay of all their false faith, and Antichristian profession: and the second they are forced unto, because they dare not condemne so many famous, renowned, and great Divines as have beene of that opinion, as *Durandus*, *Gerson*, *Cameracensis*, *Almaine*, *Waldensis*, and innumerable moe. By this their contradicting of themselves, not yet knowing whereon to ground their faith, it is evident they have no faith at all.

Secondly, if wee should grant them to have any faith, yet will it be found to be Sophisticall, or meerely humane. For the reason, ground, and cause of their perswasion, touching things Divine, is the testimony of the Church, infallibly ledde into all truth; and that there is a Church thus ledde into all truth, whose testimony is undoubtedly certaine and true, they beleve, because the Church telleth them so: as if a man should beleve the reports of such a man, because he is wise, faithfull and honest, and beleve him to be so, onely because he faith so.

To avoid this Sophisticall circulation, sundry of the Schoolmen doe freely confesse, that the ground of their faith is nothing else, but the multitude and consent of men, nations, and people agreeing in the profession of it; and consequently, that it is meerely a humane perswasion, and that they have no faith at all; which alwaies stayeth it selfe upon the certaintie of the first truth.

Thirdly, they teach, that mortall men are never bound to give GOD thanks, for the greatest benefit that is bestowed on them in this world. Nay, that to give him thanks for it, were a grievous sinne. This is most evident; for the greatest benefit of all other is justification: but for this no man may give God thanks, because no man knoweth whether hee hath received it or not, nor can assure himselfe of it without intolerable and inexcusable presumption. Nay, some of these seducers are not ashamed to write, that every man is bound to doubt of it, with so fearefull doubting, as may cause trembling; applying that place of the Apostle to that purpose; *Worke out your salvation with feare and trembling*. Now I thinke, hee which should come to God, and give him thanks for that, which, whether he have received or not, hee is so doubtfull, that hee trembleth for feare, should but mocke God, and mistake his owne meaning.

Fourthly, they hold that *Paul*, and so many more, as knew certainly they were in state of justification, did sinne damnably in saying the Lords Prayer,

Papam in decreto fidei errare non posse, veritas certa & recepta est, etsi non de fide, propter multos Catholicos qui contrarium tenuerunt: ut Gerl. Occam, Almaynus, omnes ferè Parisienses, & omnes qui concilium supra Papam esse credunt. Alph. à castro Adrian: 6. & Durand. Stapleton contro: 3. q. 4.

and that they did as foolishly, as if a man should come no God, and aske of him the creation of the world, which was made long agoe.

C H A P. 46.

Of the efficacie of the Churches doctrine.

THUS were it most easie for us, to shew in many other particulars, that the course of their doctrine is full of palpable absurdities. But let these few instances suffice, and let us passe from the sanctitie of the Churches doctrine, to that the Jesuite addeth touching the efficacie of it: where hee affirmeth two things: the first, that heretickes never convert any, from infidelitie to the faith: the second, that the Church of *Rome* hath converted. This which the Jesuite so confidently delivereth, is partly false, and partly to no purpose at all. For whereas hee saith, heretickes never convert any from infidelitie to Christianitie, the conversion of the *Moscovites*, by the *Greeke* Church, at that time, when it was in his judgement hereticall and schismaticall, abundantly refuted him, besides some other examples, that might be alleaged.

Touching the other part of his speech, that the Church of *Rome* hath converted many nations to the faith, it maketh nothing to the purpose. For wee have already shewed, that wee doubt not, but the Church in which the Bishop of *Rome* with more than Lucifer-like pride exalted himselfe, was notwithstanding the true Church of God; that it held a saving profession of the truth in Christ, and by force thereof did convert many from error to the way of truth: yet was not the state of that Church such, but that a damnable faction of wicked ones was found in the midst of it, who being the vassals of that cursed Antichrist, adulterated the truth of God, and brought his people into a miserable estate, holding men in worse than *Babylonicall* captivitie. These men the Romanists succede at this day. For the clearing of this matter, see that which I have noted before to this purpose.

C H A P. 47.

Of the Protestants pretended confession, that the Roman Church is the true Church of God.

^a Bellar. c. 16.
nota. 15.

^b In lib. contra
Anabaptistas.

THe next note, whereby *Bellarmino* endeavoureth to prove the Romish Synagogue to be the true Church of God, is our owne confession. Surely, if hee can prove, that wee confesse it to be the true Church, he needeth not use any other arguments. Let us see therefore, how hee proveth, that wee confesse the Roman Church to be the true Church of God, ^b *Luther*, saith he, clearly yeeldeth it; and *Calvin*, and others in effect acknowledge the same. This wee deny: for neither *Luther*, nor *Calvin*, nor any of us do acknowledge, that the Popish religion, is true religion; or the Romish faction, the Orthodoxe Church of God. It is true indeed, that *Luther* writing against the Anabaptists doth affirme, that the life of true Christianitie was preserved in the midst of those Churches, wherein the Pope did formerly tyrannize;

tyrannize; which thing wee have more fully cleared before : But, that any part of that doctrine, the reformed Churches have rejected, was to be accounted the doctrine of the Church, or that those wicked ones, (in whose steppes the Romanists at this day doe insist, perverting the strait waies of God, and adulterating his heavenly truth) were lively members of the Church, *Luther* did never so much as dreame.

That which is alleaged out of *Calvin*, touching *Bernard*, and other holy men, living and dying in the Roman Church, is to no purpose. For wee never doubted, but that the Churches, wherein those holy men did live and die, were the true Churches of God, and held the saving profession of heavenly truth, though there were innumerable in the midst of them, that adulterated the same to their endlesse perdition ; whose successours the Romanists are at this day. There is therefore a great difference to be made, betweene the Church wherein our Fathers formerly lived. and that faction of the Popes adherents, which at this day resist against the necessary reformation of the Churches of God, and make that their faith and religion, which in former times, was but the private and unresolved opinion of some certaine onely. In former times, a man might hold the generall doctrine of those Churches. wherein our Fathers lived, and be saved, though the assertions of some men were damnable; Now it is cleane contrary touching the present state of the Romish Church: For, the generall and maine doctrine, agreed upon in the Councell of *Trent*, in sort as it is most commonly conceived, is damnable: but there are (no doubt) some of a better spirit, and have in themselves particularly a better conceit of things, than generally is holden. Formerly, the Church of *Rome* was the true Church, but had in it an hereticall faction: now the Church it selfe is hereticall, and some certaine onely are found in it, in such degree of Orthodoxie, as that wee may well hope of their salvation. Thus then, this great objection taken, from our owne confession, is easily answered.

Calvinus, inquit Bellar. eodem cap. vocat Bernardum pium scriptorem: at certe papista fuit Bernardus: & nemo est pius sine vera fide. Idem probat ex Luthero & Philippo ib.

C H A P. 48.

Of Miracles confirming the Roman faith.

THe next note of the Church, is, Gods owne Testimony, which hee giveth of the truth, and sanctitie, of the faith and profession it holdeth. a Chap. 14. not. 11.

This doubtlesse is the most absolute and excellent note of all other.

For that must needs be the true Church, which holdeth the true faith and profession; and that the true profession, which God, that neither himselfe can be deceived, nor deceive others, doth witnesse and testifie to be so. For who dare make any doubt, whether that bee the true religion, or that the true Church, which the God of truth witnesseth to be so? Let us see, therefore how God doth testifie concerning the truth of religion, and the happy condition of them that professe it.

Surely, this testification is of two sorts: the one by the inward operation of his inlightning spirit, satisfying our understandings in those things, which by natures light wee could not discern, and filling our hearts with joy and gladnesse. such and so great, as nothing within natures compasse can yeeld. For by this so great, happie, and heavenly an alteration, which we finde in our selves upon and together with the receiving of this doctrine; which the spirit of truth doth teach us, hee doth most clearly witnesse unto us, that it is heavenly indeede; and such as wee could not have attained unto, but by divine revelation. The other kinde of testification, is, when being desired by them, that

¶ *Anne appro-
bationem Ec-
clesiæ non est
evidens, aut
certum certitu-
dine fidei, de
ullo miraculo,
quod si verum
miraculum.
Bell. in eodem
cap.
¶ Aug. de utili-
tate credendi
cap. 16. mira-
culum, inquit,
voco, quod ar-
duum, aut inso-
litum supra spẽ
vel facultatem
mirantis appa-
ret: quædam
solum faciunt
admiracionem:
quædam mag-
nam gratiam
benevolentia-
mque concili-
ant qualia fue-
runt Christi
miracula. Hunc
locum produ-
cit. Scotus pro-
log. sentent. q.
de octavo.*

¶ *Tom. 2. opul-
cul. tractat. 1.
de conceptione
virginis. c. 1.*

teach and learne this doctrine, to give some outward testimony, that it is true, hee doth some such thing for the good of them that receive it, or hurt of such as refuse it, as none but God can doe. But because, partly by reason of the manifold illusions, wherewith Sathan can, and often doth abuse men, making it seeme unto them that those things are done which are not; and partly because we do not exactly know, what may be done by the force of naturall causes; we cannot infallibly know, concerning any outward thing performed before our eyes, that it is indeed immediately and miraculously wrought by Gods owne most sacred hands. This kinde of testification is not matchable with the other: Nay, we cannot be infallibly assured of any thing done, that it is Gods owne worke, and indeed a miracle, unlesse this assurance grow out of the former testification. For wee may justly feare some fraud, till finding by the inward testimony of Gods spirit, the truth of that for prooffe whereof this strange thing is done, wee are assured it is the immediate and peculiar worke of God. This assurance the qualitie of the things done and the difference betweene the workes of Sathan which onely cause admiration and wonder, and the miraculous workes of God, that are full of gracious goodnesse, winning the hearts of such as see them, will greatly strengthen.

To what purpose then (will some man say) served all the miracles that were done by Christ and his blessed Apostles? This doubt is easily cleared. for whereas the things then taught, were new, strange, and incredible to naturall men; they would not at all have listned unto them, made inquirie after them, or search into them, had not the strange workes that followed the publishers of them, made them thinke the things credible, that were accompanied with so strange attendants. Now while they gave heed to the things that were spoken, the Word was mightie in operation, and entred into them in such sort, that they discerned it was Gods owne word, and that the way of Salvation, which by it they were directed unto.

Thus then wee see, that miracles are not sure notes of the truth of Religion, nor certaine markes to know the Church by, unlesse they bee strengthened by some other meanes: not for that a miracle knowne to bee so, is insufficient to testifie of the truth of God; but because it is not possible infallibly to know, that the things which seeme unto us to be miracles, be so indeede; unlesse being assured of the truth of that, for confirmation whereof they are wrought, wee thereby be perswaded they are of God. All that hath beene hitherto said, is confessed to bee true, by the best learned Divines of the Romane Church. ¶ Yea Cardinall *Cajetan* proceedeth so farre, that hee pronounceth, it cannot be certainly knowne, that those miracles are true miracles, which the Church admitteth and approveth in the canonizing of Saints; seeing the truth of them dependeth on mens report, that may deceive, and be deceived.

Thus having declared what the use of miracles is, and how farre they give testimony of the truth, let us see what our adversaries conclude from hence, for themselves, or against us. They have miracles for confirmation of their faith and Religion. and wee have none: therefore they hold the true faith, and we are in error. For answer hereunto; first, wee say, that the truth of Religion cannot infallibly and certainly be found out by miracles especially in these last times; because as *Gerson* noteth in his booke *De distinctione verarum & falsarum visionum*, in this old age of the world, in this last houre, and time so neere Antichrist his revelation, it is not to be marvelled at, if the world like a doating old man, bee abused by many illusions, and fantasies most like to dreames.

Secondly, wee say, that howsoever it may bee, some miracles were done, by such good men as lived in the corrupt state of the Church, in the daies of our Fathers; yet that is no prooffe of those errors which the Romanists maintaine against us. For wee peremptorily deny, that ever any miracle was done,

done, by any in times past, or in our times to confirme any of the things controverted, betweene them and us. What credit is to be given to the reports of their miracles, they may easily conceive, in that in all the differences they have had amongst themselves, either in matters of opinion, or faction, they have had contrary visions, revelations, and miracles, to confirme the perswasion of either side, as appeareth in the differences touching *Maries* conception, and in the times of the Anti-popes. Whereupon *Cajetan*, writing to Pope *Leo*, about the controversie of *Maries* conception, wisheth him not to suffer his judgement to bee swayed, by shew of miracles, and giveth many good reasons of the uncertaintie, of finding out the truth by that meanes.

Thirdly, whereas they say, wee have no miracles, and therefore not the true faith and Religion; wee deny both the antecedent and the consequent. For first, the restoring of the puritie of religion in our age, hath not beene, without wonderfull demonstration of the power of God, to confirme the truth of our doctrine, and the equitie of our cause, as may appeare by that which was reported, by *Illyricus*, the *English Martyrologue*, and other histories of better credit, than those out of which they report their miracles. And besides wee say, though wee had no miracles, wee are not thereby convinced of error: For the use of miracles was specially, if not onely, in respect of infidels, as *Cajetan* sheweth in the place above mentioned out of *1. Corinthians 11*. and the authority of *Gregory*, in his tenth Homily, and served to make the mysteries of God seeme credible, to such as were wholly averse from them. So that now the faith being already generally planted and received in the world, and confirmed by the miracles done by *Christ* and his Apostles, and nothing being taught by us, but the same which was delivered by them in the beginning, nothing contrary to the confirmed and received doctrine of the Church of God then in the world, when these differences betweene us and our adversaries began, there is no reason they should urge us, to confirme our doctrine by miracles. If they require us to confirme our calling and Ministry, as being extraordinary, wee say, it is not extraordinary, as hath beene sufficiently cleared in the note of succession. That which *Bellarmino* addeth, that *Luther* and *Calvin* attempted to do miracles, but could do none, is but the lying report of his owne companions, their sworne enemies, whose testimony in this case is not to be regarded.

C H A P. 49.

Of Propheticall Prediction.

THe next note of the Church, urged by them, is Propheticall prediction. The certaine foreknowledge of future contingent things, is proper unto God, and therefore none can foretell such things before they come to passe, but they to whom God revealeth them: but that this kinde of revelation is made onely to them that are of the true Church, I thinke *Bellarmino* will not say. For then what shall wee thinke of *Balaam*, and the *Sybilis*? so that prediction of future things is no certaine, nor proper note of the true Church. But if it were, it would not helpe them, nor hurt us. For, those men they speake of, that lived in the daies of our fathers, and prophesied of things to come, were of the true Church; and many of them did most certainly foresee, and foretell, the ruine of the Pope his estate, and the alteration and reformation of the Church in our time, and gave most cleare testimony unto that which we have done. Neither is there any better prooffe of the goodnesse of our cause, than that that, which wee have done in the reformation of the Church, was before wished for, expected, and foretold, by the best men that lived in former times, in the corrupt state of the Church.

That

Fit aliquando in Ecclesia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis a sacerdotibus vel ijs adhaerentibus propter lucrum temporale: talia extirpanda sunt, sicut ista excerpta sunt a Daniele Lyra in 14 Danielis. f. Tom. 2. Opusculi, tractat. 1. de conceptione virginis cap. 5. beata Brigitta sibi revelatum dixit, virginem preservatam fuisse ab originali peccato: Catharina de Senis dixit sibi revelatum oppositum. g In Catologo testium veritatis.

Bellar. cap. 15. nota 12, in eodem lib.

As Grosse, Gerl. Sauanrola, and many other before mentioned.

In Libel, de-
monstr. certitu-
dinis sacramen-
torum &
Christianæ
religionis.

That which *Bellarmino* scornfully reporteth of *Luther's* false & lying prophesie, that if he continued but two yeares in preaching the Gospell, the Kingdome of the Pope should be overthrowne; shall (wee doubt not) bee found true, to the confusion of the enemies of Gods trueth & Religion, notwithstanding all the indeuours of the Iesuites to make up the breaches of *Babylon*, which must be throwen downe, till not a stone be left vpon a stone. But that *Luther* foretold many things before they came to passe, wherein his predictions were found most true, wee haue the testimony of *Melancthon*, *Illyricus*, and diuers others.

CHAP. 50.

Of the felicity of them that professe the trueth.

THe next note of the true Church, assigned by *Bellarmino*, is the temporall felicity of them that are of it. It was but his private fantasie, that mooued him to assigne this note of the Church. For his fellowes the Divines of *Rhemes*, in their annotations upon the fifth of *Matthew*, doe utterly disclaime it, saying in expresse & precise words, *Wee see then that the temporall prosperity of persons and countreys, is no signe of better men, or truer Religion.*

But, let us suppose these pette Divines are deceiued in this their judgement, (though if they bee, wee must condemne all the Primitiue Christians, that were in the times of the ten bloody persecutions) and let us grant, that the Cardinall sayth truely, that temporall felicity and prosperity is a note of the true Church and Religion, what doeth hee gaine by it? surely nothing at all: for he is molt blind, that seeth not the prosperity of all those Countries of *Germany*, *Denmark*, *England*, *Scotland*, and the like: where the reformed Religion is maintained; and the long life, & happy Reigne of those Princes, that haue most favoured and sought to advance the same, as of great *ELIZABETH* of famous memory, late Empresse of *England*, &c. who as she was the great & glorious protectour of the Reformed Churches, so was she the wonder of the world, in respect of the happy successe she had in all things she tooke in hand, and the perpetuall course of felicity, and prosperity, that ever attended her, notwithstanding the daungerous attempts of bloody miscreants, the hired slaues of the sonne of perdition. How the professors of this Religion, though fewer in number, forsaken & destitute of all worldly assurances, and being, by the falshood & treachery of their bloody enemies, oftentimes brought as it were to nothing, in *France* & other places, haue yet strangely, and indeed miraculously lifted vp their heads againe, to the terrour and confusion of their proudest enemies; hee that seeth not, is a stranger in the world. Wherefore I will leaue the consideration of this note to the indifferent Reader, not fearing any great perijudice, that can grow from thence against our cause.

CHAP. 51.

Of the miserable ends of the enemies of the trueth.

THe next is the miserable end of such as are enemies of Gods true Religion. It is true, that God hath oftentimes shewed his judgements most clearly, against the wicked enemies of his trueth and glory, so that in the end, the impiety of their former courses was made to appeare; as wee see in *Herod*, *Arius*, *Nestorius*, and others: but that any such thing fell out to *Luther*, *Caluine*, or any of those worthy men *Bellarmino* pleased in this place to slander, we utterly deny. And to the lewd and lying

reports of *Coclaus*, & *Bolfecus*, we oppose the testimony of *Iunius*, *Melancthon*, and others. And surely it was the worlds wonder, that *Luther* opposing himself against the bloody *Romanists*, against whom no King nor Emperour in later times resisted, but he wrought his owne ouerthrow, should notwithstanding live so long, die so peaceably, and be buried so honourably, as few of his ranke have euer beene.

Touching *Caluin*, there were many witnesses of the manner of his sickness, but of his death, none but the worthy *Scofferius*, whose true report, wee oppose against the wicked and vile flanders of that bale and branded runagate *Bolfecus*. That *Zuinglius* died in the field, with his Countrey-men in defence of their lives, liberties, and Religion, is no certaine note (as I take it) that his Religion was false: but rather an excellent prooffe, and demonstration, of the Christian magnanimitie, and resolution, that rested in him.

^a *Iunius animadvers. in Bellarm. contr. 2. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

How infortunate they haue beene in their attempts, how unhappy in their ends, that have most opposed themselves against the truth of that Religion, which wee professe, wee are able to produce many examples.

^b *Charles the first, that famous Emperour formerly so fortunate in all his*

attempts, after he beganne to oppresse the Duke of Saxonie, the Landgrave, and others of the reformed Religion, prospered not, and was put to the worse by one poore Duke, Maurice. Francis Spira, denying the truth of our Religion, which he had formerly professed, died in horrible despair: the most full end of Saunders, that Antichristian Arch traitour, is well knowne to all men: the ouerthrowe of the Invincible Navie in 88, and the miserable ends of so many Traitors in the dayes of ELIZABETH, beside the late Sulphurian and hellish miscreants, perishing in their sinne, having blowne up all good opinion any man might haue had of such companions.

CHAP. 52.

Of the Sanctity of the lives of them that are of the true Church.

THe last note of the Church, assigned by them, is the sanctitie, holynesse, and good conuersation, of such as are of it. In assigning of this note, as in some of the former, they shew how sweetly they conspire and agree together, For *Cardinall Allen*, in his preface before his booke of Purgatory, confesseth, that by the guile and craftie conveyance of our common enemy the diuell, falsehood is often so cloaked in shadow and shape of truth, and the matters thereof make such shew of vertue and godly life, that you would thinke it had no affinitie with vice, nor origine of mans misbehaviour at all. So did hee couer the wicked heresies of *Manicheus*, *Marcion*, *Tatianus*, and the like, with a fained flourish of continency and chastitie. So did hee over-cast the enemy of Gods grace *Pelagius* with the apparance of all grauitie, constancie, and humility. And so hath he alwayes, where craft was requisite to his intent, made shew of a simple sheepe, in the cruell carcasse of a wily wolfe, *transfiguring himselfe into an Angell of light*. And that his schollers play the like parts, our Maister *Christ*, of his singular loue, gave his flock this watch-word, for a speciall pro- uizo; *Take heed of false Prophets that come in sheepes vesture, but within are ravening Wolves*. So that in all cloaked heresies, men must haue an eye to the fruite of the doctrines preached, and not onely, or principally, to the liues of such as teach them, by the outward appearance whereof, it is not alwayes safe to judge.

^{*} *Aug. Ep. 120.*

^a *Math. 7. 15.*

This the *Rhemists* doe more fully expresse, in their annotations vpon this place, saying, the fruits that heretiques are knowne by, are diuision from the whole Church, diuision amongst themselves, inconstancie in doctrine, and such like: and that these are lightly common to all heretiques, but that there are some other, more peculiar to certaine, as wickednesse of life, and doctrine, directly tending to corruption of good life, in all states of men.

Thus

Thus then wee see, that appearing sanctity, gravity and godlinesse, are no sure, certaine, infallible, and perpetuall notes, to know the true professors by, from such as erre and are deceived. But passing by this their oversight, in that they make such things to be notes of the Church, as are not proper unto it, nor doe not clearely distinguish it from heretickes; let us see what they indeavour to proove against us, or for themselves, by the force and euidence of this note.

Thus therefore they reason; The chiefe Guides of the reformed Churches, and professors of the reformed religion, are apparently wicked, and godlesse men, of vile and scandalous conuersation, and the people wicked, yea much worse then they were in the Papacy; but their Priestes, Prelates, Monkes, Friars, and people, are holy and religious; therefore the truth of religion is theirs. This imputation of wickednesse, *Bellarmino* fastneth upon *Wickliffe* and *Luther*, and from them descendeth to the people.

b Lib. 1. doctrinae promissua 8. tom. 1.

Touching *Wickliffe*, it is a most impudent and shamelesse challenge: for *Waldensis* sheweth, that his conuersation was such, and his manner of life so shadowed with shewes of vertue, that he thereby prevailed much: & thereupon sheweth at large, that it is not safe to discern the truth of religion, by the appearance of sanctity, and good conuersation of them that professe it; and that heretickes have and often doe cloth themselves, with the robes and garments of seeming vertue and piety. But hath he no prooffe, that *Wickliffe* was a wicked and godlesse man? Doubtlesse hee hath, and that very pregnant. For *Waldensis* reporteth upon an vncertaine rumour, that a Bishoppe of *Salisbury*, in a very great and solemne assembly of the Clergie of the prouince of *Canterbury*, affirmed, that *Wickliffe* affected the Bishopricke of *Worcester*; which when he obtained not, hee grew discontented, and so became an enemy to the Catholike Church, impugned the different degrees of Ministerie, and the dignity of Bishops. If this kind of prooffe bee good, innocencie it selfe will not be able to abide the triall.

c Lib. 2. doctrinal: fidei. c. 6.

Wherefore passing from *Wickliffe*, against whom it seemeth our adversaries are able to say little; let us see what are those greivous crimes, wherewith they charge *Luther*. First, they say, he beganne to impugne the sale and merchandise of indulgences, not led by any iust reason, moving him to dislike them, but because the publishing of them was not committed to the Friars of his order, but to the Friars predicant. This vile slander hath no better ground then the former against *Wickliffe*. For who will regard the malicious report of *Coclaus*, his sworne enemy, against the whole course of things that passed in those times, and the cleare euidence of the truth it selfe. *Guicciardine* reporteth, that the abuses in the merchandise of those pardons were so intolerable, that the pardon sellers set the price of redemption, and deliuerance of soules out of Purgatorie, as a stake at dice, to be played for, in every Inne and Tauerne where they came: that all good men disliked much this impious and irreligious abusing the people of God, and that thereupon *Luther* began his opposition against them, not without the great applause of the Christian world.

d Histor. lib. 13

But to make it most cleare to all not wilfully blinded, that no such sinister respect moved *Luther* to impugne the Kingdome of the *Roman* Antichrist; It is certaine, hee had, before this occasion was offered unto him, cleared the doctrine of Originall sinne, of Nature and Grace, of the difference betweene the spirit and the letter, the Law and grace, of freewill and the like, which are the maine grounds of all that doctrine, wherein hee dissenteth from the *Romish* Synagogue.

But (saith *Bellarmino*,) *Coclaus* reporteth, that *Luther* in the disputation at *Lipsia* between him & *Eckius* said, his opposition against the Pope & Poperie, was neuer begun out of any desire of Gods glory, nor would ever have any good end.

end. This is a divellish slander: for *Luther* said no such thing, but that this disputation was not begunne on his Adversaries part, out of any desire of the glory of God, or the good of his Church, and that therefore it would never have any good end.

That which he writeth to them of *Strawesborough*, that hee would willingly bee of their opinion, and deny the reall presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament, if the evidence of trueth did not convince him, and force him to bee otherwise minded, for that hee might thereby disadvantage his Adversaries of the *Romish* faction, no way proveth that which *Bellarmino* intendeth. For this is all hee saith: *Let no man thinke that it is wilfulnesse and a prejudicate opinion, that maketh mee dissent from Zuinglius, and the rest; for in my affection and desire, I should rather wish to consent with them in this point, than with the Romanists, (whose manifold damnable errours I detest) if it were affection and not reason, and the cleere evidence of trueth that must prevaile in things of this kinde.* Indeede the *Romanists* are wont to temper their opinions, and sway their judgements, accordingly as they finde they may most advantage their owne cause, and disadvantage their adversaries. As appeareth by *Bellarmino*, who in the question, Whether the eminent degree of Bishops above Presbyters, bee a distinct Order of Ministry, doth incline to the opinion of them that thinke it is, contrary to the judgement of the best learned of the Schoole-men; for that thereby hee may the more easily impugne the opinion of them that thinke Bishops and Presbyters to be all one, *jura di-*
vino.

That which followeth, is as little to the purpose as the rest. It is true, that in the assurance of the trueth he professed, and the certaine victory of the same over all the enemies of it, of what kinde, degree, or sort soever hee esteemed all the greatnesse of the malicious Adversaries thereof, as vile as the dirt underneath his feete, though otherwise out of this comparison with the trueth, and opposition to it, he respected them as the greatnesse of their place did require. That hee saith, *hee regardeth not a thousand Cyprians, a thousand Augustines, if they should be produced,* proveth not, that hee thinketh them to be against him in the cause of Religion, or that hee contemneth them, but that no authority of men or Angels shall ever remove him from that hee knoweth to be the trueth of God, as the Apostle requireth the *Galathians*, *If an Angel came from heaven, and preach otherwise to them, than they had beene taught, to hold him accursed:* not as if the holy Angels in heaven, now confirmed in grace, could either erre themselves from the truth of the Gospel, or pervert others, or that they should be vilely esteemed of, in the messages they bring unto us; but that, if it were possible for them to erre, and misleade us, wee should not listen unto them, but hold them accursed.

That out of his Booke of corner Masses, is as divellish a slander as the rest. For, *Luther* doth not say, hee learned of the Devill, that the Masse is impious and wicked, but that having learned that in the Schoole of Christ, the Devill thereupon tempted him to despaire, for that he had so often said such Masses, and thereby dishonoured God, and misse-led his people: what this can prove against him, I see not.

That he was of a violent spirit, wee deny not: nay himselfe glorified in it: that he had an heroicall spirit, made to contemne the fury and folly of the *Romanists*; neither had hee beene fit to oppose against enemies of this kinde, if hee had beene of another spirit. That he was carried too much with the violent streame of his passions, wee impute it to the infirmity of flesh and blood, and the perversenesse of the manifold adversaries hee found in those times. Neither was this the peculiar or proper fault of *Luther*: for who knoweth not, that *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*, and divers other lights of the world, were not without their blemishes in this kinde.

That

h How many
unkindnesse
passed betwene
Chrysostome
& Epiphanius,
who knoweth
not? Did not
the one refuse to
pray with the o-
ther? did not the
one challenge
the other for
manifest brea-
ches of the Ca-
non? did not the
one, inveighing
against the o-
ther, professe
that he hoped he
should never die
a Bishop? and
the other that
he should never
come alive into
his countrey?
Socrat. l. 6. c. 13.
The invectives
of Hierome and
Ruffinus one
against another
are extant, and
Aug. Epist.
wherein he sor-
roweth for their
bitter dissensions.
The Epistles of
Aug. and Hier.
which the one
wrote unto the
other, shew
what differen-
ces were be-
twene them.
1 Rom. 3. 8.
1 Cor. 5. 1.
1 Cor. 6. 1. 5.
De Sylvestro
2. legitur, quod
Diabolo fecit
homagium,
quem etiam in
papatu existens
consuluit. Oc-
cam. l. 1. part. 1. cap. 2. sicut legitur in Chronicis Johan. 3. erat venator & totus lubricus, adeo quod fœminas pub-
licè tenebat: propter quod quidam Cardinalium & Romanorum scripserunt occultè, & citò Imperatori Saxo-
num, ut Scandalo compatiens Ecclesiæ Rom. sine mora properaret. Hoc Papa percipiens, Johan. Diacono Cardi-
nali tanquam hujus facti conciliario nasum, & alteri Johan. Subdiacono, qui literas scripsit, manum amputari
fecit. Occam 1. part. 1. 5. c. 5. Stephanus corpus Formosi è sepulchro in concilium protractum, & papali veste exu-
tum, & laicali indutum, & abscissis duobus digitis dextræ manus ejus, in Tyberim præcipitari fecit. Sigeb. in
Chron. fol. 113. Anno 902. Alii idem narrant de Sergio, erat quidem Pontifex qui nullum Deum credens, uni-
versum infidelitatis culmen excessit: alius professus est se non credere immortalitatem animæ: qui mortuus, ei-
dem, cui hoc aperuerat, apparuit, manifestans se, quam mortalem crediderat, tum maximo cum damno & per-
petuis cum ignibus immortalem experiri. Picus Theo. de fide & ordine credendi.

That the *Tigurines*, *Gesnerus*, and others, disliked the distempered passions of *Luther*, is not to bee marvelled at; or that there were some differences amongst them, seeing the like were in former times betwene *Epiphanius*, and *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, *Ruffinus*, *Augustine*, and others.

From *Luther*, the Jesuite commeth to the people of our profession, pronouncing that there are many wicked amongst his comforts; but that there are none good amongst those that are of the reformed Religion. Thus, with the breath of his mouth, hee thinketh to blow up all that standeth before him. But how proveth he that he saith? Our owne confession, saith he, is prooffe enough. But against this pretended and imagined confession, we protest, and professe before God, Men and Angels, that we never thought, much lesse spake or wrote any such thing. If *Luther* in his Sermons complaine, that the world is every day worse than other; who was there ever found that used not words of the like complaint? If he say, that the men of the world abuse the grace of God unto wantonnesse, and the more and better meanes they have, be the worse, what strange thing saith hee? Did not *S. Paul* finde, that when hee magnified the riches of the grace of God, and shewed, that where sinne hath abounded, grace more abounded, many tooke occasion to say; It is good to continue in sinne, that grace may abound. Doth he not charge the *Corinthians*, that there^m was fornication amongst them, and such as was not once named among the Gentiles? that they went to law one with an other, and that under Infidels, to the slander of the Gospel of Christ? that there was not a wise man amongst them to interpose himselfe, and stay these their proceedings one against an other?

That which is alleadged out of *Smidelinus*, tendeth to the same purpose, and requireth no other, nor farther answer. Touching the judgement of *Erasmus*, it was so variable and uncertaine in things of this kinde, that neither they, nor we can take any advantage by it. But for the extraordinary sanctity of the *Romish* Priests, Friars, Monkes, and other irreligious amongst them, whereof they insolently boast and bragge, if we should stirre the^e dunghills of their own histories, wherein the lives of these Saints are described unto us, the stench of them would infect the aire: if we should make report of that we reade in Authors not partiall, men would stop their eares and pronounce against us, that such things ought not once to be named amongst men. This is so evident, that *Bellarmino* in his Preface before his Bookes of the Pope, is not ashamed to make the wickednesse and prodigious villanies of the Popes, a prooffe and demonstration of the sanctity of that Chaire in which they sit, and of Gods provident care of it. Which argument, though it seeme strange at the first sight, yet it is in his judgement very forcible, and unanswerable; for that such, and so great hath beene the wickednesse of the *Roman* Bishops, that if God had not strangely upholden it, the See and Chaire in which they sit, had long since sunke downe into hell. Thus, I hope, it appeareth to all not wilfully blinded, that this note of the sanctitie of the lives of the Professours of Religion, maketh very little for them, or against us. And thus have we run through, and examined all the notes of the Church, by which they desire to be tryed.



AN APPENDIX,
VVHEREIN
IT IS CLEARLY
PROVED, THAT THE
LATINE OR WEST CHVRCH

In which the Pope tyranized, was, and continued a true Orthodoxe and Protestant Church:

AND
THAT THE DEVISERS
AND MAINTAINERS OF
ROMISH errors and superstitious abuses,
were onely a faction in the same, at the time when Luther
(not without the applause of all good men) published his Propositions against the prophane abuses
of Papall Indulgences.

TO

TO

NATHANIEL FIELD

To the Reader.



His Appendix, when first published by the Author, contained only some brieſe Quotations, upon ſeverall points of difference, betweene us and the Papists; ſhewing that the now Romiſh Faith was never generally received in the VVeſterne or Latine Church, in the dayes of our Fathers; no not then, when the darke miſt of Poperie ſeemed to have overſhadowed all things. The Author not long before he died, intended an enlargement of it, in the ſeverall particulars; but being prevented by death, lived not to finiſh what he had begun. So much as was finiſhed of it comming to my hands, I thought my ſelfe bound in dutie not to deprive the world of. I have therefore ſo farre adventured to hazard the credit of the Author, as to make it publick, though ſomething imperfect, and wanting that luſtre and beauty, which it might have received from the laſt hand of the Author, if God had lent him longer life. As it is, it may ſerve, if for no other uſe, yet for this, as a platforme to ſhew what might be done in this kind, and what the Author intended. I make no queſtion but a favourable Reader will looke on it, as we uſe to looke on the foundations of ſtately Buildings, the finiſhing whereof hath beene hindred by ſome fatall accident; the very ruines whereof breede in us aſtoniſhment and amazement, while wee conſider, not what they are, but what they might have beene. The twelve firſt Chapters of this Appendix are enlarged, the reſt remaine as they were formerly ſet forth. The Quotations contained in that part which hath bin added, I have compared & amended if any where they differed from the Originals whence they were taken: and the truth of them I am able to juſtifie. If the world ſhall reape any benefit by the VVorke, or if I may bee thought, by my paines beſtowed on it, to have performed that dutie, which I owe unto the memorie of a deare Father, I have my deſire, and ſo I reſt.

Yours in all due reſpect

NATHANIEL FIELD.

AN ANSWER TO M^r Brerelies Objection concerning the Masse, publickly used in all Churches at LUTHERS appearing.



Hereas to silence our Adversaries, who never cease challenging us for departing from the faith of our Fathers, and the doctrine of the Church, wherein they lived and died; I affirmed in my third Booke, that none of those erroneous positions, which at this day they of the *Remiss* faction doe defend, and wee impugne, were ever constantly received in the dayes of our Fathers, as the doctrine of that Church wherein they lived and died: but onely doubtfully disputed of, as things not clearely resolved, or broached onely as the private fancies and conceits of particular men: and for prooffe hereof heretofore added an Appendix, wherein I produced the testimonies of sundry worthy Pastours and Guides of the Church in every age, teaching as wee doe, touching the points now controverted: it hath pleased some of the adverse faction to take exceptions to the same my assertion. I will first therefore set downe such objections, as they have made, and answer the same, and then enlarge my former proofes, that all that will not be wilfully blinde, may see the truth of that which I affirmed.

The principall man that shewed himselfe in this kinde is M^r *Brerelie*, the Authour of the Booke entituled the *Protestant Apologie*. And after him the Authour of the answer to M. D. *Whites Way to the Church*. M. *Brerelie* in the first Tract pag. 139, hath these words. 'It is beyond beliefe and very wonderment, that D. *Field*, a man otherwise grave & learned, should not be abashed by his publick writing, so confidently to averre of our so many Christian Catholick Churches, dispersed thorough the world at *Luthers* first appearing, that they were all of them the true Protestant Churches of God. And that they which then beleevved those damnable errors which the *Romanists* now defend, were a particular faction onely, contrary to the confession of so many learned Protestants. And in his 2. tract, cap. 2. sect. 2. pag. 329, hee hath these words. In this undue sort doth *Illyricus* place in his Catalogue of Protestant witnesses, *Gerson*, *Aquinas*, and sundry of our Schoolemen, all of them undoubtedly knowne Catholicks; and wee could give like farther example of S. *Bernard*, *Erasmus*, *Mirandula*, and sundry other knowne Catholick Writers, whom our Adversaries in like manner doe unjustly claime to bee of their Church. D. *Field* a prime Adversarie, (and for such, was together with the Bishops and Deanes, summoned to the conference before his Majestie in Januarie 1603, as appeareth by the said conference) forbearth not in these straits, to enforce the like undue and intollerable bold claime to the many Catholicks (a particular faction of them onely excepted) dispersed thorough the world, at, and next before *Luthers* first appearing. And in his third Booke of the Church, cap. 12. pag. 85, saith, Nothing is done in the Protestant reformation, which *Cameracensis*, *Picus*, *Savonarola*, *Gerson*, & innumerable other worthy Guides of Gods Church, long before thought not fitte to bee done. And pag. 330, M^r *Brerelie* addeth these words.

' D. *Field* of the Church. 3. c. 6. saith, It is most fond and frivolous that some
 ' demand, where our Church was before *Luther* began: for wee say it was
 ' where now it is, and that it was the knowne and apparant Church in the
 ' world, where all our Fathers lived and died. And most exceeding boldly hee
 ' there farther saith, None of the points of false doctrine and error, which the
 ' *Romanists* now maintaine, and wee condemne, were the doctrines of that
 ' Church, constantly delivered, or generally received, but doubtfully broached,
 ' and factiously defended by some certaine only. And Booke the third, cap. 8.
 ' pag. 76, he proceedeth yet farther with like incredible boldnesse, saying, We
 ' must farther beleeeve, that all the Churches in the world, wherein our Fathers
 ' lived and died, were the true Churches of God, and that they that taught the
 ' errors the *Romanists* now defend against us, were a faction only, as they that
 ' denied the Resurrection, urged Circumcision, and despised the Apostles of
 ' Christ, were in the Churches of *Corinth* and *Galatia*. Who can without a-
 ' mazement and wonder behold this incredible boldnesse? For was not the
 ' Masse, wherein are comprehended so many chiefe points of our Religion, the
 ' publick Liturgie solemnely celebrated in all Churches at *Luthers* first appea-
 ' ring? Was then the externall face of Religion any other than our now pro-
 ' fessed Catholick faith? Was Protestancie then so much as in being? No mar-
 ' vell then, if our Adversaries doubt not to make undue and pretended claime
 ' to the ancient Fathers, seeing they blush not to affirme the same exceeding
 ' boldly and untruly of the time in which *Luther* first began, which is yet with-
 ' in the memory of this present age. Others affirme the Church to have beene
 ' then invisible, directly against that which M. D. *Field* next before so boldly
 ' affirmed; into which bold assertion he ventured, onely thereby to avoyde the
 ' other absurd Paradoxe of the supposed Churches being invisible, which so
 ' many learned Protestants have also disclaymed heretofore; as on the other
 ' part, they who so affirmed their Churches then being invisible, affirmed the
 ' same, as enforced thereunto, in regard of the knowne pregnant untrueth of M.
 ' D. *Fields* other assertion, in affirming the Church to have beene then known
 ' and visible. Upon such dangerous rocks are our Adversaries driven in their
 ' thus sayling betweene *Scylla* and *Carybdis*.

Heere we see is much adoe, as if some thing had beene written by mee that
 were beyond all beleefe, and a very wonderment. But what strange thing is
 it, that is thus wondered at? Surely it is nothing else, but that I have affir-
 med; That all those Christian Catholick Churches in the West part of the
 world, where the Pope formerly tyrannized, and where our Fathers lived and
 died, were the true protestant Churches of God; and that the maintainers
 of those errors, superstitious abuses, and Papall tyrannie, which wee dislike,
 were in that they maintained the same, and so farre forth as they maintained
 any of them, but a faction onely in those Churches. If this bee all, I doubt
 not but so to make good what I have written, that M. *Brerely* shall in the end
 wonder at himselfe, why hee contradicted it. For if by a Protestant Church,
 we meane a Church beleeeving and teaching in all points as Protestants doe, and
 beleeeving and teaching nothing but that they doe, it shall be proved and de-
 monstrated, that the *Latin* or West Church, wherein the Pope tyrannized be-
 fore *Luthers* time, was and continued a true Protestant Church. For the Church
 that then was, beleeeved and taught all that we doe, and nothing else; it con-
 demned those prophane and superstitious abuses which we have removed, and
 groaned under that tyrannie, the yoake whereof wee have now cast off; how-
 soever there were many in the midst of her that taught otherwise, that
 brought in and maintained intollerable and superstitious abuses, and sought to
 advance the Popes over-ruling greatnesse and supremacie. But if by a Protestant
 Church they understand, a Church that not only complaineth of Papall tyrannie
 and usurpation, and sheweth her dislike for the same, but that hath cast off the
 yoake,

yoake, and that not onely disliketh abuses, but removeth them, and that not onely teacheth all necessary and saving trueth, but suffereth none within the compass of her jurisdiction to teach otherwise: wee confesse that no part of the Western Church was in this sort a Protestant Church, till a reformation was begun of evils formerly disliked. But M. *Brerelie* saith, Protestancie was not in being before *Luthers* time, and that therefore the Christian Catholick Churches wherein our Fathers lived and died, could not in any sort truly be said to be Protestant Churches. Whereunto our answer is, that if by Protestancie bee meant, the beleeving of all that, and that onely which they that are now named Protestants doe beleeve, and the professing of a dislike of such abuses and Papall usurpations, as they have now cast off: it was in being many ages, and long before *Luther* was borne; and all those Christian Catholick Churches wherein our Fathers lived and died were Protestant Churches. But this Master *Brerelie* thinketh unanswerably to confute, because the Masse, where so many poynts of the *Romish* Religion are contained, was the publick Liturgie solemnly celebrated in all Churches, at and before *Luthers* appearing, and the externall face of Religion was no other, than the now professed *Roman* faith. For answer whereunto, I will shew that the using of the Masse as the publick Liturgie is no good prooffe of that Master *Brerelie* undertaketh to prove. Secondly, I will make it to appeare, that the externall face of Religion before *Luthers* time, was not as Master *Brerelie* would make us to beleeve, the *Roman* faith now professed.

Touching the Masse foure things are to be observed. The Name, the Canon it selfe, the finilter consecrations and manifold abuses in practice besides and contrary to the words of the Canon, and the intendment of them that first composed the same; and lastly, sundry apocryphall vaine superstitions and idle things crept into the publick service of the Church.

Touching the first it is knowne, that the celebration of the holy mysterie, and Sacrament of the Lords body and blood, had the name of Masse, from the dismissing of all non-communicants before the consecration began. So that none staid, but such as were to communicate. The ancient custome was, saith *Cassander* in his consultation, that none might be present at the consecration, but such as were to communicate. For, as *Chrysostome* sheweth, as they that were not baptized might not stay, no more might they that were impure and guilty of any grievous sinne, so that they were not fit to communicate.

And to this purpose was that most ancient observation of all Churches, that by the voyce of the Deacon, *missa seu missio denunciabatur, Catechumenis non communicantibus ante consecrationem*, that is, that the *Catechumens* and all non-communicants were dismissed before the consecration; the Deacon crying out with a loud voyce, *si quis non communicet exeat; si quis non communicet det locum*, if any communicate not, let him depart. So that hence it came, that the name of Masse was given to sundry parts of the Liturgie; for whereas all might be present at some part of the divine service; that part was called *Missa Catechumenorum*, for that the *Catechumens* might be present at it; and it was ended before their dismissing. But the other part, which consisteth in the consecration, oblation, and participation, is called *Missa fidelium*; for that the faithfull onely who were fit to communicate, might be present at it, all non-communicants being first dismissed and sent away. This maketh against the present abuse of the *Roman* Church wherein all stay, and yet none communicate but the Priest alone; & many are made beleieve, it is sufficient to be present, though they doe not prepare themselves so to bee fit to communicate; nay oftentimes such as would communicate are repelled. This was the fault of some in the Church wherein our Fathers lived, but not without the dislike of the better sort. And therefore, as *Cassander* telleth us, *Henricus de Gorricheim in tractatu de effectu missae, propof. 23.* reprehendeth certaine pastours of his age, who could

could hardly endure, that some of their Parishioners, desired every Sunday to receive the Sacrament, though they lived laudably. And hee addeth, that seeing the same devotion that was in the primitive Church, when men communicated every day, is still to be found in some, the Pastour should not dislike it, if any amongst the common people be so devout, as to desire to communicate every Sunday, and some other dayes also. So that there wanted not of the people in former times, that desired to communicate as well as to be present, nor of the guides that encourage them so to doe; and therefore hitherto nothing can be proved against my assertion. Wherefore let us come to the Masse it selfe.

c Rational. di-
vin. l. 4. rub. 1.

Amongst all the Sacraments of the Church, that is the principall, saith *Du-*
randus, that is celebrated upon the table of the most holy Altar, representing that Feast and banquet of the Church, wherein the Father upon the returne of his lost Sonne, caused the fatlings to be slaine, and setteth out the bread of life, and the wine which wisdome hath mixed for her friends and lovers. These mysteries, and this holy Sacrament Christ then instituted, when hee made his new and last testament, disposing to his heires a kingdome, as his Father had disposed to him, that upon his table they might eat & drinke in his kingdome, that which the Church hath consecrated, for as they were at supper, *Iesus* took bread, and when hee had given thanks, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his Disciples, saying, take, and eat, this is my body which shall be given for you, do this in the remembrance of me. The Apostles following this institution, began to celebrate these mysteries for the same end that Christ had expressed, keeping the same forme in words, and using the same matter of bread and wine that hee did, as the Apostle witnesseth to the *Corinthians*, where he saith, what I have received of the Lord, I have delivered unto you, who the same night that hee was betrayed, tooke bread, &c. and added to the form of words used by Christ, the Lords prayer. And *S. Peter* is said in this sort to have celebrated first of all in the East parts. Wherefore in the beginnings of the Church, these mysteries were celebrated in an other sort than since they have bin. Afterwards, the reading of some parts of sacred Scripture, and particularly of the Epist. & Gospel was added. Pope *Celestinus* instituted the *introitus*, & other things were added at other times, & by others. Howsoever this is certain, there were, & are at this day divers formes of celebrating this mysterie. For the formes of the East Churches are different from those of the West; and it appeareth that anciently in *France, Spaine*, & sundry parts of *Italy*, they had other formes than now are used, more like to those of the East, which being in some things enlarged and perfected by *S. Ambrose*, were called the *Ambrosian* formes of divine Service. These continued till the time of *Charles the great*. For though *Gregory*, as *Joh. Diaconus* tels us, taking the formes of celebrating Masse which *Gelasius* had composed, adding some things, detracting others, and changing others, brought in a new forme which the Church of *Rome* followed, yet the other Churches of the West retained the old formes, which they had received from their Ancestours. And to this purpose it is, that *Berno Augiensis* testifieth, that amongst the monuments of his Abbey, there was found an old missall much different from those of *Rome*. But *Charles the great* sought to bring the Provinces subject to his Empire, to receive the *Roman* forme by threats & punishment. Wee reade, saith *Durandus*, in the life of blessed *Eugenius*, that while the forme of divine Service which was called the *Ambrosian* form, was more followed & observed by the Church, than that of *Gregory*, *Adrian* the Pope called a Councell, in which it was ordered, that the *Gregorian* forme should every where be observed. To the observation whereof *Charles* the Emperour by threats and punishments, forced the Clergie in sundry Provinces, burning the old *Ambrosian* Bookes. And further he addeth, that *S. Eugenius* comming to a certain Councell called about this businesse, finding, that the Bishops were gone, & the Councell ended three dayes before his comming, induced the Pope to call the Bishops back

d Durand. ra-
tional. l. 5.
rub. 68.

e Rational. l. 5.
rub. 61.

back againe, which he did, and the Councell being againe renewed, it was agreed on by common consent, that both the missals, both that of S. *Ambrose*, and the other of S. *Gregorie*, should be laid on the Altar of S. *Peter* the Apostle; that the doores of the Church should be fast locked, and sealed with the Seale of sundry Bishops, and that then they should spend the whole night in prayer, beseeching God, that he would shew by some signe, which of these he would have to be observed in his Church; and in the morning entring, they found that of *Gregorie* torne in peeces, and scattered all over the Church, the other opened, but yet still lying entire and whole on the Altar; of which accident they made this construction, that that of *Gregorie* was to be used every where thorough the world, the other only at *Millain* in S. *Ambroses* own Church, and so saith *Durand*, it is used unto this day. For by the helpe of *Charles the great*, that of *Ambrose* was disused in many Churches, and that other brought in place.

Onely the Christians of *Spaine* admitted not this alteration, notwithstanding all these endeavours, till the time of *Gregorie* the seventh, what time they were constrained by *Alphonfus* the sixth to give way, which they did most unwillingly, and not without teares. *Rodericus* reporteth, that when this alteration was urged by the Popes Legate, and the King, there being an assembly of all the States; the Clergie, Nobilitie, and people resisted mainly against it; whereupon in the end it was resolved, that that matter should be tried by combat, and one being chosen for the new, & an other for defence of the old, he that undertooke the defence of the old prevailed, which caused a great rejoicing among the people. But the King not regarding this triall, nor thinking it to be any sufficient clearing of the matter questioned, it was agreed that both the Bookes should bee cast into the fire, that that which should be preserved in the fire might be allowed as best, which accordingly being done, the Booke of the old forme came forth untouched, and the other was consumed: yet would not the King be perswaded to desist, but threatening death, and utter confusion to all gamesayers, made this innovation in his Church and Kingdome, all his Subjects weeping and sorrowing, and then began the Proverbe, *Quod volunt Reges vadunt Leges*. So that wee see, howsoever our Adversaries would make the simple beleve, that things were ever as now they are, yet there have beene great alterations in the forme of divine service, and it is not to be doubted, but that the ancient formes as different from the later, were more pure and sincere than they that are now used.

They that have diligently looked into the monuments of antiquity, saith *Rhenanus* upon *Tertullians* Booke *de corona militis*, doe thinke, that anciently the Masse began when the Priest did say, *The Lord be with you* and immediately after, *Lift up your hearts*, and *Let us give thanks to our Lord God*; and again, *It is very meete, right, and our bounden duty, that wee should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee holy Father, almighty and everlasting God, through our Lord Jesus Christ*. And that then immediately following these words: *Who the night before hee suffered, tooke bread, &c.* For they thinke, that howsoever the later part of the *Roman Canon* now used, *ipsissimam præ se ferat antiquitatem, & admirabilem spiritus sanctitatem*, that is, appears to be ancient, and breathing forth nothing but admirable sanctitie, yet the former parts of it doe not so; and that they were composed by *Scholasticus*, not long before the time of *Gregorie* the first, as himselfe telleth us. What is to be thought of this *Scholasticus*, whether hee were a man so named, or whether *Gregorie* more to expresse unto us the quality of him that composed the Canon, that he was but a man though a professor of learning, and that therefore hee might adde the Lords prayer unto that forme, that had but a man for the composer of it, I leave uncertaine, because some thinke it was composed by *Grasius*, and that he was stiled *Scholasticus* before he was Bishop. But this is certaine, that some things have beene added to the Canon, since the time of *Gregory*.

f Archiep. Tollet lib. 6. c. 25. & 26.]

All that followeth after the Lords Prayer, and that immediately after it, is named Embolismus, as added afterwards.

gory.

Comment 2.
Epist. ad Tim.
c. 4. de gre. 21.

h De optimo
genere inter-
pret. l. 3. c. 3. fol.
102. citatus ab
Espenczo.

i Canus lib. 11.
cap. 5.

gorie, and that in the celebration of the holy mysteries, so many tautologismes and barbarismes are found, that ingenuous men abhorre from the celebration thereof, as *Platina* testifieth, and so many & so grosse corruptions are crept into the service of the Church, that all good men long since and yet still complaine of it. *Claudius Espencus* affirmeth, that the publick services are full of old fables, & alleadgeth *Petrus Abbas Cluniacensis*, l. 5. c. 29. saying, that the songs & hymnes of the Church had very many toyes, as namely a hinne in the praise of *S. Bennet*; in the which, though reading it over somewhat hastily, and not staying to search all, yet he found at the least 24 lies. Hee alleadgeth likewise, *Petrus Pictaviensis*, epist. 31. reproving a false and fond hymne in the praise of *Maure* running upon the waters; and *Cardinall Cameracensis de reformatione Ecclesie*, Consideration 3^a, advising the Councell of *Constance* to take order, that unsound writings might be no longer read in the Church, and the Oration of *Picus Mirandula* to the same purpose; and *Volateran* complayning, that in the daily prayers there are read manifest lies; to whom he addeth *Adrian* the sixth afterwards Pope, misliking superstitious forgeries in holy matters, and concludeth, that the Catholicks may lament on the behalfe of the Church, as *Hieremie* lamented on the behalfe of the Synagogue. *Thy Prophets have seene false & foolish things for thee*; and addeth, that the griefe which hee did feelee and expresse for these toyes and dotages, is common to him with all good men for the most part. Bishop *Lindan* to the same purpose hath these words; *Quod si nostra conspiceret Agobertus Episcopus Lugdunensis antiphonaria; Deum immortalem! quomodo ea pingeret? ubi non Apocrypha modo ex Evangelio Nicodemi & aliis nugis sunt inserta, sed ipsa adeo secreta preces sunt mendis turpissimis confpurcata: that is, If Agobertus sometimes Bishop of Lions, that could not endure the corruptions of his time, were now alive, and should see our antiphonaries; good God! how would he paint them out? in which not onely apocryphall things out of the Gospel of Nicodemus, and such other toyes are interlaced, but even the very prayers themselves named Secretæ, are defiled with most grosse and vile absurdities and faults. Many things, saith *Picus Mirandula*, which in the Decrees are accounted apocryphall, and are so censured by *Hierome*, are in the service of the Church; and many things also that by many are not thought to be true. I meane not, saith *Melchior Canus*, to defend all the histories which are every where read in the Church, I see there are so many of the vulgar sort and condition, not onely amongst those of the Laity, but of the Clergie also, that most willingly embrace those fables, which the Church long since exploded. In this kinde it behoveth the Bishops to doe something; but they must bee wise as well as diligent, lest while they goe about to cure the loosenesse of the skinne about the fingers, they hurt the head. These happily goe about to put grave histories into the place of such as are apocryphall, but they change the divine Service of the Church so much, that scarce any shew of the old Religion seemeth to be left in the daily prayers: wherefore this must stand firme, that the histories of the Saints which are wont to bee read in the Church, must not be despised; though some of them be uncertaine, apocryphall, light, and false; for they are credible, and true for the most part, and some of them certaine.*

Ferdinand caused it to be proposed to the Councell of *Trent*, amongst other Articles of Reformation, that the Breviaries and missals might be purged, that all things that are found in them not taken out of the Scripture, might be taken away, that the prolixitie of Prayers & Psalmes might be abridged, good choise being made of such as should be used, *apud Goldast, imper. const. tom. 2. pag. 376*. These, it seemeth, are those mysteries of *Romish* Religion, found in the Liturgie of the Church, at & before *Luthers* time, wherof *M. Brerely* speaketh, but they had no generall approbation, but the dislike of all good men, as it appeareth by that which hath bin said. For otherwise the very forme & words of
the

the Liturgy, condemn the abuses of private masses, & halfe comunions, & make nothing for that propitiatory sacrifice, whereof the Papists fable, which are those greatest mysteries of *Romish* Religion, that they insist upon in their Masse. Touching the first of these parts of *Romish* Religion, which is that of their private Masses, wherein the Priest receiveth alone without any communicants; making the people beleefe, that that which he doth is a propitiatory sacrifice, and that he can apply the benefit of it to whom hee will, and that it is enough for them to be present, or to give something for the procuring of it; their error is clearly refuted by the forme of prayers that are used in the Masse, which shew, that they onely have the benefit that is here sought, that communicate. For immediatly after the consecration, the Priest and people pray in this sort. *Supplices ter rogamus, omnipotens Deus, jube hac perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectum divine majestatis tue, ut quicumque ex hac altaris participatione sacrosancti filii tui corpus & sanguinem sumpserimus, omni benedictione celesti & gratia repleamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen:* that is, *We as humble suppliants, beseech thee, O God Almighty, to command that these our sacrifices and oblations may be carried by the hands of thy holy Angel to thy Altar on high, and to the sight of thy divine Majesty, that so many of us as shall receive the sacred body and blood of thy Sonne, by partaking of this Altar, may be filled with all benediction and grace, thorough the same Christ our Lord, Amen.* And after the Communion they pray againe in this sort, *Grant Lord that we may receive with a pure minde, what wee have received with the mouth.* And againe; *Let this Communion, O Lord, purge us from sinne, and make us partakers of the heavenly remedie.* Whereupon *Micrologus* inferreth, that they must not neglect to communicate, that thinke to have any benefit by these Prayers. These Prayers remaine as witnesses of the old observation. *Durandus* saith, that in the primitive Church, all that were present at the celebration of the Masse, were wont to communicate every day, and that to this purpose they did offer a great loafe, that might suffice for the communicating of them all: which custome, saith he, the *Grecians* are said to keepe still. Afterwards when the multitudes of beleevvers increased, and devotion decreased, it was ordained, that at least every Sunday they should communicate. In proceffe of time, when this could not be kept, there was * a third constitution, that at least thrice every yeare each Christian man should communicate, if not oftner. In the end it was ordered, that at the least at Easter every one should come to the Sacrament; and instead of the daily communicating, the Priest gave daily the kisse of peace to the Minister, saying in some places, *Take you the bond of peace and love, that you may bee fit for these sacred mysteries;* which were words that were wont to be used, when they used to salute one another before the Communion, & did import an ensuing Communion. The antHEME which is named *post communio*. is so named, because it is sung after the communicating, or in signe that the Communion is past. For in the primitive Church, all the Faithfull did daily communicate, and presently after their communicating this song was sung; that it might appeare the people did give thanks to God for the body & blood of Christ which they had received. *Odo Cameracensis* saith, that in old times there was no Masse celebrated without some assembly of such as might offer themselves with him that celebrateth, and partake with him of the Sacrament. ⁿ Generally we may say, saith *Durandus*, that that is a lawfull Masse, at which are present the Priest, such as answer unto him, and such as offer and communicate. And ^o *Walafridus Strabo* agreeth with him, saying, that the very forme of the Prayers used in the Masse shew so much, where there is mention expressely made of such as offer & communicate. And the Booke of Ecclesiasticall observations, intituled *Micrologus*, written 500 yeares since, saith, it is to be known, that according to the ancient Fathers, only the communicants were wont to be present at the celebration of the sacre mysteries,

† Rational. l. 4.

§ 3.

* Lombardus
l. 4. d. 12. saltem
ter in anno
homines com-
municent.

l 59.

^m In canonem.

ⁿ Lib. 4. cap 1.

^o De rebus Ec-
cles. cap. 22.

Homil. 3.

Durand. rational. lib. 4. 54

Cassa. consult. p. 238. art. 24.

Citat. à Casan. Ibidem pag. 220.

Epist. ad Clerum literatosq; Bohem.

Cap. 25.

series, and that the Catechumens and penitents were all sent out, as not being fit to communicate. Which the very forme of celebrating importeth, in which the Priest prayeth not for his owne oblation and communion alone, but that of others also; and especially in the Prayer after the Communion, he seemeth to pray only for the communicants. Neither can it properly be said to be a communion, unless divers doe partake of the same sacrifice. ^p Chrysostome writing upon the *Ephesians*, saith, that hee that standeth by, and communicateth not, is impudent and shamelesse. And that not onely they that sit downe at table, but they that are present at the feast without their wedding garment, are subject to a fearefull judgment. For the Master of the feast will not aske, friend how darst thou sit down, but how darst thou come in not having thy wedding garment? thou abidest, thou singest the hymne with the rest, thou professest thy self worthy, in that thou goest not out with the unworthy; how dardest thou abide and not communicate? they that are in the state of penitencie are commanded out: if thou be in thy sins, how continuest thou? if thou be unworthy of the Sacramentall participation, thou art so also of the communion in the prayers. For the spirit descendeth, and commeth by them as well as by the mysteries there proposed. And surely how any can be present that are not fit at least in desire, and as much as in them is to communicate, I know not. In old time they communicated every day, or so often that they might seeme to communicate every day, and the holy Canons debar all such as did not communicate, from hearing of the Masse, as it appeareth *De consecr. d. 2. can. peract. Cajetan in 3. Aquinat. q. 80. art. 12.* Yet so did devotion decay, and abuses grow, that in many places the whole people staid and were present, yet none but the Clergie alone communicated; and afterwards, none but the Deacon and Subdeacon. Whence it came, that whereas the mylticall bread was wont to be broken into three parts, whereas the first was for him that celebrated, the 2^d for the Clergie, and the 3^d for the people; In time it was so ordered, that a division being made into three parts, he tooke the one to himselfe, & gave the other two to the Deacon and Subdeacon, & in some places did eat all himselfe. Whatsoever the neglect or abuses were, it is evident by the composition of the Canon, that the mylticall action in which the Canon is used was publick, and that there were alwayes some present that offered the sacrifice of praise together with the Priest, and participated of the Sacrament, as these words doe clearly shew: *Quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum corpus & sanguinem Filii tui sumpserimus. Item, profint nobis Domini Sacramenta quae sumpsimus* And therfore John Hofmeister, a learned man, expounding the Prayers of the Masse, hath these words: *Res ipsa, inquit, clamat, tam in Graeca quam in Latina Ecclesia, non solum Sacerdotem sacrificantem, sed & reliquos Presbyteros, Diaconos, necnon & reliquam plebem, aut saltem plebis aliquam partem, communicasse: quod quomodo cessaverit mirandum est, & ut bonus ille usus in Ecclesiam revocetur, laborandum:* that is, The thing it self proclaimeth it, that as well in the Greeke as Latin Church, not only the Priest which sacrificeth, but the other Priests and Deacons also, yea and the people or at least some part of them did communicate: which good custome how it grew out of use I know not, but surely we should labour to bring it in again. That it was not lawfull for the Priest to celebrate without the Deacon, who was to receive the Sacrament at his hand Cusanus sheweth by that which is in the missall: *Sumpsimus Domini Sacramenta*, we have received the Sacraments of the Lord, &c. In the *Interim* published by the Emperour Charles 5th, in the assembly at Augusta in the 15 of May 1548, we find these words: *Atq; hic expedit, cum verissimum illud & singulare sacrificium offertur, veterem Ecclesiam morem revocare; quo non solum sacrificans ipse, sed & Diaconi, & reliqui Ecclesiae Ministri, qui diebus solennioribus velut testes tanti sacrificii, & necessarium ministerium coadjutores adhibentur, ut perceptionis corporis & sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi participes se praeberent, seriam Canonum sanctionem jubebantur;*

bebantur; sed & fideles omnes pro recolenda mortis Domini & nostre redemptionis memoria, ad hoc Mediatoris nostri sacrificium confluentes, sedulis exhortationibus monendi & excitandi sunt, ut prius explorati, confessi, & absoluti, sacrosanctæ communionis gratiam sumant, & divinissima Eucharistia participationem unâ cum Sacerdote sedulo & devotè frequentent: that is, And here truly it were expedient, that when that most true and singular sacrifice is offered, we should renew the old custome of the Church, by which not only he that celebrateth, but the Deacons also, and the other Ministers of the Church, which on the more solemne dayes are used as witnesses of so solemne an act, and as coadjutors in respect of sundry necessary ministeries, were commanded by a serious sanction of the Canons, to be partakers of the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood: but all such faithfull and beleeving men, as resort to this sacrifice of our Mediatour, to renew the memory of the death of our Lord, and our redemption by the same, should be admonished and stirred up by effectuell and often exhortations, having examined themselves, confessed their sinnes, and obtained absolution to receive the grace of the holy Communion, and carefully and devoutly to frequent the participation of the divine Eucharist together with the Priest.

By this which hath bin said it appeareth that the Priests receiving alone, & neglecting or excluding the communicating of others as not much necessary, (his act being available to apply the benefits of Christs passion without receiving the Sacrament) is indeed a point of Romish Religion, but not contained in the Masse; for it is contrary to the name of the Masse, the words of the Canon, & intentment of them that composed it, contrary to the old Canons and the practice of the Church; it proceeded from the indevotion of the people, or rather the negligence or errour of the Guides of the Church, that either failed to stirre them up to the performance of such a duty, or made them beleve their act was sufficient to communicate the benefits of Christs passion to them, not without the dislike of the better sort. So that hitherto no prooffe is made, that the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, was no Protestant Church, but rather the contrary, for this Church did ever protest against this abuse, professe her dislike of the same, and acknowledged that this custome was much different from the ancient.

^a *Honorius in gemma anima*, saith, It is reported, that anciently the Priests were wont to receive meale of every house or family, which custome the Greeks are said to continue still, & that out of this they made the Lords bread which they did offer for the people, & having consecrated it, distributed it to them. For every of them that offered this meale, were present at the Masse, & respectively to them it was said in the Canon, & *omnium circumstantium, qui tibi hoc sacrificiū laudis offerunt*, that is, consider the devotion of all that stand round about, who offer to thee this sacrifice of praise. But after that the Church encreased in number, but decayed in devotion, it was decreed in respect of carnall men, that they that could, should communicate every Sunday, or on the chiefe Feast dayes, or thrice in the year. And now because the people ceasing to communicate, so great a quantity of bread was no longer necessary, it was decreed that it should be formed in fashion of a penny, & instead of offering meale, they offered every one a penny, by which they acknowledged Christs being sold for a certain number of pence. These pence were converted either to the benefit of the poore, or for providing of something pertaining to the sacrifice: & instead of the consecrated bread they were wont to receive, there was given them holy bread as they called it. Whatsoever men thinke of that which *Honorius* hath of offering meale, it is certain that in the primitive Church they did offer those things that were to be consecrated in the Sacrament; and that the bread that was there consecrated, was usuall & loafie bread, & in form round, as it appeareth by *Epiphanius* in *Ancoratu*, & *Gregory* in his dialogues, who called the bread of consecration coronas round loaves; all which things shew a Protestant Church.

Wherefore let us come to the next point of Romish Religion, supposed to be

b In Prov. c. 9.
c In 1 Cor. c. 11.
d Ad Philadelph.
e Constit. l. 2. cap. 61
f Hierarch. Eccl. c. 3. p. 3.

g Ad uxorem l. 2. c. 6.
h Epist. 54.

i Serm. de laps.

k In Numer. homil. 16.
l Ambros. de Sacram. l. 4. c. 6.
m Ambros. l. 1. offic. c. 41.
n Cap. 3.

o Aug. in sent. Prosp. & de consecr. d. 2. c. cum frangitur.

p Orat. 40. in sanct. baptisma.

q Cateches. mystago. 5.

r Homil. 18. in 2. Cor.

contained in the Masse, which is the depriving of the people of the one part of the Sacrament, and the giving them the same onely in one kinde. In the primitive Church, saith *Lyra*, the Sacrament was ministred in both kindes. *Dionysius Carthusianus* agreeth with him, affirming the same; which thing may be proved by innumerable testimonies of antiquity. *Ignatius* saith, there is one bread broken to all, and one cup distributed to all. After the offering is made, let every one, saith *Clement*, in order take the Lords body and his precious blood with all reverent snamefastnesse and feare. The bread, saith *Dionysius*, which was one, is broken in parts, & the cup that is but one, is divided amongst all. *Justin Martyr* in his 2^d Apologie saith, that after hee that is the President hath finished his thanksgiving, & the people by a joyfull acclamation have approved and consented to the same, the Deacons & Ministers divide unto every one of them that are present, that each one may partake of that bread, wine, & water, over which the blessing & thanksgiving hath bin powred out, and they do beare the same to them that are absent. Of whose hand, saith *Tertullian*, (speaking of a faithfull woman married to an Infidell) shall shee receive, and of whose cup shall shee partake? *Cyprian* in his Epistle to *Cornelius*, How doe wee teach or provoke them in and for the confession of Christs name to shed their blood, if we deny unto them when they are to enter into this warfare, the blood of Christ; or how shall we make them fit for the cup of Martyrdome, if we shall not at first admit them to drink the cup of the Lord *jure communicati-onis*, by the right of communicating? And in an other place, Therefore they daily drink the cup of Christs blood, that they may shed their blood for Christ. And in a 3^d place, speaking of a certain child, that had beene polluted in the Idols Temple, he saith, When as the solemnities were fulfilled, the Deacon began to offer the cup to them that were present, & when other had received, her course came, but the litle girle by the instinct of God, turned away her face, & began to close her mouth with her lips, & to refuse the cup; but the Deacon desisted not, though shee resisted, powred into her mouth out of the chalice. And disputing against them that were named *Aquarii*, he saith, In ministring the cup to the people, contrary to that which Christ did & taught, they gave water instead of wine; Let the tell us, saith *Origen*, what people that is, that use to drink blood. *Ambrose*: If so often as the blood of Christ is powred out, it be powred out for the remission of sins, it behoveth me alwayes to receive it, that my sins may be forgiven me. *Laurence* the Deacon saith, *Sixtus* the B. committed unto him the dispensation of the Lords blood, & made him his consort in consummating the Sacraments. *Hierome* upon *Sophonie*; the Priests which do serve about the Eucharist, & distribute the blood of the Lord unto his people, do wickedly against the Law of Christ when they think that the words, not the life of him that prayeth, make the Eucharist. *Augustin*, *Cum frangitur hostia, dum sanguis de calice in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam dominici corporis in cruce immolatio, ejusq; sanguinis de latere effusio designatur?* that is, When the host is broken, and the blood powred out of the chalice into the monthes of the faithfull, what other thing is represented thereby, but the offering of Christs body on the crosse, and the pouring of the blood out of his side? *Nazianzen*, Reverere mysticam mensam ad quam accessisti, panem quem participasti, poculum cui communicasti, passionibus Christi initiatus: Reverence the Lords Table to which thou hast accesse, the bread whereof thou hast bin partaker, the cup in which thou hast communicated, being initiated in the passions of Christ. *Cyrill of Hierusalem*, *Concava manu suscipe corpus Christi dicens, Amen: tum vero post communionem corporis Christi accede, & ad calicem illius &c. dicens, Amen:* that is, Receive the body of Christ with a hollow hand saying, Amen: & after the partaking of the body of Christ, come also to the cup of the Lord, &c. saying, Amen. And *Chrys.* most fully to this purpose, It is not now as in the time of the old Testament, where the Priest did eat some things, & the people some other; & where it was not lawfull for the people to partake of those things wherof the Priest did partake; but one body is proposed

proposed to all, and one cup. Gregory, His body is there received, his flesh is there divided for the salvation of the people, his blood is not now shed upon the hands of infidels, but into the mouthes of beleevers. Ordo Romanus put forth by Cas-
 sander; The Archdeacon taking the chalice, confirmeth all them with the Lords blood, whom the Pope had ceased to communicate in the body of the Lord. And againe, As the Archdeacon doth confirme those that the Pope communi-
 cateth in the body of the Lord, so do the other Deacons confirm them that the other Bishops or Priests communicate. * Liber sacramentorum put out by Gre-
 gory, prescribeth thus; When the Priest giveth the Lords body, let him say, The body of our Lord Iesus Christ keepe thee unto eternall life; Amen. And let him
 that receiveth say, I will receive the celestiall bread, and will call on the name of the Lord. Also when the Priest giveth the cup, let him say, The blood of our Lord
 Iesus Christ keepe thee unto eternall life, and let him that receiveth it say, I will receive the cup of salvation. Beda; The body of Christ is not killed nor his
 blood shed by the hands of Infidels to their own destruction, but it is received by the mouth of beleevers to salvation. The 11th Councell of Toledo provi-
 deth, that such as through weakenes cannot receive the whole Sacrament, but only drink of the mysticall cup, shall not for this be separated from the body of
 Christ. Charles the great: The mylterie of the Lords body & blood is daily received of the faithfull in the Sacrament. Rabanus Moguntinus: God would
 have the Sacraments of his body and blood, received into the mouthes of the faithfull, that by the visible work, the invisible effect might be shewed. Pas-
 chasius: It is he only that breaketh this bread, & by the hands of his Ministers distributeth it to the beleevers, saying, Take yee & drinke yee all of this, as well
 Ministers as other beleevers; for this is the cup of my blood of the new and eternall Testament. Haimo upon the 1 Cor. 10. The cup is called a communicati-
 on, as it were a participation; because all do communicate of it, & do take part of the blood of the Lord which it containeth in it. Rupertus Abbas; The
 Priest distributeth the bread and wine, putting them into the mouthes of the faithfull. Anselm; All we which receive of one bread & one cup of the Lord,
 are made one body. Lanfrancus hath the same words that afore we cited out of Augustine. Algerus; Because we live so by bread & drinke, that we cannot
 want either of them, Christ would have them both in his Sacrament, lest if either were wanting, the signification of life being imperfite, hee might be
 thought to be imperfite life. Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas; The flesh of Christ was given to man to be eaten under the forme of bread, and the blood of Christ to
 be drunke under the forme of wine, that as men doe principally use bread and wine, for the maintaining of this present life; so for the life that is eternall they
 might be fed with the body and blood of Christ, here spiritually & hereafter both spiritually and corporally. In the primitive Church, saith
 people did communicate in both kinds, as appeareth in the 1 Cor. 11. This cu-
 stome continued, not only in the time of persecution, and in the time of the
 Martyrs, whom Cyprian would have to be comforted and strengthened with drinking the cup of the Lord, before they came to drinke of the cup of Mar-
 tyrdome, but even in the time of peace also. And therefore we reade not onely of the making & providing of dishes, but of ministeriall chalices, much diffe-
 rent from those wherein they now consecrate, & out of which the Priest re-
 ceiveth, which were therefore named ministeriall chalices, because they served
 not to offer, but to minister the blood of Christ to the people. In the Pontifi-
 call of Damasus in the life of Sylvester, we reade, that Constantine builded a Church in the Citie of Naples, where he offered two plates or dishes, and 19
 ministeriall chalices, weighing every one of them two pounds. Of this sort was
 that of blessed Remigius as we find in Hincmarus, in which these verses were,
 Hauriat hinc populus vitam de sanguine sacro, &c. that is, Let the people
 draw life out of this sacred blood. Our Fathers, saith Joachimus Vadianus,

Dialog. l. 4.
 cap. 38.
 pag. 23.

Citat. à Cas-
 sandro Liturg.
 cap. 31.

Inter homi-
 lias hiemales
 de Sanctis tom.
 7. p. 320.
 De Imag. l. 4.
 cap. 14.

De institut.
 cler. l. 1. c. 3.

De corpore
 & sanguine
 Dom. c. 15.

De divinis of-
 ficiis, l. 2. c. 9.

1 Cor. 10.

De Eucharist.

De Sacram.
 l. 2. c. 5.

In tertiam
 Aquin. 80. qui
 art. 12.

Citat. à Cas-
 sandro Liturg.
 cap. 31.

Aphorism. de
 Eucharist. l. 6.
 pag. 231.

In Tertul, de
corona mil.

did see in the greater Church of *Sangalli*, a chalice gilded with gold, that weighed threescore and ten Markes of silver, provided, no doubt, for the publick Communion of the people, formerly used. *Beatus Rhenanus* saith, that *Conradus Pellicanus*, a man of wonderfull sanctitie and learning, did finde in the first constitution of the *Carthusians*, that they are forbidden to possesse any vessels of price, besides a silver chalice, and a pipe, with which the Lay people might suck out the blood of our Lord. Besides, the Booke written more than foure hundred yeares since, concerning the treasures of the Church of *Mentz*, amongst chalices of gold of a great weight, having handles and golden Crosses, &c. reckoneth also silver pipes, six in number, if I be not deceived, deputed to this use of sucking out the blood of our Lord; which I suppose, saith he, the Archbishop was wont to use. *Ordo Romanus* sheweth, that when the Bishop of *Rome* doth celebrate, the Archdeacon giveth him to drinke of the holy chalice, and afterwards powreth a little out of the same into a greater chalice or cup, which the acoluth doth hold, that the people may be confirmed or receive the Sacrament of the Lords blood, out of the sacred vessell. For the wine that was not consecrated, being mingled with the blood of Christ, is altogether sanctified. The Bishops therefore come in order to receive of the hand of the Pope, and after them all the Priests come up, that they may communicate at the Altar; and while the Archdeacon communicateth, the chiefe Bishop that is present holdeth the chalice: for as Bishops attend the Pope in the Church of *Rome*, so Priests should attend and assist Bishops in other Churches. The Archdeacon after hee hath communicated, receiveth the Chalice back againe from the Bishop, and confirmeth all those with the Lords blood, to whom the Pope hath given the Communion of the body of our Lord. This service being performed by the Altar, having received by the Subdeacon the pipe with which the people are to be confirmed; the Archdeacon delivereth the chalice to be carried to the Acoluth, to be laid up by him in the Vestery. Then doth the Pope goe downe to give the Communion to the Princes of the people, and their wives; and as the Archdeacon doth confirme those to whom the Pope giveth the Communion of the Lords body: so doe the other Deacons confirme them, to whom (after the Pope hath ministred to those of the better sort) the other Bishops and Priests doe give the Communion: and as soone as the Pope beginneth to minister the Communion to the Clergie, and people, the Schoole of Singers be- ginneth to sing the antheme appointed for the Communion; and after that, when the Pope thinketh fit, Glory be to the Father, &c.

De Commu-
nione sub utra-
que specie.

Heere wee see a cloud of witnesses testifying for the Communion in both kinds whereupon *Cassander* feareth not to pronounce, that he verily thinketh, it cannot be shewed, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist was any other- wise ministred, in any part of the Catholick Church to the faithfull people in the holy assembly from the Lords table, for a thousand yeares and more, but under both the sacramentall signes of bread and wine. Neither can this saying of *Cassander* be refuted, by that in the second of the *Acts*, where the faithfull are said to have continued in the breaking of bread and prayer. Nor by that wee reade in antiquity of the Lay-communion, which *Cajetan* childishly urgeth. For sundry worthy Divines in the *Roman* Church, have sufficiently shewed the weaknesse of these sillie allegations.

Serm. de qua-
drag. 4.

Let us see therefore how the Communion in one kinde came into the Church. It appeareth by *Leo* the first, that the *Manichees*, as they denied Christ to have beene borne in the truth of our flesh, so they denied him to have truly died and risen againe, and therefore they used to fast upon that day, that is to us the day of salvation and joy. And whereas (to hide their infidelity and heresie) they came somtimes to the Churches of Catholicks, & were present at the celebration of the sacred mysteries, they did so temper the matter, that with unworthy

unworthy mouthes they received the Lords body, but declined to drinke the blood of our redemption. *Leo* carefully endeavoureth to make this thing knowne to all, that by these signes they might be descried, that their sacrilegious dissembling might be found out, and that being discovered, they might by sacerdotall authority bee cast out of the societie of the Saints. By this of *Leo* it appeareth, that the *Manichees* out of an hereticall conceit, began to communicate in one kinde, and that all were wont to communicate in both kindes: that hereby the *Manichees* might be discovered, and knowne from other right beleivers, in that they would communicate but in one kinde alone. Which thing also *Andradius* doth rightly note.

In the^m time of *Gelasius* there were certaine found, that out of some superstitious conceit would not communicate in both kindes. Wee have found, saith *Gelasius*, that certaine having received a portion of the sacred Body only, abstaine from the cup of the most holy blood. Which men because they are said to bee holden with I know not what superstition, either let them receive the whole Sacrament, or let them be put and kept from the whole, seeing there can be no division of one and the same mysterie without grievous sacriledge.

Thirdly, whereas in case of necessity, as when children, or such as were sick and weake were to receive the Communion, the Ancient did sometime dip the mysticall bread into the consecrated wine, and so gave it unto them, as it appeareth by the history of *Serapion*, by that which^a *Cyprian* and^b *Prosper* report: and by that which the^c Councell of *Turon* prescribeth, that the Eucharist which is reserved for the voyage provision of such as are ready to depart hence, shall bee dipped into the blood of the Lord, that so the Priett may truly say, *The body and blood of our Lord be beneficiall unto thee unto eternall life.*^d Some began to bring in this manner of dipping into the ordinary Communion, under pretence of carefull avoyding the danger of shedding the blood of Christ, and greater reverence towards the same. For certaine Monkes brought the same custome into their Monasteries, ingeniously confessing, that herein they did contrary to the custome of other Churches. But that they were forced so to doe by the rudenesse of their novices, who they feared would runne into some grosse neglect, if they should receive the blood of Christ apart: Neither did this custome stay here, but it made an entrance into other Churches abroad also; for *Ivo Carnotensis* about the yeare 1100, hath these words: 'Let them not communicate in the bread dipped: but (according to the Decree of the Councell of *Toledo*) let them communicate in the body apart, and in the blood apart, those onely excepted, to whom it is not prescribed, but permitted to communicate in the bread dipped, out of due consideration of the feare of spilling and shedding the blood of Christ. But this attempt was disliked and resisted: for the Authour of the Booke intituled *Micrologus* saith, It is not authentically that certaine doe dip the body of the Lord, and having so dipped it, give it to the people, thinking thereby to make up unto them the whole Communion. But the Roman order is against this, and doth prescribe, that upon Good Friday when they consecrate not, but use the bread consecrated the day before, they shall take wine that is not consecrated, and consecrate it with the Lords Prayer, & dipping of the Lords body into it, that so the people may receive the whole Sacrament; which prescription were superfluous, if it were enough to dip the body of Christ the day before, and so to keepe it, and give it so dipped to the people to communicate in. Pope *Julius* in order of Popes the 36, writing to the Bishops of *Egypt*, doth altogether forbid any such dipping, & comandeth the bread & cup to be received apart. What the credit of this Epistle is, which the author of this book citeth as the Epistle of Pope *Julius*, I know not, neither do I thinke that any such custome of giving the Sacrament to the people in the Church in such sort, was so ancient as to be reprehended by Pope *Julius*. But it

^m Can. Comm. perimus de consec. d. 2.

^a Serm. de laps.
^b De promiss. Dei dimid. temporis. c. 6.
^c Apud Ivonem decret. part. 2. cap. 19.
^d Ex institutis Cluniacensium l. 2. c. 35. de Sacerdote hebdomadario apud Cassand. Liturgic. c. 31.
^e Apud Cassand. ibid.

Cap. 19.

Can. 1.

Epist. 64.

Rational.
div. l. 4. c. 42.

appeareth that such dipping when it began to bee used in the Church, found great opposition; and therefore this supposed constitution of *Julius* is renewed and confirmed in the third Councell of *Bracar*. And *Micrologus* addes, that blessed *Gelasius* in order of Popes the 51th writing to certaine Bishops, commandeth them to excommunicate all those, that receiving the Lords body, abstained from the participation of the cup: pronouncing in the same decree, that such division of the Sacrament cannot be without horrible sacrilege. By this of *Micrologus* it is evident, that they thought in those times, that not only the communicating in one kinde alone, out of such erroneous conceits as those of the *Manichees* and other like; but all communicating in one kind alone is sacrilegious. And that they could not endure the dipping of the sacramentall bread, whereby yet the people did in a sort partake of both kindes. Neither doth *Micrologus* alone shew the dislike that then was of such dipping, but the like we may find in the writings of sundry worthy men. *Hildebertus Cenomanensis*: *Hac ideo tibi, frater, exaravi, ut excitatus evigiles, ut videas quoniam traditioni Sacramentorum Altaris quae in vestro celebris est monasterio, nec Evangelica traditio consonat, nec decreta concordant. In eo enim consuetudinis est Eucharistiam nulli nisi intinctam dare, quod nec ex dominica institutione, nec ex sanctionibus authenticis reperitur assumptum; si Matheum, si Marcum, si Lucam consulas seorsim panem traditum invenies, seorsim vinum, &c. nam intinctum panem alius prabuisse Christum non legimus, excepto tantummodo illo discipulo, quem intincta buccella proditorem ostenderit; non quod hujus Sacramenti institutionem signaret, & sic Papa Julius ait, &c. that is, 'Brother I have therefore written these things unto thee, that being stirred by me, thou mightest be awakened, to see that the manner of delivering of the Sacrament of the Altar which is growne into use in your Monasterie, is neither consonant to the Evangelicall tradition, or agreeing with the Decrees. For in your Monasterie it is become a custome, to give the mysticall bread to none but dipped; which will never be found to have taken beginning from the Lords institution or authentick constitutions. For if thou consult *Matheum*, or *Marke*, or *Luke*, thou shalt finde that the bread was delivered apart, and the wine apart, &c. for we reade not that Christ gave dipped bread to any other but onely to that disciple, whom by the dipped sop he meant to shew to be the traitour, & not that he would have the Sacrament so ministred, & so Pope *Julius* saith, &c.*

From the custome of dipping the mysticall bread into the blood, and giving it so dipped unto the people, for feare of shedding the blood of Christ, if it should have beene ministred apart, some proceeded farther, and began to teach the people, that seeing the body and blood of Christ cannot be separated, in that they partake of the one, they partake of the other also; and that therefore it is sufficient to receive in one kinde alone. But herein they gave no satisfaction, either to themselves or others. 'For though it be true, saith *Durandus*, that they are not separated, and that he that receiveth the one receiveth the other also; yet neither part of the Sacrament is superfluous, but both are to be received. For whereas wine breedeth blood, wherein the soule and life is seated, according to that in *Leviticus*, *The soule of all flesh is in the blood of it*; and whereas in the offerings that were of old, the flesh of those beasts that were sacrificed, was offered for the body, and the blood of them for the soule; if wee should receive Christs body, and together with it the blood under the forme of bread signifying and exhibiting the flesh of Christ, and not under the forme of wine signifying & exhibiting unto us the blood of Christ, wee might be thought to neglect the salvation and good of our soules. And else-where he saith, that he that receiveth only the consecrated bread, receiveth not the whole and entire Sacrament. For howsoever it be true, that the blood of Christ is in the host or consecrated bread, yet is it not there sacramentally, seeing bread doth not signifie the blood but the body of Christ, neither the

the wine the body but the blood of Christ. And in the former place he addeth out of *Innocentius* 3, that though the blood of Christ be received with the body under the forme of bread, and the body with the blood under the forme of wine; yet neither can we drinke the blood of Christ, under the forme of bread which wee eate, nor eat the body of Christ under the forme of wine which wee drinke. And sundry of the Schoole-men agree with him in this point, resolving, that though Christ be whole and entire in either part of the Sacrament, yet both parts are necessary: First, because the exhibiting of the body & blood of Christ distinctly, representeth his passion, in which his blood was separated from his body. And secondly, because in this sort Christs body is more fitly and significantly exhibited unto us in the nature of food, and his blood of drinke. If this Sacrament be worthily received under both kindes, saith *Alexander of Hales*, there is a greater efficacie and working of grace, causing an unity betweene the mysticall body and Christ the head, then when it is received in one kinde onely. And therefore, hee saith, though the receiving under one kinde be sufficient, yet that which is under both is of more merit, in that it augmenteth devotion, enlargeth the apprehension of faith, and is a more compleat and full receiving. And againe, The receiving under both kindes, which manner of receiving the Lord delivered, is of more efficacie and complement. And hee that receiveth the Sacrament under the forme of bread onely, doth not perfectly receive the same in respect of sacramentall receiving. With him agree *Albertus magnus*, *Petrus de Palude*, *Bonaventura*, and sundry other. By all which it is evident, that though they gave way to the custome that grew in, and began to prevaile in their time, yet they signified, and sufficiently expressed that in their opinion, the communicating in both kindes, as Christ at first did institute, and the Church for a long time observed, is fit, convenient, compleat, perfect, of more efficacie and more cleere representation than the other under one kinde alone.

And therefore many still retained the ancient manner of communicating, after other had admitted and received the new. *Aquinas* saith of his time, that the communicating under one kinde alone was received in many Churches, not in all. *Alexander of Hales* saith, that Lay-men almost every where communicated in one kinde. *Petrus de Palude* saith, it was the custome in some Churches, to give the Communion to the people in both kindes. *Durandus* reporteth, that it was the custome of some Churches in his time, that the Priest should consecrate such a quantitie of wine, that after he had drunke of the same, there might still some of the Sacrament of Christs blood remaine in the chalice, into which more wine not consecrated might be powred that the other Communicants might partake of the blood of Christ. And then they began to dispute the question, whether the wine that was put into the cup, by contact of Christs blood, became consecrated or sacramentall, or not. But whether it did or not they resolved, that all by this meanes did partake and drinke of the blood of Christ, which was mingled with every part of the wine, newly powred into it. After this some proceeded farther, and left none of the sacramentall or consecrated wine in the cup or chalice, but powred meere wine into it, that the Communicants might wash their mouthes with it, after they had received the body of Christ; teaching them, that they had beene sufficiently partakers of the blood of Christ, in that they had received his body, from which his blood cannot be separated. But *Willielmus de Lauduno* saith, that hee that receiveth the body of Christ under the forme of bread, receiveth the whole verity, but not the whole Sacrament, and that therefore in many places they communicated in both kindes. And we shall finde, that where they admitted the Communion under one kinde, yet they put a difference betweene the Communicants, and permitted some to communicate in both kindes. *Linwood* saith, that in the lesser Churches, onely they that consecrate receive the blood

Quarta parte
sum. q. 32.
memb. 1. ar. 2.
2 quæst. 53.

4 quæst. 31.

b In 4. sent. d. 8.

art. 13.

c In 4. d. 11.

ar. 1.

d In 4. sent. d.

8. part. 2. art.

2. q. 2.

e Tertia part. q.
80. ar. 12.

f P. 4. q. 31.

memb. 1.

g Lib. 4. dist.

11. q. 1.

h Citat. à Cal-
sand. Liturg.
cap. 31.

i De summa
trinitate & fide
Catholica.

¶ Citat. à Caf-
fan. in lib. de
Communione
sub utrâque.
/ Lib. de fact.
tom. 2. c. 88.

¶ Cap. 94.

¶ De Comm.
sub utrâque
fol. 33.

¶ In 3. q. 80.
art. 12.

blood of Christ, under the forme of consecrated wine, insinuating thereby, that in the greater it was otherwise : and that within the compasse of the same nation and people, the greater and more honourable Churches had the Communion in both kindes, when the meaner had it but in one. Yea wee shall finde that in the same particular Church, some communicated in both kindes, when other communicated but in one. For *Richardus de mediâ villâ*, and *Petrus de Tarantasia*, afterwards named *Innocentius* the fourth report, that in their time, not onely the Ministers of the Altar, but the more principall of the people communicated in both kindes. *Thomas Waldensis* Provinciaall of the *Carmelites* here in *England* saith of his time: ' Wee permit the Pastours of the Churches to give the Sacrament in both kindes, to such persons as are strong in faith, and discreet : as the Bishop of *Rome* doth use to give the Communion to the Deacon, and other Ministers of the Altar, and other excelling in faith, or of high place and dignitie, as Doctours and Kings. Or as the Churches of religious men, and of great places doe still continue to give the Sacrament to their brethren, and such persons as are worthy of so great a thing. And in another place hee hath these words : ' Neither doe wee deny unto all Lay-men generally, to drinke of the blood of Christ under the forme of wine ; neither doe wee generally, and without distinction or difference, grant and yeeld it unto all ; for wee know, that by the custome of the Church, it is left to the discretion of the greater Prelates, to admit certaine of the Ministers of the Altar, or certaine other illustrious persons amongst the people that are faithful, reverent, and devout, to the solemne communicating in both kindes. Thus did he write more than a thousand and foure hundred yeares after Christ, in the time of Pope *Martin*, who was elected in the Councell of *Constance*, and who, as *B. Lindan* telleth us, went home from the Councell of *Constance*, and ministred the Communion to sundry, both of the Clergie and Laity under both kindes. So that the Communion under both kindes continued after the Councell of *Constance* : which (as the same *Lindan* saith) did not simply forbid the ministring of the Sacrament in both kindes, but the teaching of the people, that of necessity it must be so ministred. To this purpose see the thirteenth Session of the Councell. The Councell of *Basil* permitted the *Bohemians* to continue the use of the Communion in both kindes. and *Cassander* telleth us, that good and credible Authours doe testifie, that in *France* the whole Communion was ministred, though not every where in ordinary Churches, yet in Chappels, even a little before the memory of our Fathers, as also it is ministred to the *French Kings* to this day. *Cajetan* saith of his time, that the Church of *Rome*, and almost all the Churches of the West, had the Communion in one kinde. Hee saith not all, but almost all ; for as it appeareth by the same *Cajetan*, the *Cistercian* Monkes in some places did communicate under both kindes, even in his time ; their Order, as it may be thought, being instituted while the Communion under both kindes continued in generall observation. For otherwise it is not to be thought, that any Monasterie would have presumed to renew an abolished custome. So that wee see, that the Churches of this part of the world, were never wholly deprived of the necessarie and comfortable use of the Sacrament under both kindes. And for those that were, wee see by what degrees, and in what sort, not without complaining of the wrong done unto them, they were forced to give way to the innovation, by a prevailing faction. Yet did they not cease to bee members of the true and orthodox Church, that were thus wronged. The *Armenians* in the Dialogues of *Armachanus*, objecting the saying of Christ, *Except a man eate the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drinke his blood, hee can have no life* : to prove the necessitie of the Communion in both kindes ; *Armachanus* answereth, that if the words of Christ bee understood of the Sacramentall drinking, they must bee understood with some qualification, to wit, that it is necessary to salvation,

tion, and the attaining of eternall life, for each man to receive both at some time, or to bee willing and ready, as much as in his power to receive both. Which was no doubt the condition of many thousands under the Papacie, that much desired to have enjoyed this comfort, so that in this point wee see, the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, was a true Protestant Church, as ever before, so at the appearing of *Luther*.

Which is yet more confirmed, in that after *Luthers* preaching, many of the greatest Princes of these parts of the world, that never joyned wholly with him, nor ever brake with the B. of *Rome*, urged this point of communicating in both kindes most earnestly; as *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian*, the French King, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and sundry other. ^p There is extant a writing exhibited by the Embassadors of the Emperour *Ferdinand*, to the Councell of *Trent* in the year 1562 June 27. wherein first it is shewed, that the custome of communicating in both kinds, which was in use in *Bohemia*, when the Councell of *Constance* was called, hath beene retained there ever since, and that the *Bohemians* could never yet be brought by any perswasions and entreaties, or by any force and warre, to relinquish this custome, and to suffer the cup to be denied unto them. From which cup or chalice, that part of the people that maintained this libertie, were called *Calixtini*, and *Subutraque*; which sort of men spread it selfe exceedingly in that kingdome, and there are of that number many prime men, and certaine great Officers and Magistrates. To these the Church permitted the free use of the cup upon due considerations. But *Pius* the second upon some dislike, revoked the former concession; whose proceedings in that kinde having no good successe, but rather causing a greater alienation, *Paulus* the third, and *Julius* the third sent their Legates to reconcile them to the Church, and to permit them to use their former custome. Neither is it to be marvelled at, that these *Bohemians* cannot be brought from this perswasion, of the necessity of communicating in both kinds, seeing we finde, that there are many most learned, pious, and Catholick men that doe thinke, that they that communicate under both kindes, obtaine more grace than they that communicate under one onely. Besides these *Bohemians*, there are in sundry other famous and noble Kingdomes and Provinces, certaine pious and Catholick men, as in *Hungarie*, *Austria*, *Moravia*, *Silesia*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Styria*, *Bavaria*, *Suevia*, and many Provinces of *Germany*, that with great earnestnesse desire the use of the cup to be left free unto them. Hitherto we have heard the words of the Emperour; shewing the desires of many States and Provinces: and after the urging of the dangers that may follow, if their desires be not satisfied, the Embassadors earnestly desired the Bishops assembled, to consider of this motion. The same desire of the Emperour *Ferdinand* is excellently expressed in an Oration made by *Andreas Dudithius* the Emperours Embassador, in the Councell of *Trent*. ⁹ *Maximilian* in his rescript to *Pius* the fourth touching the Marriage of Priests, sheweth, that in his opinion it is fit, not onely to gratifie the people by the concession of the cup, as hee saith *Pius* had already yeilded to doe, but the Clergie also by granting them the liberty of Marriage. ^{*} There is extant also an Oration made by the Embassador of the Duke of *Bavaria* in the Councell of *Trent* in the year 1562: wherein we finde these words. Not a few are offended and fall away, and joyne themselves to the sectaries, by reason of the prohibition of the Communion under both kindes. For they thinke, there is an expresse word of God for the Communion under both kindes, and no word for the other under one. To which they adde, that the use of the Communion in both kindes was not onely in the time of the primitive Church, but is now also in the Eastern Churches of the world; and that the *Roman* Church anciently did not abhorre from the same, as it appeareth by many histories. Neither doth it move men a little, especially in *Bavaria*, that *Paul* the third by his Bull granted the Communion under both kindes to certaine Bishops in *Germanie*.
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Apud Goldast. imperial. constitut. rom. 2. 377.

Reland. T. 2. p. 201.

Apud Goldast. ubi supra pag. 399. Ibid. p. 381.

* Trident. concil. quædam membra avulsa edit ab Arnol-do Birkmanno Coloniz anno 1565.

f Apud Gold.
ubi sup. 399.

Lib. 36. anno
1565.

Thuan. l. 35.
1564.

x Apud Gold.
tom. 3. & ult.
p. 571.

The same Duke in an Epistle written to *Pius* the fourth, in the yeare 1564, concerning the same matter, hath these words. Wee have conferred touching this thing, with the most reverend and illustrious Arch-chancellours and Electours spirituall of the *Roman* Empire, and they agree with mee to beseech your holinesse helpe, for the confirming of them that stand, and the raising up of them that are fallen, as being the supream Monarch in respect of things pertaining to Christianity; so that you neede not to make any doubt of the willingness of the Electours, if your holinesse shall be pleased to yeeld any thing in this kind, to embrace the same, and to put it in execution. Wherefore, together with the Emperours Majestie, I humbly and most earnestly beseech your holines, to grant the free use of the cup, at the least to them who being perswaded as they are, will hearken to no better advise at this time. *Thuanus* reporteth, that *Maximilian* in the very beginning of his reigne, when hee saw that men were exceedingly discontented, especially in *Bohemia* and *Austria*, that they had no satisfaction given them by the Councell of *Trent*, as they expected, touching the concession of the cup, and the freedome of Priests Marriages; that hee might bring them to be better content, and that they might be willing to doe what hee expected of them, for the good of the Commonwealth, he was earnest with the Pope, that the promises which hee might well remember he had made to *Ferdinand*, and to himselfe, by Cardinall *Moronus* a litle before the Councell ended, might now be made good, in a time wherein it was so needfull: seeing the Councell determining nothing, had left power to him, to take order in this kinde. The Pope denied not to performe what the Emperour desired, being perswaded so to doe by *Moronus*, and not being much averse from it of him self before. But *Philip* King of *Spain*, by the instigation of Cardinall *Paceus*, fearing this example in the Low-countrie, sent *Peter Avila* to *Rome*, at the same time that hee understood the Emperour would send his Embassadours to dissuade the Pope, from listening to any such motion, as being very hurtfull to the Christian Church, &c. The Pope at the instance of the Cardinals, deferring and putting off the matter till a longer time, for the present eluded the Emperours petition. Thus did this good Emperour insist in the steps of *Ferdinand* his worthy Father, who when he was moved by the Pope, to cause the Councell of *Trent* to be promulgated in *Germany*, shewed himselfe willing to doe any thing that was fit, but earnestly urged the Pope to permit and leave free the use of the cup to the Lay people, being moved so to doe by *Charles* the Archduke his Son, and the Duke of *Bavaria* his Son-in-law, and the due consideration of the necessity of his Subjects. There are extant certaine Articles concerning reformation of manners and Church discipline, proposed in the Councell of *Trent*, by the Embassadours of *Charles* the ninth, the *French* King; amongst which the 18th Article is, that the ancient decree of *Leo* and *Gelasius* touching the Communion under both kindes, might be revived & brought to be in use againe. But when the *French* perceived that there were scarce any footesteps of the libertie of ancient Councils to be discerned in the Councell of *Trent*, that all things were swayed and disposed by the absolute command of *Pius* the fourth then Pope; the Embassadours were commanded to make a protestation in the name of the King their Master, the words of which protestation are these. Wee refuse to be subject to the command and disposition of *Pius* the fourth: We reject, we refuse, and contemne all the judgments, censures, and decrees of the same *Pius*. And although, most holy Fathers, your religion, life, and learning was ever, and ever shall be of great esteeme with us; yet seeing indeede you doe nothing, but all things are done at *Rome* rather than at *Trent*, and the things that are here published, are rather the decrees of *Pius* the fourth than of the Councell of *Trent*, we denounce, and protest here before you all, that whatsoever things are decreed & published in this assembly by the meere will and pleasure of *Pius*, neither the
most

most Christian King will ever approve, nor the *French Church* ever acknowledge to be the decrees of a generall Councell. Besides this, the King our Master commandeth all his Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, to leave this assembly, and presently to depart hence; then to returne againe, when there shall bee hope of better and more orderly proceedings.

Wherefore from this point of *Romish Religion* touching the Communion in one kinde, which findeth no helpe in the publick Liturgie used in the dayes of our Fathers, by which it is evident, that the people were wont to communicate in both kindes, when that forme of divine Service was first composed, nor no liking or approbation of the best and worthiest Guides of Gods Church then living: let us come to the next, which is the propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead. This indeede is a grand point of *Romish Religion*, and if *M. Brerelie* can prove that it is contained in the publick Liturgie, that was used in the Church, at, and immediatly before *Luthers* appearing, and consequently, that all that used that Liturgie had such an opinion of a sacrifice hee hath said much to prove, that the Church under the Papacie, was no Protestant Church; but this neither he, nor all the most learned Papists in the world will ever bee able to prove. First therefore I will make it appeare, that the Canon of the Masse importeth no such sacrifice: and secondly, I will shew at large, that neither before nor after *Luthers* appearing, the Church beleaved, or knew any such new reall sacrificing of Christ, as is now imagined.

Touching the Canon of the Masse, it is true that therein there is often mention of sacrifice and oblation: but *Luther* professeth, that the words may be understood in such a sense, as is not to be disliked, and hee saith, hee could so expound it, and that somewhere hee hath so expounded it; but seeing it is obscure, and may beare divers senses, and a better and more cleere forme of divine celebration may be brought in, hee will not honour it so much, as to give it that sense which it may well carry, and in which the first composers of it, and others after did use it, but that wherein they of *Rome* will now needes have it to be understood. That the forme of words used in the Canon are obscure in sundry parts of it, and hard to be understood even by the Learned. *Cassander* y Consult. confesseth, and therefore thinketh it fit it were explained & illustrated by some p. 242. briefe Scholies put in the margent, or inserted into the text by way of Parenthesis. The obscuritie that is in it groweth, as he rightly observeth, partly out of the disuse & discontinuing of certain old observations, to which the words of the Canon composed long since have a reference, and partly from the using of the word *Sacrifice* in divers and different senses, though all connexed: and the sudden passing from the using of it in one sense, to the using of it in another. It is not unknowne to them that are learned, that in the primitive Church the people were wont to offer bread and wine, and that out of that which they offered, a part was consecrated to become unto them the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood, and other parts converted to other good and holy uses. Respectively to this ancient custome are those prayers conceived, that are named *secretæ*; and the first part of the Canon, wherein we desire that God will accept those gifts, presents, offerings, and sacrifices which wee bring unto him, and that he will make them to become unto us the body and blood of his Sonne Christ, which onely are that sacrifice that procureth the remission of our sinnes, and our reconciliation and acceptation with God. So that to take away this obscurity, and that the words may have a true sense, the ancient custome, must be brought back againe, or at least it must be conceived that the elements of bread and wine that are set upon the mysticall table, and are to be consecrated, are brought thither and offered in the name of the people, and that as being their presents, they are symbles of that inward sacrifice whereby they dedicate and give themselves and all that they have unto God. Touching the second cause of the obscurity of the words of the Canon, which is the using

using of the word sacrifice and offering, in so manifold and different senses, and the sudden passing from the one of them to the other; we must observe, that by the name of sacrifice, gift, or present, first the oblation of the people is meant that consisteth in bread and wine, brought and set upon the Lords table. In which againe two things are to be considered, the outward action, and that which is signified thereby, to wit, the people dedicating of themselves, and all that they have to God by faith and devotion, and offering to him the sacrifice of praise. In this sense is the word Sacrifice used, in the former part of the Canon, as I have already shewed. In respect of this is that prayer powred out to God, That he will be mindfull of his servants that doe offer unto him this sacrifice of praise, that is, these outward things in acknowledgement, that all is of him, that they had perished if he had not sent his Sonne to redeeme them, that unlesse they eat the flesh and drinke the blood of Christ, they have no life; that he hath instituted holy Sacraments of his body and blood, under the formes of bread and wine, in which he will not only represent, but exhibite the same unto all such as hunger and thirst after righteousness; and therefore they desire him so to accept and sanctifie these their oblations, of bread and wine, which in this sort they offer unto him, that they may become unto them the body and blood of Christ, that so partaking in them, they may be made partakers of Christ, and all the benefits of redemption & salvation, that he hath wrought. Secondly, by the name of Sacrifice is understood, the sacrifice of Christs body; wherein wee must first consider the thing offered, and secondly the manner of offering. The thing that is offered is the body of Christ, which is an eternall and perpetuall, propitiatorie sacrifice, in that it was once offered by death upon the crosse, and hath an everlasting, never failing force and efficacie. Touching the manner of offering Christs body and blood, we must consider, that there is a double offering of a thing to God. First so as men are wont to doe, that give something to God out of that they possesse, professing that they will no longer be owners of it, but that it shall be his and serve for such uses, and employments as hee shall convert it to. Secondly, a man may be said to offer a thing unto God, in that he bringeth it to his presence, setteth it before his eyes, and offereth it to his view, to incline him to doe something by the sight of it and respect had to it. In this sort Christ offereth himselfe and his body once crucified daily in heaven, and so intercedeth for us; not as giving it in the nature of a gift, or present, for he gave himselfe to God once, to be holy unto him for ever; nor in the nature of a sacrifice, for hee died once for sinne, and rose againe never to die any more: but in that he setteth it before the eyes of God his Father, representing it unto him, and so offering it to his view, to obtaine grace, and mercie for us. And in this sort we also offer him daily on the altar, in that commemorating his death, and lively representing his bitter passions, endured in his body upon the crosse, wee offer him that was once crucified, and sacrificed for us on the crosse, and all his sufferings, to the view and gracious consideration of the Almighty, earnestly desiring, and assuredly hoping, that hee will encline to pittie us, and shew mercie unto us, for this his dearest sons sake, who in our nature for us, to satisfie his displeasure, and to procure us acceptation, endured such and so grievous things. This kinde of offering, or sacrificing Christ commemoratively, is twofold, inward and outward. Outward, as the taking, breaking, and distributing the mysticall bread, and powring out the cup of blessing, which is the Communion of the blood of Christ. The inward consisteth in the faith and devotion of the Church, and people of God, so commemorating the death and passion of Christ, their crucified Saviour, and representing and setting it before the eyes of the Almighty, that they flye unto it as their onely stay and refuge, and beseech him to be mercifull unto them for his sake, that endured all these things, to satisfie his wrath, and worke their peace and good. And in this sense, and answerable hereunto

unto that is, which wee finde in the Canon, where the Church desireth Almighty God to accept those oblations of bread and wine which shee presenteth unto him, and to make them to become unto the faithfull communicants, the body and blood of Christ, who the night before hee was betrayed, tooke bread into his sacred hands, lifted up his eyes to heaven, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, take and eate yee all of this, for this is my body. And in like manner after hee had supped, tooke the cup and gave thanks, blessed it and gave it to his disciples, saying, drinke yee all of this, for this is the New Testament in my blood: doe this as oft as you shall drinke it, in remembrance of mee. And then proceedeth and speaketh unto Almighty GOD in this sort. Wherefore O Lord, wee thy servants, and thy holy people, mindfull of that most blessed passion of the same CHRIST thy Sonne our Lord, as also of his resurrection from the dead, and his glorious ascension into heaven, doe offer to thy divine Majestie, out of thine owne gifts consecrated, and by mylticall blessing made unto us the body and blood of thy Sonne CHRIST, a pure sacrifice, a holy sacrifice, and an undefiled sacrifice: the holy bread of eternall life, and the cup of everlasting salvation; that is, wee offer to thy view, and set before thine eyes the crucified body of CHRIST thy Sonne, which is here present in mysterie and Sacrament, and the blood which hee once shed for our sakes, which wee know to bee that pure, holy, undefiled, and eternall sacrifice, wherewith onely thou art pleased, desiring thee to bee mercifull unto us, for the merit and worthinesse thereof, and so to looke upon the same sacrifice, which representatively wee offer to thy view, as to accept it for a full discharge of us from our sinnes, and a perfect propitiation: that so thou maist behold us with a pleased, cheerefull, and gracious countenance. This is the meaning of that prayer in the Canon: *supra qua propitio & sereno vultu respicere digneris, &c.* as the best Interpreters of the Canon doe tell us. And when in the same prayer wee desire that this sacrifice may bee accepted for us, as the sacrifices of *Abel, Abraham,* and *Melchisedec* were, they observe that this comparison must not bee understood in quantitie, but in similitude onely. For the thing it selfe is infinitely better than the figure; and the sacrifice that CHRIST offered, and wee heere commemorate, is incomparably more excellent than those of *Abel, Abraham,* and *Melchisedec*. And that therefore the meaning of those words is: That as GOD accepted those sacrifices which his servants offered unto him, before the comming of CHRIST his Sonne, as prefigurations of that sacrifice which hee was afterward to offer, and as a profession of their hope of remission of sinnes by the same; so it will please him to accept the sacrifice which CHRIST once offered, and we now commemorate for us, and us for it; that so our sinnes may be remitted, and we received to favour. After this there followeth an other prayer in the Canon, wherein as humble suppliants, they that come to celebrate, and to communicate, beseech Almighty God to command the oblations which they offer, to bee carried by the hands of his holy Angel unto his Altar that is on high, and into the view and sight of his divine Majestie; that so many as shall by partaking of the Altar, receive the sacred body and blood of his Sonne, may bee filled with all heavenly benediction and grace thorough the same Lord JESUS CHRIST. This forme of prayer wee finde to have been very ancient, but what the meaning of it is, it is not so easie to finde out. For how may wee bee understood to desire, that the body of CHRIST which wee represent unto GOD, in this commemorative sacrifice, should bee carried into heaven, seeing it is alwayes there? Wherefore let us heare what the holy Fathers have said to this purpose: *Quis fidelium haberet dubium, faith Saint Gregorie, in ipsa immolationis hora, ad vocem Sacerdotis*

2 Odo Cameracens. sacri can. exposit. in bibliotheca pat. tom. 6. p. 468. Stephan. Eduensis Episc. de sacram. Altaris. ibid. pag. 491.

*caelos aperiri, in illo Jesu Christi mysterio Angelorum choros adesse, summis-
ma sociari, terrena caelestibus jungi, unum quid ex visibilibus, & invisibilibus
fieri?* that is, *What faithfull man or beleever will ever make any doubt, but that
in the houre of oblation, the Heavens are opened? that so soone as the voyce
of the Priest is heard, Quires of Angels are present, the lowest and highest
things enter into a societie, earthly things are joyned with those that are ce-
lestiall, and things visible and invisible become one. And in an other place:
At one and the same time and moment that which is presented on the Altar,
is caught up into heaven, by the ministerie of Angels, to bee joyned in a neere
sort unto the body of CHRIST, and is at the same time before the eyes of the
Priest upon the Altar.* So then the oblations which wee present unto GOD
on the Altar, are then carried by the hands of Angels into heaven, when those
sacramentall elements which wee bring thither, though they bee still visible
on the Altar, as *Gregorie* saith, yet being changed and become unto us in my-
sterie and exhibitivie signification, the body and blood of Christ once sacrificed
and shed for us; and now in heaven continually represented unto GOD, to
intercede for us, may rightly be said to be carried up into heaven. But seeing,
by the precedent words of mysticall blessing and prayer, the sacramentall Ele-
ments are so changed before the pronouncing of this prayer, that they are al-
ready become (in sort before expressed) the body and blood of CHRIST
which is in heaven, wee doe not in these words desire any such thing to bee
done, but this is that wee say, Lord wee heere commemorate the death and
sacrifice of thy Sonne Christ, that once died for us, and now continually repre-
senteth the same his death unto thee, to procure us good, humbly beseeching
thee, that for his sake thus dying for us, and now continually in heaven repre-
senting himselfe unto thee, and setting the same his passions and sufferings be-
fore the eyes of thy divine Majestie, as if even now he did hang on the Crosse,
all evill may be farre removed from us, and all good brought upon us. And that
all wee that by communicating in these holy Mysteries, receive the body and
blood of the same thy Sonne Christ, may be filled with all heavenly benedicti-
on and grace. So that to command the sacrifice of Christs body and blood once
offered, and here by us commemorated, to be carried into heaven, and to be
represented unto God, is no more but to make it appeare, that that body of
Christ which hee once offered by the passion of death, and which wee now
commemorate, is in heaven, there so represented unto God, that it procureth
for us all that wee desire.

There is nothing therefore found in the Canon of the Masse, rightly under-
stood, that maketh any thing for the new reall offering of Christ to God his
Father, as a propitiatorie sacrifice to take away sinnes, neither did the Church
of God at, and before *Luthers* time, know or beleieve any such thing, though
there were some in the midst of her, that so conceived of this mysterie, as the
Romanists now doe. Wherefore for the clearing of this point, I will first set
downe what the conceit of the *Romanists* now is, and then make it appeare,
that all the best learned, at, and before *Luthers* time thought otherwise touch-
ing this matter than these now doe.

These that now are, expresse their conceit touching this point in this
sort. First they shew what an oblation is: Secondly, what the nature of a sacri-
fice is: And thirdly, how and in what sort they imagine Christ is now newly
and really, not offered onely, but sacrificed also to take away our sinnes. An
oblation they rightly define to bee, the bringing of some thing that wee have
into the place where the name of God is called on, & where his honour dwel-
leth; a representing of it there unto God, a professing that we will owne it no
longer, but that God shall be the owner of it, that it shall be holy unto him,
to bee employed about his service, if it bee an irrationall thing; or to serve
him

him in some speciall sort, if it bee rationall, as when parents presented and offered their children to God, to bee holy unto him as were the *Nazarites*, who were to serve him in some peculiar and speciall sort: and in this sort Christ presented and gave himselfe to God his Father, from his first entrance into this world, and was holy unto him, and an oblation. But in this sort it is not for us to offer Christ to God his Father, whatsoever any Papist may imagine. For it were a woefull thing for us, so to give up Christ to his Father, as to professe that wee will owne him no longer, nor have any interest in him, nor claime to him any more. And besides, if it were fit for us so to doe, yet who are wee that wee should present Christ unto God his Father, to bee holy unto him? that so presented and gave himselfe unto him, from his first entrance into the world, that hee bringeth us also to God, to bee holy unto him. A sacrifice implieth more than an oblation: for if wee will sacrifice a thing unto God, wee must not onely present it unto him, professing that it shall bee his, and that wee will owne it no more, nor make any claime unto it; but wee will destroy, and consume it also. As wee see in the old Law, when living things were sacrificed, they were slaine and consumed in fire; when other that had no life were sacrificed, they were consumed in fire. And answerably hereunto, Christ was sacrificed on the crosse, when hee was crucified, and cruelly put to death by the *Jewes*. But how hee should now bee really sacrificed, sacrificing implying in it destruction of the thing sacrificed, it is very hard to conceive. First therefore they say, that Christ may truely bee said to bee really sacrificed; because when the words of consecration, are pronouncd over the bread, they so cause the body of Christ to bee, where the bread was, that they cause not the presence of the blood; and in like sort the words pronouncd over the wine, cause the presence of Christs blood, and not of his body, so that upon the pronouncing of the wordes of consecration, there should bee in the Sacrament the body of Christ without the blood, and the blood without the bodie, and so a slaine and a crucified Christ, if that naturall concomitance, by reason whereof the one of them will not bee absent, where the other becommeth present, did not hinder their being asunder. Thus then they say, there is a true reall sacrificing of Christ, in that, as much as is on the part of the words pronouncd, and him that pronounceth them, Christs blood is againe powred out, and hee consequently slaine. This is the conceit of *Gregorius de Valentia*: and in this sort hee imagineth Christ is daily, newly sacrificed on the Altar: But (besides that it is an impious thing, for the Priest to endeavour as much as in him lies to slay Christ, and to powre out his blood againe) this proveth not a reall sacrificing of Christ, but onely an endeavour so to doe. For this blood is not powred out, neither is hee slaine indeede. So that as in the time of the old Law, if the Priest reaching forth his hand, to slay the beast that was brought to bee sacrificed, had beene so hindred by something interposing it selfe, that hee could not slay the same, hee had offered no sacrifice, but endeavoured onely so to doe; so is it here. *Bellarmino* therefore rejecteth the conceit, and hath another of his owne. For hee saith, that Christ hath a two-fold beeing; the one naturall, the other sacramentall. The *Jewes* had him present among them visibly, in his naturall beeing; this beeing they destroyed, and so killed and sacrificed him. The *Romish* Priests have him not so present, neither can they destroy his naturall beeing, and so kill him; but they have him present in a sacramentall presence, and in a sacramentall beeing, this beeing they destroy. For consuming the accidents of bread and wine, which are there left without substance, and with which hee is present, they make his presence there to cease, and so cause him to loose that beeing, which formerly hee there had. Thus doe they suppose that they newly sacrifice Christ, and destroy him in that beeing

ing, wherein hee is present with them. And the Priests eating, is not for refection, but for consumption, that hee may destroy Christ in that being, wherein hee is present; as the fire on the Altar was wont to consume and destroy the bodies of those beasts that were put into it. But first it is impious to thinke of destroying CHRIST in any sort. But though it bee true, that in sacrificing of CHRIST on the Altar of the Crosse, the destroying and killing of him was implied, and this his death was the life of the world; yet all that concurred to the killing of him: as the *Jewes*, the *Roman Souldiers*, *Pilate* and *Judas* sinned damnably, and so had done, though they had shed his blood, with an intention and desire, that by it the world might bee redeemed. So in like sort, let the *Romish* Priests have what intention they will, it is hellish and damnable once to thinke of the destroying of Christ in any sort. And besides, if it were lawfull for them so to doe, yet all that they doe, or can doe, is not sufficient to make good a reall sacrificing of CHRIST, because all they doe, or can doe, is no destroying of his being, but onely of his being somewhere, that is, in the Sacrament. For as if the things which were brought to bee sacrificed in the time of the Law, had beene onely removed out of some place, into which they were brought, or onely caused to cease to bee where they were, and not what they were; they could not truly have beene said to have beene sacrificed: no more can it bee truly said, that Christ is really sacrificed, in that the Priests consuming the accidents of bread and wine, under which they supposed him to bee, make him cease to be there any longer.

Bellar. de
Miss. l. 2, c. 4.

Having thus in their erring imaginations framed to themselves a reall sacrificing of CHRIST, they beginne to dispute of the force and efficacie of it, affirming, that this reall offering and sacrificing of CHRIST by the Priest, is propitiatorie in that it pacifieth GOD, and procureth and obtaineth grace, and the gift of repentance, that the sinner may come to the Sacrament, and so be justified: satisfactory, in that it applieth the satisfaction of CHRIST, and procureth remission of temporall punishments to them that by faith and repentance are already free from the guilt of eternall condemnation; meritorious, because it obtaineth that grace, whereby wee may merit; and impetratory, in that it obtaineth for us, and procureth to us all desired good. This force and efficacie, they say, it hath *ex opere operato*, that is, the very offering and sacrificing of Christ in sort before expressed, of it selfe hath force and power to obtaine and procure grace, remission of sinnes, and the like, for all them for whom such offering is made; if there bee no hinderance or impediment in themselves. And that God hath tied himselfe by promise to conferre such gifts, and worke such effects, so often as the body and blood of his Sonne shall bee thus offered. And farther they adde, that it conferreth good and removeth evill, not infinitely, but in a stinted and limited sort. Nor in that limited sort equally in respect of all, but in proportionable sort, as the intendment of the Church is to apply this sacrifice more or lesse, to the procuring of more or lesse. And that therefore the benefit that this sacrifice procureth, is in one degree communicated to all faithfull ones living and dead; in another to such as by the Churches appointment are specially named, as the Pope, King, and Bishoppe or the like; in an other to them that procure the offering of this sacrifice: in an other to them that are present and stand by: in an other to them that minister and attend: in an other to the Priest that sacrificeth: and in an other to whomsoever it pleaseth the Priest to impart and communicate the benefit and effect of this sacrifice. For as *Gregorius de Valentia* alleadgeth out of *Scotus*, it is to bee thought, that the Priest that is the Minister of this sacrifice, may apply to whom hee will, not onely that which by worth of his personall meritte, in the religious performing of this service hee may

Quodli. 23.

may deserve, but some part also of that effect which this sacrifice hath *ex opere operato* : and that God hath committed unto him the effect which it hath in this kinde, in some degree and sort, to bee dispensed by him to whom hee thinketh good, in recompence of his service. And further they resolve, that those effects which this sacrifice hath *ex opere operato*, and are by the intendment of the Church, communicated in different sort and degree, to those divers sorts of men before specified, are equally communicated to each of those sorts, according to their severall differences, whether the sacrifice bee offered for more or fewer. As they that procure Masse to bee said for them, whether they bee more or fewer, shall have like effects wrought in them. But that portion of this efficacie, force, and power of working gracious effects that is committed to the disposition and distribution of the Priest, is so limited, that accordingly as hee intendeth good, to more, or fewer, hee procureth more or lesse unto them. Heere wee see a goodly frame of building raised, but it hath an ill foundation, for it is most absurd to say, that the very offering of Christs body and blood *ex opere operato*, and of it selfe, should have force to obtaine any thing at Gods hand, or to procure any good unto us. For there is no offering that can have any acceptation, unlesse it bee offered by an accepted offerer. according to that in the fourth of *Genesis*, God had respect to *Abel* and to his offering; first to *Abel*, and then to his offering; and that in the 21 of *Luke*, where Christ saith, This poore widow hath cast in more into the treasure than any of the rest, because shee cast it in out of a larger, more free, better, and more accepted will. And heereupon Saint *Gregorie* in his Homilie on that of *Mathew* the fourth, *Iesus walking*, &c. saith, *Non pensat Deus quantum in ejus sacrificio deferatur, sed ex quanto*: that is, God doth not so much weigh and consider how much, or how good that is which is presented to him in sacrifice, as out of how great and good affection it is presented. And therefore if a Jew had offered Christ unto his Father, willing so to bee offered, or not willing, this oblation had not beene so acceptable, as when hee offered himselfe: nay it had not beene accepted at all, according to that in *Ecclesiasticus*, Hee that offereth sacrifice out of the substance of the poore, is as hee that slayeth and sacrificeth the sonne in the sight of his father. And ^c *Bellarmino* saith well to the same purpose, that though ^d *De Miss. l. 2.* the thing offered bee acceptable of it selfe, yet the oblation is not acceptable, ^{cap. 4.} unlesse the offerer bee accepted; which is especially true in respect of God, whose all things are, and who needeth nothing. So that in this supposed sacrifice, the worthinesse and acceptation of the offerer, is principally to bee considered, for it is not so much the worth of the thing offered, as the esteeme the offerer hath of it, and his good affection in offering it, that God respecteth. Who therefore is the offerer of this their supposed sacrifice? They will say, Christ is the supream: and the Priest the inferior, and subordinate: and that therefore whatsoever the condition of the Priest bee, the sacrifice is accepted for the principall offerers sake. But this is nothing, for though Christ bee offered on the Altar, as they imagine, yet hee doth not offer himselfe immediately. For then this offering would bee equivalent to that former on the Crosse, which yet they will not acknowledge. And besides, that of the Apostle should bee found false and untrue, *Hebr. 9.* that hee doth not often offer himselfe. Neither can it bee said, that Christ offereth himselfe mediately by the Priest, and so giveth price and worth to the offering. For if it bee said, that Christ offereth himselfe mediately by the Priest, either it is because hee appointeth, authorizeth, and encourageth the Priest to make this offering, and this will give no more value and worth to the offering than the immediate offerer hath, as wee see it was in the offerings of the Priest under the Law: or else in that the Priest doth this in his name, as a Legate presents a thing to a foraine Prince,

in the name of the King ; and this cannot be ; for whatsoever a Legate may doe in the name and person of his King, the King may doe in his owne person, if it please him ; but Christ can no more offer himselfe in his own person, therefore this is not to be admitted. Wherefore, passing by this idle phancie, wee shall finde, that the offerer is the Priest, and so many as doe procure, or desire the doing of the same ; and that therefore the whole Church in a sort, may be said to offer this sacrifice. For though it bee offered *ministerio Sacerdotis*, by the minitery of the Priest, yet it is offered *voto Ecclesie*, out of the devotion and desire of the Church, in which there are ever some found, that are acceptable unto God ; and therefore the offerer of this sacrifice is ever acceptable : and according to the merit and worthinesse of this offerer, the sacrifice here offered findeth acceptation.. So then these men imagine, that there is a reall, externall sacrifice in the Church, which they daily offer unto God ; that it worketh great effects of grace ; that Christ is offered in it ; but that the acceptation of it is not wholly, nor principally from the dignity of the thing offered, but from the merit of the offerer.

This is the present doctrine of the *Roman* Church: but this was not the doctrine of the Church at the time of *Luthers* appearing : for the best and principall men that then lived, taught peremptorily, that Christ is not newly offered any otherwise, than that he is offered to the view of God ; nor any otherwise sacrificed, than in that his sacrifice on the crosse is commemorated and represented. The things that are offered in the Sacrament are two (saith the Author of the *Enchiridion* of Christian Religion, published in the provinciall Councell of *Colen*) the true body of Christ with all his merits, and his mytticall body, with all the gifts which it hath received of God. In that therefore the Church doth offer the true body and blood of Christ to God the Father, it is meere a representative sacrifice, and all that is done, is but the commemorating and representing of that sacrifice which was once offered on the crosse. But in that it dedicateth it selfe, which is the mytticall body of Christ unto God, it is a true, but a spirituall sacrifice, that is, an Eucharisticall sacrifice of praise, thanksgiving, and of obedience due unto God. Christ therefore is offered and sacrificed on the Altar, but sacramentally and myttically : in that in the Sacrament there is a commemoration and remembrance of that which was once done. Christ is not often slaine, which once to thinke were abominable ; but that which was once done is represented, that wee might not forget the benefit bestowed on us, but rather be so stirred up and moved by this Sacrament, as if we saw the Lord Jesus hanging upon the crosse. The passion of the Lord, saith *Cyprian*, is the sacrifice that wee offer to God, that is, that wee offer to the view of God, and represent unto him. Neither is it to be marvelled at, that we offer the true body of Christ, to revive the memory of the former sacrifice, and to represent it unto God : seeing the sonne of God was given unto us, that we might oppose him to the wrath of God, as a reconciler, and that distrustling our owne strength, wee might represent to the Father, this most potent sacrifice. *Cum defecerit*, saith *Bernard*, *virtus mea, non conturbor, non diffido, scio quid faciam: calicem salutaris accipiam*: that is, when my strength shall faile, I will not be troubled, neither will I despaire : I know what I will doe, I will take the cup of salvation. And in an other place : *Totum quod dare possum miserum corpus istud est, id si minus est, addo & corpus ipsius. Nam illud de meo est, & meum est: parvulus enim natus est nobis, & filius datus est mihi, de te Domine suppleo, quod minus habeo in me. O dulcissima reconciliatio ! O suavissima satisfactio !* that is, All that I can give is this miserable body, if that be too little, I adde his body, for that is of mine, and it is mine : a little childe is borne unto us, a sonne is given unto mee ; from thee I take O Lord, to supply what I finde wanting in my selfe. O most sweete reconciliation ! O most sweet satisfaction ! Who doth not see, that God doth by such a faith as this is, that

Epist. ad Cæcilianum.
f Pag. 68.

In Cant. Ser.
22.

Serm. 1. de
Epiph.

Paulo post.

that is exercised in the celebration of this representative sacrifice, and in the eating of the body of Christ, the sufferings whereof are here represented, apply the benefit of Christ his dearest Sonne to his faithfull ones. Neither doe we attribute this application to the Priest, but to God nor to our worke, but to Gods benefit. Which yet wee receive no otherwise but by faith, with the assent of our owne will. Hitherto wee haue heard the words of the Authour of the *Enchiridion*, and the same Authour else-where saith, that the orthodoxe Divines deny the externall action which we call the Sacramentall oblation, to confer grace, or to have any spirituall effect *ex opere operato*. It is true, saith hee, that a wicked man may pronounce the words of Christ, and so make the elements of bread and wine to become the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood, and this Sacrament *ex opere operato*, that is, out of the very nature of a Sacrament, and of it selfe, how ill soever the Minister be, will conferre grace instrumentally to all such as receive it, without such indisposition, as might hinder the working of it. But if wee speake of the offering of Christ representatively, it hath no force farther than the faith of the offerer extendeth. If the Priest therefore not onely outwardly, but inwardly also, by the act of faith, present the sufferings of Christ in the body of his flesh to God, in desire by the merit thereof, to escape his wrath: hee bringeth much good upon himselfe: and if hee devoutly beseech God for his Christs sake whose sufferings hee representeth unto him, to be mercifull to the people committed to his charge, or to any other, there is no doubt but this his prayer in the nature of a prayer, is most powerfull to obtaine in this kinde. But if hee be wicked and faithlesse, his representative offering of Christ, of, and meerely in respect of it selfe worketh no good to himselfe, nor any other. For in the representative offering of Christs passion to God, must bee included, a supplication made to God for that passion sake, and a desire of those good things that we neede. Now the prayer of such a sinner God heareth not, but the people spiritually representing unto God by the act of their faith, that which the Priest doth sacramentally, obtaine all desired good, and the removing of all evill, not by force of that the Priest doth, but by their owne faith, which is stirred up by that outward act done by him.

The most reverend Canons of the Metropolitan Church of Colen agree with the Authour of the *Enchiridion*: their words are these. *Consecratione factâ in Missa, Christus Dominus qui seipsum aliquando in corpore suo mortali Deo Patri cœlesti cruentum sacrificium pro peccatis mundi obtulit, denuò totius Ecclesie nomine, modo incruento, spirituali representatione, & commemoratione sacratissime sue passionis offertur: quod ipsum sit, quando Ecclesia Christum & ejus verum corpus, verumq; sanguinem, Deo Patri cum gratiarum actione, & oratione attentâ, pro suis & totius mundi peccatis proponit, seu representat: quanquam enim sacrificium illud in ea forma quâ in cruce offerebatur, semel tantum oblatum sit, & semel tantum sanguis effusus; ut ita repeti, iterumq; offerri non possit; nihilominus tamen consistit, & manet tale sacrificium coram Deo, perpetuò in sua virtute & efficaciâ acceptum; ita ut sacrificium illud in cruce oblatum, non minus hodierno die in conspectu Patris sit efficax, & vicens, quàm eo die quo de sancio latere sanguis exivit & aqua. Quapropter cum vulnerati corporis nostri plage pretio redemptionis semper opus habeant, Ecclesia proponit Deo Patri pretium illud, in vera fide & devotione iterum, sed figurativè, & spiritualiter, ad consequendam remissionem peccatorum: non quod huic operi suo, quo videlicet commemorat & representat sacrificium illius, meritum ascribat remissionis peccatorum, ut quam solus Christus cruentâ suâ oblatione in cruce nobis promeruerit; verum tali suo commemorativo, & mystico fidei sacrificio, in quo representat Ecclesia, & sistit in conspectum Patris verum corpus & sanguinem ejus unigeniti, applicat sibi & accommodat magnum illud donativum remissionis peccatorum, quod Christus impetravit, cum accipiat remissionem peccatorum per nomen ejus, qui*

credit in eum, Act. 10. that is, 'So soone as the consecration is done in the
' Masse, Christ the Lord who sometime offered himselfe in his mortall body a
' bloody sacrifice to God his heavenly Father, for the sins of the whole world,
' is now offered againe after an unbloody manner, by representation and com-
' memoration of his most sacred passion; which thing is then done, when the
' Church doth propose & represent Christ and his true body and blood to God
' the Father with thanksgiving, and with earnest prayer for the remission of
' of her finnes, and the finnes of the whole world: for although that sacrifice
' in such sort as it was offered on the Crosse, was offered onely once, and his
' blood only once powred forth, so that he can no more be so offered: yet not-
' withstanding that sacrifice remaineth and abideth before God perpetually, in
' its vertue and efficacie; and is so acceptable unto him, that being but once of-
' fered on the Crosse, it is no lesse effectually, and of force in the sight of God to
' day, then it was that day, when water and blood streamed out of his woun-
' ded side. Wherefore seeing the sores and hurts of our wounded bodies, have
' alwayes neede of the price of redemption, the Church proposeth to God in
' faith and devotion that price againe, but figuratively and spiritually, to obtaine
' remission of sinne, not as if shee did ascribe to this her worke, whereby shee
' commemorateth and representeth that his sacrifice, the meriting of remission
' of finnes, which Christ onely merited for us by his bloody sacrifice on the
' Crosse; but by such her commemorative and mysticall sacrifice of faith, in
' which shee representeth and setteth before the eyes of God the Father, the
' true body and blood of his onely begotten Sonne, shee applyeth to her selfe
' that great donative of remission of finnes, which Christ obtained, it being so
' that every one that beleeveth in him, receiveth remission of finnes by his
' Name, as it is in the tenth of the Acts.

m Lib à Cæsa-
re proposit. ad
rationem con-
cordiæ ineun-
dam in contro-
versis religio-
nis artic. 1. 9.
apud Goldast.
Imperialium
constitutionum
tom. 2. p. 197.

In the Booke proposed by Charles the 5th, written by certaine learned and
godly men, much commended to him by men worthy to bee credited, as ope-
ning a way for the composing of the controversies in Religion, wee shall finde
the same explication of this point, touching the sacrifice that I have already
delivered out of the former Authors; the words are these: *Omnia Ecclesia Mis-
sam, in qua verum corpus & verus sanguis Christi conficitur, sacrificium esse con-
sentit; sed incruentum & spirituale; in ea enim (modo religiosè, & piè agatur)
Deo quatuor spiritualiter offeruntur. Initio enim Christus qui seipsum Patri in
mortali corpore, cruentam, sufficientem, & beneplacentem, pro totius mundi pec-
catis hostiam, cruci affixus obtulit, idem ille in Missa, totius Ecclesie nomine,
representativo sacrificio, eidem Deo Patri immolatur; quod certè fit, cum Eccle-
sia illum, ejusq; verum corpus & sanguinem, Deo Patri pro totius mundi peccatis
piâ prece sistit: nam etsi oblatio illa in cruce semel factâ, transit non reiterabilis;
victa tamen ipsa immolata perpetuâ virtute consistit, ut non minus hodiè in con-
spectu Patris oblatio illa, in iis qui cum Deo religiosâ fide representant, sit efficax,
quàm eo die quo de sacro latere sanguis & aqua exivit. In quam sententiam Pa-
tres corpus & sanguinem Christi in altari presentia, nunc pretium pro peccatis
totius mundi, nunc pretium redemptionis nostræ, nunc victimam salutarem appel-
lare consueverunt. Et Chrysostomus testatur nos eandem hostiam, quæ semel obla-
ta est, in sancta sanctorum semper offerre, atq; unam esse utrobique sacrificium, u-
num Christum, & hic plenum existentem, & illic plenum; sic tamen ut quod nos
agimus sacrificium exemplar sit illius, in commemorationem ejus, quod factum est
semel. Nec ab re, Deus enim in hoc donavit nobis Christum Jesum Filium suum,
ut de nostris viribus diffisi, deq; nostris peccatis nobis probè conscii, illum tanquam
unicam & potissimam victimam pro nostris peccatis satisfactoriam Deo Patri
representemus: ipse enim natus est, ipse datus est nobis, ut quicumq; in eum credi-
mus, non pereamus, sed pacem cum Deo reconciliati per sanguinem ejus habea-
mus. 2^o, Ecclesia in hoc Missæ sacrificio seipsam quoq; quatenus Christi corpus
mysticum est, per Christum Deo offerre, non dubitat. 3^o, In missa sacrificium lau-
dis*

dis offertur. Postremo, Ecclesia & dona quadam, tam panis quam vini, ex quibus partim corpus & sanguis Christi conficiebantur, offerebat, partim & elemosyna fiebant: & justum est quod populus in hoc sacrificio se non tantum verbis Deo consecraret, sed & symbola aliquo externo testetur, quod se totum dediceret Deo. Nam is mos in Ecclesiis penè abolitus est; cum olim omnibus diebus dominicis panis & vinum, & res alia, ab omnibus tum viris tum mulieribus, ad altare offerebantur, quemadmodum decreta quæ Fabiano tribuuntur testantur, that is, The whole Church doth consent, that the Masse in which the bread and wine are consecrated to become the true body and blood of Christ, is a sacrifice, but unbloody and spiritually, for in it (if it be godly and religiously celebrated) foure things are spiritually offered unto God. For first, Christ himselfe, who being fastened to the crosse, offered himselfe to his Father in his mortall body a bloody, sufficient, & well pleasing sacrifice for the sinnes of the whole world, is in the Masse offered to the same God his Father, in the name of the whole Church, by a representative oblation: which thing truly is then done, when the Church piously (to intreat mercie for the whole world) presenteth him and his true body and blood to God the Father: for although that oblation that was once made on the crosse be past and cannot be reiterated, yet the thing that was then sacrificed and offered abideth, having a never failing vertue and efficacie: so that that oblation, in them that by a religious faith doe represent it unto God, is no lesse effectuell and prevailing to procure them favour in the sight of God, then it was that day that water and blood streamed out of his sacred side. And in this sense, the Fathers are wont sometimes to call the body and blood of Christ present on the Altar, the price for the sinnes of the whole world, sometimes the price of our redemption, sometimes the sacrifice that bringeth salvation. And Chrysostome witnesseth, that we continually and daily offer the same sacrifice, that was once offered and presented into the holiest of all; and that both there and heere there is one sacrifice, one Christ, perfect here, and perfect there; yet so, that that which we doe is but a representation, and done in remembrance of that which was once there done: and this not unfitly; for therefore did God give us Christ Jesus his Sonne, that distrusting our owne strength and being guilty to our selves of many sinnes, wee might represent and set him in the sight of God the Father, as the onely and most excellent satisfactorie sacrifice for our sins. For he was borne, and he was given unto us, that whosoever of us beleve in him, might not perish, but might have peace with God, being reconciled by his blood. Secondly, the Church in this sacrifice of the Masse, doubteth not to offer it selfe as the mystical body of Christ, unto God by Christ. Thirdly, in it is offered the sacrifice of praise. Lastly, the Church was wont to offer certaine gifts of bread and wine, out of which some part was consecrated, to become the body and blood of Christ to the faithfull people, and the rest was given in almes to the poore. And truly it is very just and right, that the people in this sacrifice should not consecrate themselves to God in words onely, but so as to testifie by some outward symbole, that they wholly dedicate themselves to God; and therefore it is not well, that this custome is almost utterly abolished; whereas anciently every Lords day, bread and wine and other things were offered on the Altar, both by men and women, as the decrees attributed to Pope Fabian doe testifie. After this follow these words in the same place: *Jam si Canon ille Alisse in hunc quem, diximus sensum intelligatur, nihil habet incommodi, superstitiosa tantum absit opinio, quia quidam de naturâ & energiâ hujus sanctissimi sacrificii male edocti, virtutem ejus ex solo externo opere quod facit Sacerdos, in se derivari putabant, tamen illi nullam vivam fidem adferrent, nullam pietatem adhiberent, nullâ communionem vel precum seu orationis, sacrificio assensum præberent: quales erant qui nullâ sua nefanda impietatis & execrationum flagitiorum habitâ ratione se huic sacratissima & divinissima actioni damnabi-*

*damnabiliter miscuerunt, Missam solius externi operis, quod Sacerdos facit, vir-
tute prodesse putantes, etsi ipsi nihil proba mentis adferrent*: that is, If the Ca-
non of the Masse bee understood in this sense which wee have expressed, there
is no evill in it; so that men have no superstitious conceit of things: for there
were some, who being ill instructed touching the nature of this Sacrament,
supposed that vertue might be derived unto them, by the sole externe action
of the Priest, although they brought no lively faith, no piety, nor gave any
consent to the sacrifice, by any communion, so much as of prayer: of which
sort they were, who having no consideration of their owne horrible impie-
ties and evils committed by them, persevering in the purpose of sinning dam-
nably, presumed to be present at this most holy action, and put themselves in
a sort into it, perswading themselves that the Masse, by the vertue of the ex-
terne worke of the Priest alone, would doe them good, though they brought
no motions, affections or desires of a good minde with them.

Hofius Tom.
1. cap. 41. pag.
134.

Hofius was of the same opinion with these before recited: When the Priest
(faith hee) listeth up the Eucharist, let men remember that sacrifice wherein
Christ being lifted up to the crosse, offered himselfe to God a sacrifice for us.
Let them thinke how bitter the torments were that hee sustained, and let them
know that mens sinnes were the cause of such his sufferings; let them grieve
as it is fitte they should for them, and let them shew by all meanes, that they
hate them. And because by his precious death hee hath so fully satisfied for all
sinnes, that there are none that are not abolished; let them with good assurance
& confidence, goe into the throne of grace; and whereas wee have no merit
of our owne, let them plead that of Christ, let them present that his body
that did hang on the crosse, and his blood which was shed for the remission
of our sinnes to God the Father, and let them humbly beseech him to turne
away his face from their sinnes, and to looke upon the face of his Son Christ,
who bare our infirmities, to looke upon his face, for his merit to remit
their sinnes, and to grant that they may derive unto themselves, all that
fruite which that sacrifice of the crosse that is represented on the Altar,
brought to the world. Thus hee saith, the people were taught by our Forefa-
thers, and this, hee saith, is enough for them to know. Notwithstanding hee
sheweth, that *Michael* Bishop of *Merspurge*, a man learned, godly, and
truely Catholick, published certaine Sermons touching the sacrifice of the
Masse, which hee wisheth to bee in the hands of all men; in these Sermons the
same explication is made of the Sacrament so often mentioned, that I have
already delivered. And with him agreeth an other learned Bishop [*Thomas*
Watson] sometimes Bishop of *Lincolne* in his Sermons upon the seven Sa-
craments; his words are these.

Merspurgen-
sis de Missæ sa-
crificio sermon.
11. Christum
non cruciabili-
ter occidendo
offerimus Deo,
sed in mysterio
& spiritali ra-
tione.
Sermon. 12.

Greg. homil.
37.

Chrysost. hom.
3. de incompr.
Dei natur.

Christ in heaven and wee his mysticall body on earth doe but one thing: for
Christ being a Priest for evermore, after his passion and resurrection entred
into heaven, and there appeareth now to the countenance of God for us; offe-
ring himselfe for us, to pacifie the anger of God against us, and representing
his passion and all that he suffered for us, that we might be reconciled to God
by him: even so the Church our Mother being carefull for us her children that
have offended our Father in heaven, useth continually by her publick Minister
to pray and to offer unto God the body and blood of her husband Christ; re-
presenting and renewing his passion and death before God, that wee thereby
might be renewed in grace, and receive life, perfection, and salvation: and
after the same sort the holy Angels of God, in the time of this our sacrifice do
assist the Priest and stand about the host, thinking that the meetest time to
shew their charitie towards us, & therefore holding forth the body of Christ,
pray for mankinde, as saying thus, Lord wee pray for them whom thou hast
so loved that for their salvation thou hast suffered death, and spent thy life
upon the crosse; we make supplication for them, for whom thou hast shed this
thy

thy blood, wee pray for them for whom thou hast offered this same thy very
body. In that houre when Christs death is renewed in mysterie, and his most
fearefull and acceptable sacrifice is represented to the sight of God, then
sitteth the King on his Mercie-seat, enclined to give and forgive whatsoever
is commanded and asked of him in humble manner. In the presence of this
body and blood of our Saviour Christ, the teares of a meeke and humble man
never begge pardon in vaine, nor the sacrifice of a contrite heart is never put
back, but hath his lawfull desires granted and given. By resorting to this sacri-
fice of the Masse, wee evidently declare and protest before God and the whole
world, that we put our singular & only trust of grace & salvation in Christ our
Lord, for the merits of his death & his passion, and not for the worthinesse of
any good worke that we have done, or can doe, and that we make his passion
our only refuge. For when wisdom faileth, which only commeth by the do-
ctrine of Christ; when righteousness lacketh, which only is gotten by the mer-
cie of Christ; when vertue ceaseth, which only is received from him who is the
Lord of all vertue, then for supplying of these our lacks & needs, our refuge is
to Christs passion, then we run, as the Prophet saith, to the cup of our Saviour,
and call upon the name of our Lord: that is to say, we take his passion and of-
fer to God the Father in mysterie the worke of our redemption, that by this
memorie and commemoration of it, it would please his mercifull goodnesse to
innovate his grace in us, and to replenish us with the fruit of his Sons passion.
We are become debtors to Almighty God for our manifold sins and iniquities
done against him, we can never pay this debt, no scarce one farthing of a 1000
pounds; what remedie then have we, but to run to the rich man our neighbour
that hath enough to pay for us all, I meane Christ our Lord, who hath paid
his heart blood, for no debt of his own, but for our debt: and there whiles we
celebrate the memorie of his passion, we acknowledge and confesse our sins,
which be without number, & grant, that we are not able to satisfie for the least
of them, & therefore beseech our mercifull Father, to accept in full payment &
satisfaction of our debts, his passion, which after this sort as he hath ordained
to be done in the sacrifice of the Masse, we renew & represent before him; and
where our sinfull life hath altogether displeased him, wee offer unto him his
welbeloved Son, with whom we are sure he is well pleased; most humbly ma-
king supplication to accept him for us, in whom only we put all our trust, ac-
counting him all our righteousness, and the author of our salvation: Thus doth
the Church daily renew in mysterie the passion of Christ, and doth represent
it before God in the holy Masse, for the attaining of all the graces and benefits
purchased by the same passion before, after the measure of his goodnes: and as
our faith and devotion is knowne unto him. And againe, The Church offereth
Christ Gods Sonne to God the Father, that is, representeth to the Father
the body and blood of Christ, which by his Omnipotencie hee hath there
made present, and thereby reneweth his passion, not by suffering of death
again, but after an unbloody manner, not for this end, that we should thereby
deserve remission of sins, & deliverance from the power of the Devill, which
is the proper effect of Christs passion, but that we should by faith, devotion,
and this representation of his passion obtaine remission & grace already deser-
ved by his passion to be now applied to our profit and salvation, &c. not that
we can apply the merits of Christs death as we list, and to whom we list, but
that we by the representation of his passion, most humbly make petition and
prayer to Almighty God, to apply unto us the remission and grace which was
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and

Chrys. in A&.
hom. 3.Cyprian. Sermon
de Cena.Bern. in Cant.
serm. 22.

Psal. 115.

Aug. in Psal.
79.

damnabiliter miscuerunt, Missam solius externi operis, quod Sacerdos facit, virtute prodesse putantes, etsi ipsi nihil probæ mentis adferrent: that is, If the Canon of the Masse bee understood in this sense which wee have expressed, there is no evill in it; so that men have no superstitious conceit of things: for there were some, who being ill instructed touching the nature of this Sacrament, supposed that vertue might be derived unto them, by the sole externe action of the Priest, although they brought no lively faith, no piety, nor gave any consent to the sacrifice, by any communion, so much as of prayer: of which sort they were, who having no consideration of their owne horrible impieties and evils committed by them, persevering in the purpose of sinning damnably, presumed to be present at this most holy action, and put themselves in a sort into it, perswading themselves that the Masse, by the vertue of the externe worke of the Priest alone, would doe them good, though they brought no motions, affections or desires of a good minde with them.

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Chrys. in A&.
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Aug. in Psal.
79.

'and the effects of these two offerings are divers, the one is by the shedding of Christ's blood, extending to the death of Christ the offerer for the redemption of all mankind; the other is without shedding of his blood, onely representing his death, whereby the faithfull and devout people are made partakers of the merits of Christ's passion.

Fol. 69.

Hitherto the Bishop of *Lincolne*, and to the same purpose the Author of the *Enchiridion* of Christian Religion hath these words. *Diligenter ergo hæc omnia nobis intuentibus, nihil vel absurdi, vel scrupulosi in toto Missæ contextu occurret, sed omnia (præsertim quæ Canon amplectitur) pietatis plenissima ac planè reverenda (ut sunt) videbuntur. Aut enim Ecclesia respicit ad corpus & sanguinem Christi, pro se in cruce oblata, & vi omnipotentis verbi in altari præsentia, & non veretur hæc appellare hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vite æternæ, & calicem salutis perpetuæ; aut ad oblationem representativam, & commemorativam passionis seu corporis Christi veri, (quæ fide misericordiam per Christum apprehendente & redemptionem quæ est in Christo Deo Patri opponente peragitur) & non dubitat hoc sacrificium laudis offerre, pro se suisq; omnibus, pro spe salutis & incolumitatis suæ; nimirum spem salutis & incolumitatis, ac redemptionem animarum, debitâ laude ac gratiarum actione Deo accepta referens; petitq; ut hæc oblationem servitutis suæ Deus placatus accipiat, diesq; nostros in sua pace disponat, atq; ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, & in electorum suorum grege jubeat numerari, non quidem ex meritis nostris, aut ex dignitate nostræ servitutis, sed per Christum Dominum nostrum: that is, 'If wee rightly looke into these things, nothing will occurre unto us, in the whole context of the Masse, that may justly seeme absurd, or cause any scruple, but all things there found, especially such as are contained in the Canon will appeare unto us, as they are indeede, full of piety, and much to bee revered; for either the Church hath respect to the body and blood of CHRIST offered for her on the crosse, and by force of his Almighty Word present on the Altar, and so feareth not to call these a pure host, an holy host, an immaculate host, the holy bread of eternall life, and the cup of eternall salvation; or else shee hath an eye to the representative and commemorative oblation of the passion or true body of CHRIST, which consisteth in faith, apprehending mercie by CHRIST, and opposing unto GOD the redemption that is in CHRIST, and so shee doubteth not to offer this sacrifice of praise, for her selfe and all her members, for the hope of her salvation and safety, that is, with all due praise and thanks-giving shee acknowledgeth that shee hath received from GOD, the hope of salvation, safety, and the redemption of the soules of her sons and daughters, and desireth that GOD will take in good part this oblation of her service and bounden dutie, that hee will dispose our dayes in peace, that hee will deliver us from eternall condemnation, and that hee will make us to be numbered with his elect, not for our merits, or the worthinesse of this service, but thorough CHRIST our Lord.*

Examine catechistico.
Questionibus catechisticis.

f Artic. 22.

With these *Gregorius Wicelius*, a man much honoured by the Emperours *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, fully agreeth; defining the Masse to be a sacrifice rememorative, and of praise and thanksgiving: and in another place he saith, the Masse is a commemoration of the passion of Christ celebrated in the publick assembly of Christians, where many give thanks for the price of redemption. With these agreeth the *Interim* published by *Charles* the fifth in the assembly of the States of the Empire at *Augusta*, March 15th 1548, and there accepted by the same States.

But some man happily will say, here are many authorities alleadged, to prove that sundry worthy Divines in the *Roman Church*, in *Luthers* time, denied the new reall offering, or sacrificing of Christ, and made the sacrifice of the Altar to be onely representative and commemorative, but before

fore his time there were none found so to teach. Wherefore I will shew the consent of the Church to have beene cleare for us touching this point, before his time, and against the *Tridentine* doctrine now prevailing.

Bonaventura in his exposition of the Masse hath these words. The body of Christ is elevated and lifted up in the Masse for diverse causes; but the first and principall is, that wee may obtaine and regaine the favour of God the Father which wee have lost by our sinnes, for there is nothing that offendeth God and provoketh him to be displeased but sinne onely, as the Psalmist saith, they provoked and displeased God with their inventions: the Priest therefore lifteth up the body of Christ on the altar, as if hee should thus say. O heavenly Father, wee have sinned and provoked thee to anger, but now looke on the face of Christ thy Sonne, whom wee present unto thee to move thee to turne from thy wrath and displeasure, to mercie and grace; turne not away thy face therefore from this thy holy child Jesus, from this thy Sonne, but remember that thou hast said of this same thy Sonne; This is my well-beloved Sonne in whom I am well pleased: correct therefore mercifully in us, whatsoever thou findest in us fit to be corrected, and turne us unto thee, and turne thy wrath from us.

The question is proposed, saith *Petrus Cluniacensis*, why this Sacrifice is so often repeated, seeing Christ once offered on the crosse is sufficient to take away the sinnes of the whole world, especially seeing here and there, not a divers, but the same sacrifice, that is, the same Christ is offered. For if that on the crosse sufficed, this seemeth to be superfluous, but it is not superfluous &c. for after hee had said doe this, hee addeth in remembrance of mee. This then is the cause of this Sacrament, even the commemoration of Christ. Our Saviour knew what hee had done, and what hee would doe for man; hee knew how great and singular that worke was which hee had done, in putting on the nature of man; hee knew how wonderfull that worke would be that hee was to doe, when hee should die for man; hee knew that by this worke hee should save man; but that no man could be saved without the love of this worke; hee knew that this worke of his becomming man, and dying for man, as it was renowned above all his workes, so it was especially to be recommended unto men, for whom it was done: it was specially to be commended to them, seeing his flesh was tormented for them, his soule grieved and death seized on him, that they might live; this was solemnly to be commended unto them, that Christ might be beloved, that being beloved, hee might be possessed, that being once had, hee might never be lost. But this love of him could not have beene retained by men, if they should have forgotten him, neither could they have retained the memory of him, unlesse they should have beene put in minde of him, by some fitting outward signe. For this cause was this signe proposed and appointed by CHRIST, which yet is so a signe, that it is the same thing that it signifieth, and herein it differeth from the sacrifices of the old Law which were not that they signified. *Sed istud nostri sacrificii signum, non aliud sed ipsum est quod signat, ita vero est ei idem quod signat, ut quantum ad corpus, id est, ad veritatem carnis & sanguinis Christi pertinet, sit idem quod signat, non quoad mortem & passionem, neque enim ibi Christus ut olim dolorem & mortem patitur, cum tamen immolari dicatur, cum videlicet inviolabiliter in altari frangitur, dividitur, comeditur, cum iis, & quibusdam aliis signis in quantum fieri potest mors domini maxime representatur, unde sicut dixi, quantum ad veritatem corporis & sanguinis Christi pertinet, est idem quod signat non quoad mortem & passionem, quam tamen maxime signat.* that is, This signe of our sacrifice is no other but the same thing that it signifieth, but wee must so understand it to bee the same thing that it signifieth, in respect of

Epistolâ 1.
contra Petro-
busianos,

n De Sacram.
l. 1. c. 16.

of the truth of the flesh and blood of Christ which it signifieth, but not in respect of his passion & death, though it very lively expresse and signifie that also, for Christ doth not there suffer griefe or death, as once he did, though hee be sayd there to be offered & immolated, when hee is inviolably broken upon the altar, distributed & eaten, & when by these & the like signes, Christs death is represented as much as possibly it may be, so that as I said, if we speake of the truth of the body and blood of Christ, this signe is the thing it signifieth, but if we speake of the death and suffering of Christ it is not so, though it doe very clearely & expressely represent & signifie that his death and passion. Thus wee see, he maketh the sacrifice to be meere representative.

Algerus excellently expresseth the same thing in these words. *Notandum quia quotidianum nostrum sacrificium, idem ipsum dicit cum eo, quo Christus semel oblatus est in cruce, quantum ad eandem veram hic & ibi corporis substantiam; quod verò nostrum quotidianum illius semel oblatis dicit esse exemplum, id est, figuram, vel formam, non dicit ut hic vel ibi alium Christum constituat, sed ut eundem in cruce semel, in altari quotidie, alio modo immolari & offerri ostendat; ibi in veritate passionis quā pro nobis occisus est; hic in figurā & imitatione passionis ipsius, quā Christus non iterum verè patitur, sed ipsius verè memoria passionis quotidie nobis iteratur: quod & ipse Ambrosius notans subijcit. Quod nos facimus, in commemoratione sit ejus quod factum est; hoc enim facite, inquit, in meam commemorationem, non aliud sacrificium sed ipsum semper offerimus, magis autem sacrificii recordationem operamur. Non ergo est in ipsius Christi veritate diversitas, sed in ipsius immolationis actione, quā dum veram Christi passionem & mortem quādā suā similitudine figurando representat, nos ad imitationē ipsius passionis invitat, & accendit, contra hostem nos roborat, & munit, & à vitijs purgans, & virtutibus condecorans, vita aeterna idoneos & dignos exhibet.* That is, 'it is to be noted, that our daylie sacrifice is the same thing with that sacrifice whereby Christ was once offered upon the crosse, in that the same true substance is offered here, that was offered there, whereas therefore he saith, that the sacrifice which we daylie offer, is a similitude, figure, or representation of that sacrifice which Christ once offered, he is not to be conceived to imagine, that there is one Christ essentially here, & another there, but his meaning is to shew that the same Christ once offered on the crosse, is daily offered in another sort on the altar, there in the truth of his passion being slaine for us, here in figure and imitation of his passion: not suffering againe indeede, but having the memory of his passion which once he endured, daily renewed: which thing Ambrose himself also observing, hath these words. That which we doe is done in remembrance of that which was then done, for he saith, doe this in remembrance of me. We do not therefore offer another sacrifice, but we alwayes offer the same, or rather that wee doe, is a remembrance of that sacrifice, which was once offered. There is therefore no diuersitie in the truth and being of that Christ that offered himselfe, and that wee offer, but in the action of offering. For while that which wee doe, representeth the true passion and death of CHRIST, and by a certaine similitude it hath of the same, setteth it liuely before our eyes, it inviteth and enflameth us to the imitation of his passion, it strengtheneth & confirmeth us, against the enemy, it purgeth us from sinne, beautifieth us with vertues, and maketh us meete & worthy to enter into eternall life. And afterwards hee hath these words. *Semel passus in cruce, qui non manifestè sed invisibiliter est in sacramento. quotidie non passus, sed quasi pati representat us, hanc immolationem non vero, sed imaginario actu passionis & mortis fieri, & tamen veram salutem operari testatur, Gregorius dialog. 4. c. 58.* That is, Christ suffered once on the crosse, who not visibly but invisibly is in the sacrament; neither doth hee daily suffer, but his suffering is daily represented, this immolation or offering (Gregorie saith) consisteth not in the truth of passion or death, but in meere representation of the same: and that yet it worketh true salvation.

vation. And after hee addeth, *Licet non verâ sed imaginariâ passione in seipso imoletur; verâ tamen & non imaginariâ passione in membris suis immolatur, quando nos qui in memoriam passionis sue, sacramentum tanta pietatis sue agimus sacrificando ipsum, flendo, & cor nostrum verâ compunctione atterendo, mortem tam piâ & dilecti Domini & patris annunciamus.* That is, Though Christ bee not offered by any reall passion in himselfe, but in a meere representation of his passion, yet hee is offered by a true and more than imaginary passion in his members, while wee who in memory of his passion celebrate this sacrament, of his so great goodnesse & loving kindenes towards us, & offer this sacrifice by weeping and breaking our heart with true compunction, shew forth the death of our so gracious and dearely beloved Lord and father.

Paschasius maketh the same construction of the sacrifice; and *Peter Lombard* proposing the question, whether that the priest doth, may properly bee named a sacrifice, or immolation, answereth, that Christ was onely once truly & properly offered in sacrifice, and that hee is not properly immolated or sacrificed, but in sacrament & representation onely. xLib. 4. dist. 12.

Bellarmines shift to avoyde this testimonie is very fillie, for hee sayth that *Peter Lombard* did not propose the question, whether and how Christ may bee sayd to bee sacrificed, but how hee may be sayd to bee so sacrificed, as to be slaine, and that in this sence he sayth truly, that Christ was onely once properly sacrificed, for that he cannot bee said any more to bee killed or slaine, but in mystery and signification or representation onely. Whereas it is most cleere and evident, that hee proposeth the question simply, and in generall, whether hee may be said to bee sacrificed or not; and seeing the sacrificing of a living thing, doth import the killing and destroying of it, and the sacrificing of Christ the killing of Christ, he pronounceth that as Christ can die no more, soe hee can no more be properly sacrificed, and that therefore when he is said to bee sacrificed or offered in the eucharist, wee must vnderstand that hee is offered onely in representation, and not really. That this is his meaning, it appeareth by that which he hath, writing upon the epistle to the *Hebrewes*, where hee doth not Propose the question whether Christ may be said to be so offered often, as to die often, but how it cometh to passe, that the Church daily offereth sacrifice, seeing, as the Apostle saith, where there is one sacrifice having force to take away sin once offered, there is no neede that any more sacrifices should bee offered; and answereth hereunto, that the thing now offered is the same that was offered on the crosse; that the offering of it now is commemorative, and that which wee do, is but *recordatio sacrificij*, the calling to minde of Christs sacrifice once offered, that it may be applied unto us, for the remission of our sins: so absolutely excluding all sacrifice for sin properly so called, of what kind soever it be. And *Thomas Aquinas* on the same place, proposing the objection of the repetition, and daily reiteration of sacrifice in the Church, which seemeth to import, that that of Christ was not sufficient to take away sin, answereth, that we offer not any other, but the very same sacrifice that Christ did, that is, his body & blood; & that it is no new or different oblation properly so named, but a cōmemoration only of that sacrifice w^{ch} Christ once offered. Lib. 4. d. 12.

Henricus Gorichem writing upon the sentences saith, that in the eucharist there is the offering of a sacrifice, not really or in the thing it selfe, but in similitude; for that which is there dayly done, is a signe bringing to our remembrance, and figuring or representing that oblation, that was once made: with whom *Lyra* agreeth. his words are. *Si dicas sacrificium altaris quotidie offertur in Ecclesia; dicendum quod non est ibi sacrificij iteratio, sed unius sacrificij in cruce oblati quotidiana commemoratio.* that is. If thou say the sacrifice of the altar is dayly offered in the Church, it must be answered, that there is no reiteration of the sacrifice, but a dayly commemoration of that sacrifice, that was once offered on the crosse. This hee saith in answer to that objection, that seeing now as in the Cap. 10.

time of the law, there is often offering for sin, it seemeth no sufficient sacrifice hath beene offered, which objection could not be cleared by his answer, unlesse he denied the often offering of any kind of sacrifice for sin whether bloody or unbloody.

De missa l. 1.
cap. 15.

De missa ca-
non. 3.

Wherefore that which *Bellarmino* hath, that *Aquinas* & the other Schoolme for the most part, do no otherwise say that the sacrifice of the masse is an immolation of Christ, but in that it is a representation of Christs immolation on the crosse, or because it hath like effects with that true & reall sacrificing of Christ that implied his death, is most true: his evasion is found too silly, & it is made cleare & euident, that the best & worthiest amongst the guides of Gods Church before *Luthers* time, taught as we do, that the sacrifice of the altar is only the sacrifice of praise & thanksgiving, and a mere representation and commemoration of the sacrifice once offered on the crosse, and consequently are all put under the curse, and anathematized by the *Tridentine* councell. So that the face of religion was not the same, before, and at *Luthers* appearing, that now it is, as *M. Brerely* would have us to beleve.

Wherefore to conclude this point, it appeareth by that which hath beene said, that neither the canon of the Masse rightly understood, includeth in it any such points of Romish Religion, as some imagine, but in sundry, yea in all the capitall differences, beween us and them of the Romane faction, witnesseth for us, and against them; & that the Prelates and guides of the Church formerly made no such construction of it as now is made. That it may have a good sense, our men confesse. I could, saith *Luther*, make such a construction of the canon of the Masse, as might stand with the rule of faith, and I have somewhere so done, but seeing it is obscure, and the rule of the Lawyers is, that hee that will speake obscurly, shall have his words construed against him, and not for him, I will not saith hee take so much paines, as to seeke out and declare the best meaning, that may be conceived of it, but a better forme being found out will leave this and embrace that. That it is obscure I shewed out of *Cassander*, and that if it be to be retained it must have some scholies, or explications, either added in the margent, or inserted into the text, that it may be understood and rightly used, which thing if it be done, it will seeme a new one, and if it have such explications as hee would have, it will differ little or nothing from our liturgie.

f Apud Gold.
imperialium
constitutio-
num. Tom. 2.
pag. 332. c. 12.

g apud Gold.
ibid pag. 376.

There is extant a certaine forme of reformation exhibited by *Charles* the fift to the ecclesiasticall states of the Empire, and accepted and received by them, wherein they professe, that the canon of the Masse, which the Church of God hath used and retained soe many ages, containeth nothing in it that is not consonant to the courses of antiquity, so that it is not to be condemned or changed, by any private authority, so insinuating that by publike it may, but touching the other parts of the Masse, though for the most part they bee nothing but praises of God, prayers of the Church, and holy lessons, and readings, and so farre forth not to be despised, yet if there be any new collects, sequences, or prefaces, either unlearned or depending upon Apocryphall histories, or not soe fitting to the sacrifice of the Masse, which later ages have brought in, they prescribe that they be removed, and that things may bee brought backe to their auncient purity. Besides this wee have extant certaine articles concerning the reformation of the Church proposed by the embassadors of *Ferdinand* the Emperour, in the councell of *Trent*, amongst which these are found. That the breviaries and missalls should bee purged; that all those things which are not taken out of divine Scripture, should bee removed; that the prolixity of psalme and prayers should bee contracted, good choise being made; that a new *agend* or forme of divine service should bee composed, and that then all that would not use it, should bee severely punished.

So that M^r *Brenelius* maine objection which he thought unanswerable, falleth to the ground. For the Canon of the Masse rightly understood, is found to containe nothing in it, contrary to the rule of faith, and the profession of the Protestant Churches; the abuses of private Masses and halfe Communion, are found to have beene beside, and against the words and meaning of them that composed the Canon, and not without the dislike of many good men, before and since *Luthers* time; and the construction that they now make of the word *sacrifice*, so often used in it, appeareth to be a meere perverting of the meaning of the Canon to a sinister sense, never intended by the authors of it, nor ever allowed by the best men in the Church. This Canon notwithstanding, is found to have some passages, that in the judgement of men right learned, cannot well have any true meaning, unlesse the old custome of offering bread and wine on the Lords Table, out of which the Sacrament may be consecrated, be restored; so that those parts, that custome beeing discontinued, may well be omitted. Some other parts are obscure, and need explication, which beeing added, or inserted, it will differ little or nothing from those formes of consecration of those holy mysteries that now are in use in the reformed Churches of *England*, and some other places, therefore brought in, because in later ages many things were added to the Canon anciently in use, which the best and gravest in the Church thought fit to be taken away, and a new forme of divine service to be composed. So that the Church that formerly was having no different judgement touching matters dogmaticall, no liking of those abuses in practise which some had brought in; and wishing things to be brought to such a course as Protestants now have brought them, it may well be said to have been a Protestant Church, in such sort as I have formerly shewed.

Onely two things may be objected against that which hath beene said; the one touching prayer for the dead; the other touching the commemoration of the Saints, and prayer that God through their intercession, and for their merit, will give unto us such things as wee desire; both which seeme to make much against the Religion of Protestants, and to be points of Romane Religion, and contained in the very canon of the Masse, which the Church used in the daies of our Fathers; so that that Church wherein they lived and died could be no Protestant Church. But the answer hereunto is easie. For touching the first of these two, which is prayer for the dead, it is well knowne that Protestants do not simply condemne all prayer in this kinde. For they pray for the resurrection, publique acquittall in the day of judgement, and the perfect consummation and blisse of them that rest in the Lord, and the perfecting of whatsoever is yet wanting unto them.

The Apologie of the confession of *Augusta*, saith expressly in the name of all those worthy Princes, People, and States that subscribed to the *Augustane* confession, that they do not condemne nor forbid prayer for the dead. And *Chemnicus* saith, it is a bestiall apathie for men not to be affected with the death of their friends, presently so soone as ever they are gone to put all remembrance of them out of their mindes, and not to wish good unto them, nor to pray that it may be well with them; which desires and prayers yet must be moderated according to the word of God.

That it is lawfull to pray for the acquittall & publick remission of sinnes in the day of judgement; and the performing and perfecting of whatsoever is yet behind, there is no question, that I know, made by any; and I am well assured that in so doing, we exceeding Christianly expresse our love towards the departed, and give testimony of our perswasion, that the soules of them that die do live; and that their bodies also shall be raised up at the last day; which thing, as *Cassander* saith truly, all the Christian Churches throughout the world, as well those of the East, as of the West, doe and ever did; though they do not so certainly resolve what their state is that are departed hence, what is yet

wanting unto them, or wherein or how farre forth they may be benefitted by our prayers; but the Romish conceipt of Purgatory, and their praying to deliver thence, none of the Easterne Churches admit, neither do wee.

This is that which our Adversaries must finde in the Canon of the Masse, if they will say any thing against us, for the prooffe of the Romish religion, out of the canon. Let us heare therefore what the forme of the prayer for the dead is, which is found in the canon of the Masse. The words of it are; *Remember Lord thy servants and thine handmaids; N. or N. which are gone before us with the badge of faith, and do sleepe in the sleepe of peace. O Lord we pray thee to grant to them and to all that are at rest in Christ, a place of refreshing, of light and peace.* That this prayer hath no respect to purgatory, or to the deliverance thence, it is evident. For how do they sleepe in peace that are tormented in Purgatory? and whose paines are no lesse than those of hell, though they bee not eternall? Or who is so void of sense as to thinke, that all that are at rest in Christ are tormented in Purgatory, and that to all these God is entreated in this prayer to grant a place of refreshing, of light and peace?

So that first it is evident, that a place of refreshing, light and peace, is wished, to such as are not in Purgatory. For it is wished to all that are at rest in the Lord. But all that are at rest in the Lord, are not in Purgatory; whence it will further follow, that the Church prayeth for them that shee doth not thinke to be in Purgatorie, and consequently that prayer for the dead proveth not purgatorie, as they would make the world beleve that it doth. And secondly, that the Church at that time when this forme of prayer was first composed, did not beleve or thinke that there is any Purgatory. For if shee had had any such perswasion, shee would not have forgotten to recommend to God, the wofull estate of men so afflicted as they are supposed to be that are there.

¶ Ockam. com-
pend. error. Pa-
pæ Ioan. 22. c.
7.

¶ Ockam in
dial. p. 2. tract.
2. c. 3.

¶ Bibliotheca
tom. 6. p. 228.

That this prayer can have no reference to the state of men in Purgatorie paines, it is so cleare, that *John 22* (who supposed, (as many of the Auncient also did long before him, and the Easterne Christians still doe,) that the soules of the iust are so at rest in Christ, that yet they remaine under the altar, that is, under the protection and comfort of the humanitie of Christ, in a state and place of happinesse foretasted, but not fully enjoyed, and that they shall not be lifted up above, to the view of the deitie of Christ as it is in it selfe, and the vision of God the Father, Sonne and holy Ghost till the judgement,) produceth this prayer for confirmation of his opinion, supposing that seeing a place of refreshing and peace is here wished to them that are at rest in Christ, (which cannot in any sense be understood of such as are in purgatory,) therefore there is some state of men free from paine and punishment, wherein they are and expect the accomplishment of happinesse. To which though *Ockam* so answer, that hee would have this prayer to have reference to the estate of distressed soules in Purgatory; yet in the end he saith, it may be understood of the soules of holy men that are in heaven, and the meaning of it is, that the soules of such men as sleepe in the sleepe of peace, having resumed their bodies may enter into that place of refreshing, light and peace, and that includeth the highest, essentiall and accidentall degree of eternall peace, which they cannot have till the resurrection. And *Florus* that lived in the time of *Carolus Calvus*, in his exposition of the Masse, saith, it is most cleare that the soules of perfect iust men, so soone as they are loosed from the body are received into heaven; but this is to be understood of the soules of Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors, and men of great perfection of life. For the soules of certaine iust men are not presently admitted into the heavenly kingdome; but though they be in blessed rest, yet are stayed in certaine mansions, by which their stay and not enjoying presently what they most desire, it appeareth they come short of perfect righteousness. Besides these, hee thinketh there is a third sort, of such

as are in purgatory. *Bernard*, as it appeareth in the place of *Ockams* dia-^m Cap. 5. logues above cited, maketh three estates of the soule; the first *in corpore corruptibili*, the second *in requie*, the third *in beatitudine consummata*; the first in the body subject to death and corruption, the second in rest, the third in consummate happinesse. The second excludeth all punishment and affliction, the third all desire of having any higher perfection, or attaining any farther good. A man of great place and worth that hath written not long since, feareth not to deliver his opinion, that the soule of the iust are so in rest and peace, and in heavenly mansions immediately after their departure hence, that yet they come not into the highest heaven & place of greatest felicitie till the resurrection Which of these opinions the author of this forme of prayer followed, it doth not certainly appeare. But sure it is hee thought those who are there commended to God, to be in a state of rest, farre from pain and torment, and so desired the perfecting of whatsoever is yet wanting unto them, without any reference to purgatory, or the delivering of any thence.

From this prayer for the dead, let us come to the other objection touching the commemoration of the blessed Apostles, and other Saints and holy Martyrs, by and through whose intercession, and for whose merits, the priest and people desireth God to grant that they may in all things be kept safe and strongly defended, by the helpe of divine protection.

That the Saints doe pray for us *in genere*, desiring God to be mercifull to us, and to do unto us whatsoever in any kinde he knoweth needfull for our good, there is no question made by us; and therefore this prayer wherein the Church desireth God to be gracious to her, and to grant the things shee desireth, the rather for that the Saints in heaven also are suppliants for her, will not be found to containe any point of Romish doctrine disliked by us.

But they will say, there is mention made in this prayer of the merits of those holy Apostles and Martyrs, and the Church desireth God to grant her petitions for those merits, which is contrary to the doctrine of Protestants, that deny all merit properly so named, and therefore cannot but condemne the opinion of one mans meritting for another.

For answer hereunto wee must observe, as *Cassander* rightly noteth, that there is no merit properly so named, to be attributed to mortall and miserable men; and that though the Ecclesiasticall writers use the word merit, and when they speake of holy mens workes call them merits, yet they thinke them not to be properly so; but do so name the good actions of holy men that proceed from faith and the working of the Holy Ghost, because Almighty God, though they be his gifts, and joyned in them, by whom they are wrought, with defect and imperfection, yet is so pleased to accept of them out of his goodnesse, that hee not onely rewardeth the doers of them with ample and great rewards in their owne persons, but so as to do good to others for their sakes. So God said to *Abraham*, if there were but fifty righteous in the city, hee would spare the whole city for their sakes. Neither onely doth hee good for their sakes whose workes hee thus rewardeth, while they live, but even after they are dead also. And therefore God promiseth that hee will protect *Hierusalem* for his owne sake, and for *David* his servant, which he must be understood to do, not onely in respect of the promise made unto him, but with respect had to his vertue, according to the which we read *1. Reg. 15. 3.* that God left a little light in *Hierusalem*, to *Abiam* the sonne of *Rehoboam* King of *Judah* for *David*'s sake, who did that which was right in the sight of the Lord. This *David* saith *Chrysostome*, did not only please God while he was in the bo-^{o In Psal. 50.} dy but he is found to have yeilded great comfort after his death, to such as hee^{hom. 2.} lefe behinde him alive. The Prophet *Esay* commeth to *Hezekiah* and saith unto him, I will defend this city for mine owne sake, and for *David* my servants sake. *David* is dead, but his vertues that pleased God do still live. O strange thing! O ineffable

ineffable clemencie! a man long since dead, patronizeth him that liveth. In this sense then it is that the Church desireth God to be gracious unto her, in granting her petitions for the merit of those his holiest Ones, that she remembreth, no way derogating from the merits of Christ, but putting a great difference betweene them and those of the Saints, for Christs merit is the onely price of our redemption, by which onely wee are redeemed from sin and eternall death, and being reconciled to God, are adopted to be sonnes and heires of eternall life: but the merits of the Saints here mentioned, are nothing but those imperfect good workes which they did while they lived here; which God was pleased so to accept, that hee promised not onely to reward them with great and ample rewards in their owne persons, but to do good for their sakes that did them to others also.

Citat. a Cal-
sandro Disp.
Rarisbonæ an.
1546.

^r *Bucer* speaking of the publique prayers of the Church, which wee call Collects, in which the intercession and merits of Saints are commemorated, hath these words. *Seeing in these prayers, whatsoever is attributed to the intercession and merits of Saints all that is asked, not of the Saints, but of our mercifull God through Jesus Christ, they that so pray, do thereby professe and testifie, that they acknowledge, that those things which they aske of God, by the intercession, and for the merits of the Saints are the free gifts of God, &c.* And a little after: *Wee willingly acknowledge, and publiquely professe, that God doth reward the workes of his Saints, not onely in their owne persons, but in those also that pertaine unto them, and for whom they intercede, for hee hath promised to do good to a thousand generations to them that love him, and studie to keepe his Commandments; hence it was that hee would not heale those of the house of Abimelech, till Abraham interceded and intreated for them, and hence it was that GOD granted and gave the deliverance and salvation of all the people to Moses, when he intreated for the same.* These are the words of *Bucer*, which not being contradicted by any of our profession, it is evident that no part of Romish Religion disliked by us, can be proved out of this part of the Canon of the Masse.

Thus having cleared that great objection of *M^r Brerelie* touching the publique Liturgie, used in the Church in the daies of our Fathers, and made it appeare, that the using thereof is no prooffe that the Church that then was, was not a Protestant Church, and having made it cleare and evident that both the Liturgie it selfe, and the profession of such as used it, shew plainly that the Church that then was, never allowed any Romish errour, howsoever some did in the midst of her: it remaineth that I now proceed to shew in the particulars that the outward face of Religion, at, and before *Luther's* appearing, was not, as *M^r Brerelie* telleth us, the now professed Romane Religion, and that whatsoever wee have done in the reformation of the Church, was long before wished for, and desired by the best men amongst the Guides of the Church.

CHAP. II.

Of the Canon of the Scriptures.

THat the Church did not admit the Canon of Scripture, which the *Romanists* now doe, nor ever accounted those bookes Canonically which wee thinke to be Apocriphall, it will easily appeare, in that all the most famous Divines, from the beginning of the Christian World, even till the time of *Luther*, did reject those bookes as Apocriphall that wee doe. The Church of the *Jewes* (to whom, as *saint Paul* saith, the oracles of God were committed) admitted but only 22 Bookes, as delivered to them from God, to be the Canon of their faith, as *Josephus* witnesseth. Neither did the

Rom. 3.1.2.
a Lib. 1. contra.
Appion.

Christian Church ever admit any more.

Melito Bishop of *Sardis* being desired by *Onesimus* to send him a catalogue of the bookes of the old and new Testament, writeth thus unto him. 'Having diligently sought out the bookes of the old Testament, and put them in order, I have sent them unto you: the names whereof are these: the 5 bookes of *Moses*: *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomie*; then *Iesus* the sonne of *Nave*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the 4 bookes of *Kings*, two bookes of *Chronicles*, the *Psalmes* of *David*, the *Proverbs*, which is also called the *Wisdom* of *Salomon*; *Ecclesiastes*, the *Canticles*, *Iob*, the *Prophets*, *Esay*, *Hieremie*, one booke of the twelve *Prophets*, *Daniel*, *Ezechiel*, *Esdra*s. Some doe translate the words of *Melito*, as if hee reckoned the *Wisdom* of *Salomon*, as a sepeare booke, and so meant the booke that is commonly called the *Wisdom* of *Salomon*, and is by us accounted to be apocryphall: but *Ruffinus* translateth as wee doe; and that wee have rightly expressed the meaning of this worthy Bishop, and that hee onely added this, as a glorious title to the booke of *Salomons* *Proverbs*, which (as *Eusebius* saith) the auncients usually called *σοφία* *παιδείας*, the reader will sone be satisfied, if he peruse that, which *D. Raynolds* hath touching this point in his prelections. *Eusebius* sheweth that *Iosephus* according to the auncient tradition of the Iewes, numbred only 22 Canonically, that the bookes of the *Maccabees*, are not in the canon.

^b Euseb. lib. 4. c. 25.

^c Lib. 4. 22. ^d Præf. 14. ^e Lib. 3. c. 10. ^f Paulo ante annum mundi 4890.

Read (saith *Cyrrill* of *Hierusalem* in his Catechisme) the divine Scriptures, that is, the 22 bookes of the old Testament: and a litle after, Reade therefore these 22 bookes, but with the apocrypha have nothing to do; meditate upon the divine Scriptures, which wee confidently reade in the Church: the holy Apostles, the guides of truth, who delivered unto us these bookes, were more wise and religious then thou art. Seeing therefore thou art but a sonne; transgresse not the precepts of the Fathers. Now these are the bookes which thou must reade, and then numbred all the bookes of the old Testament, and omitteth all those that are controverted; saving that hee addeth that of *Baruch*, thinking it a part of *Hieremies* prophesies. Of the same opinion is *Epiphanius*, making no mention of any of the bookes rejected by us as apocryphall, but onely the booke of *Wisdom*, and *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*; which he saith are profitable, but not to be esteemed as the 22 bookes (or 27 as some count them) that were kept in the arke of the covenant, which are the bookes by us acknowledge to be canonically.

^g Cathche. 4.

^h De mensuris & ponderibus & contra Epicureos, hæresis octaua.

Amphilochius Bishop of *Iconium*, writing to *Seleucus* hath these words, 'I will reckon unto thee all the bookes that proceeded from the holy Ghost, and that thou mayest cleerely conceive that which concernes this matter, I wil first number unto thee the bookes of the old Testament, & then he nameth the 5 bookes of *Moses*, *Iosua*, and the *Judges*, *Ruth*, 4 bookes of the *Kings*, 2 of the *Chronicles*; 2 of *Esdra*s, *Iob*, the *Psalmes*, 3 of *Solomon*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, 12 *Prophets*, *Hose*, *Amos*, *Micheas*, *Ioel*, *Abdias*, *Ionas*, *Naum*, *Abacuch*, *Sophonie*, *Hagge*, *Zacharias*, *Malachias*, the 4 *Prophets* *Esa*i, *Hieremie*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and concludeth that to these some adde *Hester*. The reason why some doubted of *Hester* I have elsewhere shewed, out of *Sextus Senensis*, to have been, the Apocryphall additions to the booke. I have some where cited this booke as a part of *Gregorie Nazianzens* workes: because some think it so to be, and put it amongst his workes. But *Gregory* hath delivered his opinion clearely touching this matter, though that booke happily be not his. Bee couersant (saith hee) day and night in the divine oracles; but least such bookes as are not of this sort, deceive thee, (for many erroneous bookes are inserted:) receive the true and just number of bookes that are divine: and then nameth all the bookes that wee admit: save that he omitteth the booke of *Hester*, upon the same reason that I noted out of *Sixtus*

ⁱ Amphilochius ad Seleucum de recta educatione inter opera Nazianzeni.

^k De veris & genuinis scripturæ libris pag. 952.

Senensis

Senensis: and when he hath named these, he addeth those of the new testament; and then pronounceth, that whatsoever is not within this number, is to bee accounted amongst ballard and counterfeit bookes.

Hist. l. 6. c. 24.
editione græ.
Paris. c. 25.

In Synopsi
sacra Scriptu-
ra.

Origen, expounding the first Psalme, putteth downe a catalogue of the holy Scriptures of the old Testament writing thus in precise words, as *Eusebius* telleth us; Wee must not be ignorant that the bookes of the old Testament, as the Hebrewes doe deliver, are 22, which is the number of their letters: and then nameth all the bookes admitted by us, and addeth, that the bookes of *Macchabees* are without this number. *Athanasius* agreeth with *Origen*, writing in this sort: All our Scripture, that are Christians, was given by divine inspiration; neither hath this Scripture infinite bookes, but a definite number, and containd in a certaine canon; and these are the bookes of the old Testament: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomie, Iosuah, Iudges, Ruth, the first and second of Kings accounted one booke, the third & fourth of Kings accounted one booke: Chronicles first & second accounted one booke; Esdras the first & second one booke, the Psalmes of David 151. Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Iob, 12 Prophets containd in one volume, Osee, Amos, Micheas, Ioell, Abdias, Ionas, Naum, Abacuc, Sophonias, Aggæus, Zacharias, Malachias, 4 other Prophets, Esai, Hieremia, Ezechiel, Daniel; the bookes therefore of the old Testament are 22 in number, answerable to the Hebrew letters; Beside these there are certaine other bookes of the old Testament, that are not in the canon, and these are read onely to the Catechumens or Novices: Amongst these hee numbereth the Wisdome of Solomon, the Wisdome of Iesus the sonne of Sirach, Iudith, Tobit; but mentioneth not the bookes of *Macchabees* at all; to these he addeth the booke of *Hester*, accounting it Apocryphall, being misperswaded of the whole, by reason of those Apocryphall additions, as before I noted out of *Sixtus Senensis*. In the conclusion of his *Synopsis* he mentioneth together with the forme, foure bookes of *Macchabees*, and the story of *Susanna*; but saith, they are in the number of them that are contradicted.

Canone 59.

The councell of *Laodicensa* decreeth in this sort: Let no bookes be read in the Church, but the bookes of the old & new Testament, and then addeth, these are the bookes of the old Testament that are to bee read. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomie, Iosuah, Iudges, Ruth, foure bookes of Kings, 2 of Chronicles, Esdras, the booke of the Psalmes 150. the Proverbs of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Iob, Hester, 12 Prophets Osee, &c. Esay, Hieremie, Ezechiel, Daniel. The canons of this councell are confirmed by the sixt generall councell holden in *Trullo*. To these we may adde *Damasce*, who having numbred all those bookes, and those onely, as canonically that wee doe; addeth, that the booke of *Wisdome*, and of *Iesus the son of Sirach*, are good bookes, and containe good lessons of vertue, but that they are not numbered in this account, neither were layd up in the arke. *Leontius advocatus Byzantius* sayth, there are onely 22 bookes of the old Testament, and reckoneth all those, and those onely, that wee doe. All these worthies that wee have hitherto produced to testifie in this case, are of the Greeke Church, wherefore let us passe to them of the *Latine*. *Hilary* Bishop of Poitiers saith, the law of the old Testament is contained in 22 bookes, according to the number of the Hebrew letters; which are soe disposed, and put in order, according to the tradition of the auncient, that there are five bookes of *Moses*, that *Iosuah* is the sixt; the Iudges, and Ruth, the seaventh; the first and second of Kings the eighth; the third and fourth the ninth; 2 of Chronicles the tenth; Esdras the eleventh; Psalmes 12; Solomons Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, 13, 14, 15; the 12 Prophets 16; Esay, Hieremie with the Lamentations and epistle, Daniel, Ezechiel, Iob, and Hester, doe make vp the number of 22 bookes; some have thought good to adde Tobie, and Iudith, and so to make the bookes to bee

Canone 2.
Orthodoxæ
fidei l. 4 c. 11.
De sectis
scholæ actione
secundain Bib-
liothecâ patr.
tom. 4.
In Prolog. in
Psalmos.

bee 24 in number, according to the number of the Greeke letters.

Ruffinus in the explanation of the Creed, which is found amongst the workes of *Cyprian*, & so attributed to him, setting down a Catalogue of those bookes, which according to the tradition of the Ancient, are beleev'd to have beene inspired by the Holy Ghost, and delivered to the Churches of Christ, containing all those bookes which we admit, secluding all those that are now in question. It must be knowne, saith he, that there are other bookes which are not called Canonically, but Ecclesiasticall, by the Ancient: as the Wisdome of *Solomon*, and that of the sonne of *Sirach*. And in the same ranke we must put the booke of *Tobias* and *Judith*, and the booke of the *Macchabees*: and in the New Testament the booke of *Pastor*, all which truly they would have to be read in the Church, but not to be alleaged for prooffe of any matter of faith that was questioned, or doubted of; and then concludeth, that hee held it very fit to put downe these things, which were delivered by tradition from the Fathers, that they that are to learne the first elements and rudiments of Christian Religion, may know out of what fountaines to draw.

Hierome in his prologue, which hee prefixed before the bookes of the Old Testament by him translated out of Hebrew into Latine, saith, There are 22 bookes of the Old Testament; and that as there are but 22 Hebrew Letters, by which wee write whatsoever wee speake; so there are 22 bookes, by which as by letters and beginnings in the doctrine of God, the tender infancie of the iust man, that yet is like a child hanging on the breasts, is informed and instructed: and then nameth all the bookes which we admit, and after addeth, Whatsoever is beside these, is to be put amongst the Apocrypha; and that therefore the booke of *Wisdom*, of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, of *Judith*, *Tobias*, and *Pastor*, are not in the Canon. And the same *Hierome* in his Preface before the bookes of *Solomon*, having made mention of the booke of *Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, and delivered his opinion, that it is untruly called the *Wisdom* of *Solomon*, and attributed to him; then addeth, that as the Church readeth the bookes of *Judith*, *Tobias*, and the *Macchabees*, but doth not account them amongst the Canonically Scriptures; so these two Bookes may be read for the edification of the people, but not for the confirmation of any doubtfull point of doctrine. *Sixtus Senensis* confesseth that *Philastrinus* rejecteth the Bookes of *Macchabees*. And the same *Philastrinus* in the heresie of the *Prodianita*, taxeth them amongst other things, that they used the Booke of *Wisdom*, which *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* wrote long after *Solomons* time.

The author of the Booke *De mirabilibus Scripturae*, that goeth under the name of *Augustine*, hath these words, *De lacu vero & Abacuck transfato, in Belis Draconisque fabula, idcirco in hoc ordine non ponitur; quod in autoritate divina Scriptura non habentur*. It is true, that *Augustine*, and the *African* Bishoppes of his time, and some other in that age, finding these Bookes which *Hierome* and the rest before cited, reject as Apocryphall, to bee joyned with the other, and together read with them in the Church, seeme to account them to be Canonically. *Cajetan* and others answer, that those Fathers speake of the Canon of manners, not of faith: and of Bookes not simply, but in a sort Canonically, so that they differ not from the other Fathers before alleaged, that deny them to be Canonically, as not being simply and absolutely so. How fit and true this answer is, I will not stand to examine: but this is most certaine, that *Augustine* himselfe seemeth something to lessen the authoritie of this Booke: for whereas the example of *Razias* killing himselfe, is pressed against him, to prove that it is lawfull for a man to kill himselfe: after other answers, hee saith, the *Jewes* do not esteeme this Scripture called the History of *Macchabees*, in such sort as the Law, the Prophets,

In Prologo galeato. Præfat. in Esdræ & Nehemiam ad Domnionem & Rogatianum. Quæ non habeatur apud Hebræos, nec de viginti quatuor senioribus sunt procul abjicienda.

Lib. 8. hæref. 12. In Bibl. pat. de hæref. catal. 3. cap. 9.

x Lib. 2. c. 52. Dan. 13.

Contra Ep. Gaudentii. l. 2. c. 23.

the Psalmes, to which Christ giveth testimonie as to them that beare witness
 of him, saying, it behoved that all those things should be fulfilled that are writ-
Luke 24. v. 44. ten of mee, in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalmes; but it is received of
 the Church not unprofitably, if it be soberly read; and heard: especially in re-
 spect of those *Macchabees*, that as true martyres, endured grievous and hor-
 rible things of the persecutors, for the law of God: And the councill of
Canon: 24. *Carthage*, whereat *Augustine* was present, prescribing that no bookes should
 be read in the Church as canonicall, but such as indeed are canonicall, leaving
 out the bookes of *Macchabees*, as it appeareth by the Greeke edition: though
 they have foisted them into the Latine.

But howsoever these did not so exactly looke into these things, as they
 of the *Greeke* Church, and many of the *Latine* Church before named, but ad-
 mitted those bookes as in a sort canonicall that they found joyned together
 with the other indubitate scriptures, which they had of the translation of the
Septuagint: yet after *Hierome* had translated them out of the Hebrew, and pre-
 fixed his prologues and prefaces, before the bookes translated by him; almost
 all the Bishops and men of account in the *Latine* or West Church, so ap-
 proved the same, that they admitted no other bookes as Canonicall, but those
 that hee did.

Moralin Iob. Pope *Gregory* the first, citing a certaine testimony out of the first booke of
l. 19. c. 17. *Macchabees* hath these words: wee offend not if touching this thing wee al-
 leage and produce a testimony out of bookes though not canonicall, yet pub-
 lished for the edification of the people. This was the opinion of Pope *Gre-
 gory*, *Gregory* the first, *Gregory* the great, our Apostle as they of the Romish
 faction tell us, and therefore it will not be safe for us to leave the faith first de-
 livered unto us. To the Pope I will adde certaine Cardinalls.

Bonaventura in his preface before his exposition of the Psalter undertaketh
 to shew which are the bookes of Scripture: Scripture saith hee, consisteth of
 the old and new Testament, and the whole body of canonicall Scripture is
 contained in these two; then passing by the bookes of the new Testament, he
 reckoneth all those, and those onely that *Hierome* doth: sorting them into
 their severall rankes and orders, as the Hebrewes do. And in another place hee
 saith, there are foure sorts of writings in which a student must be conversant;
 the bookes of holy Scripture, the writings of the Fathers, such sayings as have
 been gathered out of them, and the writings of Philosophers. And because in
 the bookes of Philosophers, there is no knowledge to give remission of sinnes:
 nor originally in the summes, because they have bin extracted out of the ori-
 ginalls of the Fathers; nor in them, because they have beene taken out of the
 Scripture; therefore that is principally and in the first place to be studied, and
 there wee must seeke that knowledge as in the fountaine; and then, that all
 may know which and how many these bookes of Scripture are that hee will
 have to be thus studied, hee saith, according to *Hierome* there are 22 in the old
 Testament, and in the new there are eight.

*In Hexaeme-
 ron. serm. 19.
 p. 57.*

*e Prologo in
 Iosuan.*

Hugo Cardinalis repeateth certaine verses, expressing which bookes are
 Canonicall, and which Apocriphall, the verses are these:

*Quinque libros Moysi, Josue, Judicum, Samuelem,
 Et Melachim, tres precipuos, bis sexq; Prophetas,
 Hebraeus reliquis censet praeellere libris.*

Quinque vocat legem; reliquos vult esse Prophetas.

*Post Hagiographa sunt, Daniel, David, Hester, & Esdras,
 Job, Paralipomenon, & tres libri Solomonis.*

*Restant Apocrypha, Jesus, Sapientia, Pastor,
 Et Macchabaeorum libri, Judith, atque Tobias.*

Hi, quia sunt dubii, sub canone non numerantur.

Sed quia vera canunt Ecclesia suscipit illos.

Here he numbrell the bookes Canonically and Apocryphall as wee do. And the same *Hugo in prologū galeatum*, speaking of the bookes rejected by us saith, that these bookes are not received by the Church for prooffe of doctrine, but for information of manners. And in another place he saith, they are not counted amongst the Canonically. Cardinall *Cajetan* saith, those books onely are to be accounted Canonically which *Hierome* so accounted, and admitteth none of those that are now questioned: this he wrote at *Rome* as himselfe telleth us in the yeare 1532.

Prologo in Tobiam.
In vlt. Hester.
Item præfat. comment ad Clem. 7.

From the Church of *Rome*, which was the principall amongst these of the West, let us proceed to see what other Churches thought of this matter. *Thomas Aquinas*, proposing the question whether the soules of them that are departed, doe know what things are done here: it being objected, that the dead do often appeare unto the living, as *Samuell* appeared unto *Saul*: concerning *Samuel* he answereth that it may be sayd that he appeared by divine revelation, according to that in *Ecclesiasticus* 46. or else, if the authority of that booke be not admitted, because it is not in the Canon of the *Hebrewes*, it may be sayd, that that apparition was procured by the diuell.

Summ. part. 1
q. 89. artic. 8.

Antonius Archbishop of *Florence*, affirmeth that the authority of the sixe bookes questioned, is not sufficient to prove any thing that is in controversy; and that *Thomas secunda secunda*, and *Lyrans* in his prologue before the booke of *Tobias*, do say, that those bookes are not of soe great authority, that any sufficient proofes may be drawne from them in matters of faith, as from the other bookes. And therefore pronounceth, he thinketh they have such authority as the writings of the Fathers approved by the Church. And he mentioneth a certaine worke intituled *Catholicon*, the authors name is not knowne: but the same author, as hee telleth us, pronounceth, that none of these bookes were received for prooffe of matters of faith, but only for information of manners. But this of *Antonius*, who was present at the councill of *Florence*, it will easily appeare to be meere supposititious, that wee find in the abridgment of that councill by *Caranza*, that these books were pronounced to be canonically: for had they bin so, neither would hee nor others have rejected them after the holding of this councill: neither would such a decree have bin omitted by all others that put out the councill, at large and abridged.

Part. 3. tit. 13.
c. 6. paragr. 2.

Ibid. paragr. 3

Radolphus Flaviacensis, in his commentaries upon *Leuiticus*, speaking of books pertaining to the sacred history, hath these words. The Books of *Tobias*, *Iudith*, and of the *Macchabees*, though they be read for the edification of the Church yet have no perfect authority. *Beda*, after the history of *Ezra*, addeth; thus farre the divine Scripture containeth the course of times, what things afterwards wee found digested among the *Iewes*, they are taken out of the booke of *Macchabees*, *Iosephus*, & the writings of *Africanus*. It appeareth by the Epistle of *Hilarie B. of Arles*, that in *Massilia* & in some other places of *France*, there were that tooke exception to *Augustine* alleaging a place out of the booke of *Wisdom* cap. 4. *Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus*; and affirmed, that this testimonie, as not being canonically, should have beene omitted.

Præfat. lib. 14

De 6 statibus mundi.

Inter opera Aug. tim. 7

Hugo de sancto victore, having reckoned the 22 bookes of the old Testament, saith: there are besides certaine other bookes as the *Wisdom* of *Solomon*, the booke of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, *Iudith*, *Tobias*, and the booke of *Macchabees*, which are read, but are not written in the canon: these hee matcheth in authority with the writings of the Fathers. *Richardus de sancto victore*, delivereth his opinion of the same bookes in the same sort; and maketh them to be of no greater authority then the writings of the Fathers.

De scripturis & scriptoribus sacris c. 6. item cap. 12.

Exceptionum l. 2. c. 9.

De authorit. vet. testam. Epistol. contra Petrobrusiam.

Petrus Cluniacensis abbas, after an enumeration of all the bookes that are canonically, saith; there are yet besides these authentically bookes, 6 other

not.

Dialog. part.
3. tract. 1. lib. 3.
cap. 16.

fin quæst. Ar-
men. l. 19. c. 19.
Lib. 2 doct.
fid. art. 2 cap.
22.

¶ Prefat. expo-
sit. in Tobiam.

¶ Prefat. in Mat.
quæst. 2.

¶ De tradendis
discip. l. 5.

¶ comment. in
Aug. de civ. dei.
l. 18. c. 31.
¶ De Ecclef.
dogm. l. 1. c. ult.

'bookes not to be rejected, *Indith, Tobias, Wisdome, Ecclesiasticus*, and the
'two bookes of *Macchabees*; which though they attaine not to the high dig-
'nitie of the former, yet they are received of the Church as containing profi-
'table and necessarie doctrine. *Ockam*, to the same purpose saith, that ac-
'cording to *Hierome* in his Prologue before the booke of *Proverbs*: and *Gre-*
'gory in his Moralls, the booke of *Indith, Tobias*, and the *Macchabees, Ec-*
'clesiasticus, and the booke of *Wisdome*, are not to be received for confirmation
'of any matter of faith. For *Hierome* saith, as *Gregory* also doth, that the
'Church readeth the bookes of *Indith, Tobias*, and the *Macchabees*, but ac-
'counteth them not amongst the Canonically Scriptures. So also it readeth
'those 2 volumes of *Ecclesiasticus*, and *Wisdome* for the edification of the peo-
'ple, but not for confirmation of points of faith and Religion.

'*Richardus Radulphus* Archbishop of *Armach*, and Primate of Ireland, saith,
'it is defined in generall Councils, that there are 22 authentically bookes of the
'Olde Testament. *Thomas Waldensis* Provinciall of the *Carmelites* here in
England, an enemy to *Wickliff*, whose workes were greatly approved by Pope
Martin and the Cardinals at that time, hath these wordes: 'The length,
'breadth, and depth of the city are equal; for as in breadth it can enlarge
'it selfe no farther, then to the love of G D and our neighbour: nor in
'height nor depth, then to G O D the rewarder of all; so in length, which
'is the Catholique Faith, it cannot growe beyond the 12 Articles contained
'in the Symbole, and found scattered in some of the 22 bookes; especially
'seeing the Holy Ghost sayth in the conclusion of all Canonically Scripture,
'Let him that will, take of the water of life freely. I professe unto every one
'that heareth the words of this prophesie. if any man shall adde, G O D shall
'adde to his plague.

'*Lyra* writeth thus: 'Now that I have by Gods helpe written upon the
'Canonically bookes of holy Scripture, beginning at *Genesis*, and so going on
'to the end; trusting to the helpe of the same G O D, I intend to write upon
'those other bookes that are not Canonically; such as are the bookes of *Wisdome*,
'*Ecclesiasticus, Indith, Tobias*, and the bookes of *Macchabees*: and ad-
'deth, that it is to bee considered that these bookes which are not Canoni-
'call, are received by the Church, and read in the same, for the information of
'manners, yet is their authority thought to be too weake to prove things
'that are in controversie. And writing upon the first of *Esdra*s, i. c. he saith,
'that though the bookes of *Tobias, Indith*, and the *Macchabees*, bee histori-
'call bookes, yet he intendeth to passe them over: because they are not in the
'Canon, neither with the Jewes, nor with the Christians: *Tostatus* Bishop
of *Abulen*, approveth the judgment of *Lyra*. *Ximenius* that was made a
Cardinall in the time of *Leo* the 10th, put forth the Bibles called *Biblia Com-*
plutensia; and in the Preface before the same, treating of the bookes by us
thought to bee Apocryphall, hee saith, 'they are not in the Canon: and
'that the Church readeth them rather for edification of the people,
'then to confirme any doubtfull points of doctrine: and that therefore they
'are not Canonically.

Dionysius Carthusianus in his Prologues before the bookes of *Ecclesiasticus*,
and *Tobias*, denyeth them to bee Canonically: as also the booke of *Indith*: and
writing upon the first Chapter of *Macchabees*, hee denieth it to bee Canoni-
call. *Ludovicus Vives*, treating of History sacred and prophane; now
come in, saith hee, 'the bookes of *Kings*, and the *Chronicles*, the Apocry-
'phall bookes of *Hester, Tobias*, and *Indith; Esdras*, which being divided into
'four bookes, the two first are accounted Canonically by the Hebrewes, the
'two latter are Apocryphall. And in another place, speaking of the History of
Susanna and *Bell*: hee putteth them amongst the Apocrypha. With these ac-
cordeth *Driedo*.

To these may bee added the *Glosses*: The ordinary *Glosse*, was begun by *Alcuinus*, as *Antonius Florentinus*, and *Gaguinus* doe thinke; or by *Strabus Fuldenfis*, as *Trithemius* and *Sixtus Senensis* thinke: but it was afterwards enlarged by diverse, which gathered sundry sentences, and sayings, out of the writings of the Fathers, and put them into it. This *Glosse* grew to bee in great request, and used in all Churches of the west. In the preface thereof are these words: 'There are some bookes canonicall, some not canonicall, 'betweene which there is as great difference, as there is betweene that which 'is certaine, and that which is doubtfull. For the canonicall bookes were 'composed by the immediate direction and suggestion of the holy spirit; 'they that are not canonicall, are very good and profitable, but their authoritie is not reputed sufficient to prove the things that are questionable. This 'the authour thinketh so cleere, that hee salteth the note of ignorance upon 'all such as thinke otherwise; and professeth, that therefore he held it necessary to prefixe this preface, because there are many, who not giving themselves much to the study of holy Scripture, suppose that all those bookes 'that are bound up together in the Bible, are to bee in like sort honoured 'and esteemed; not knowing how to put a difference betweene bookes 'canonicall, and not canonicall, which the Hebrewes separate from the canon, 'and the Greekes account apocryphall; and so oftentimes make themselves ridiculous to them that are learned. Hee citeth the authority of *Origen*, *Hierome*, and *Ruffinus*, rejecting the six bookes questioned; and though hee knew the opinion of *Augustine*, yet doth hee not follow it, onely hee sayth, that amongst the bookes not canonicall, they that are rejected by *Augustine*, as *Baruch* and the third and fourth of *Esdra*s, are lesse to be esteemed, then those that hee alloweth. And immediately after this preface, followeth *Hieromes* epistle to *Paulinus*, and afterwards, his *prologus galeatus*; and his prologue before the bookes of *Solomon*. And the *glosse* every where inculcateth, when it cometh to these six bookes, that they are not canonicall. *Incipit liber Tobie, &c. Heere begins the booke of Tobias which is not canonicall: &c.* In the edition of the Bibles with the *Glosses* there is found an exposition of the prologues of *Hierome*; written and composed by *Brito*, more auncient then *Lyra*, for hee is cited by him, and honoured with the title of a famous and worthy man, who professeth that the bookes questioned are not canonicall.

Hist. France. l. 4. c. 1. e Bibliotheca, lib. 4.

f. prolog. in expos. suas.

g. Dist. 15. canone sancta Romana. h. Dist. 16. canones qui glossa in verbum apocrypha. De Eccles. dogma. l. 1. c. 4.

Gratian in the decree maketh no mention of the opinion of *Gelasius*, touching the canonicall Scriptures, disliking, as it seemeth, his opinion; and yet not willing to oppose against it. But the *Glosse* upon the next distinction saith; 'there are certaine apocryphall bookes that are without author, as the *Wisdome of Solomon*, the booke of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, called *Ecclesiasticus*, the booke of *Iudith*, the booke of *Tobias*, and the bookes of the *Macchabees*; these bookes are sayd to bee apocryphall, and yet they are read but happily not generally. *Driedo* citeth this place of the *glosse*, and reprehendeth the authour of it, as not giving the true reason why these bookes are called apocryphall, but yet thinketh as hee doth, that they are apocryphall.

Sanctes Pagninus, in his epitome of historical bookes that are canonicall, prefixed before the Bible, translated by him into Latine, accounteth all those that *Hierome* doth, to be canonicall; the rest hagiographall. *Bruciolus*, in the preface of his commentaries upon Bible, translated by him into Italian, saith, he hath commented upon all the bookes of the old Testament, & yet hee hath not commented upon the six bookes that are questioned. In the Bibles put out at *Antwerpe*, by *Arias Montanus*, with the interlineall translation, all those bookes are omitted. In the edition of the Bible printed at *Antwerpe* by *Birckmannus*, that very yeare that the councill of *Trent* was holden, to de-

termine this point, touching the Canonick and Apocryphall Scriptures and the like: the author, suppressing his name, prefixeth a preface before the same his edition: and in it rejecteth all the bookes now questioned, in more peremptory sort, then many of the former did.

Here wee see a cloud of witnesses, in all ages, and in all parts of the World, witnessing to the truth of that wee affirme, touching the canon of the Scripture, and rejecting those bookes as Apocryphall, or not Canonick, which wee reject, eventl and after the time of *Luther*: soe that the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died is found as I sayd, to bee in this point a Protestant Church: wherefore let us proceede to other particular points of controverſie.

CHAP. 2.

Of the sufficiencie of the Scripture.

THat the Church formerly did not deny the sufficiencie of the Scripture for the direction of Christian men in matters of faith and religion, as the Romanists now doe; but acknowledged and taught, that it containeth all things necessary to salvation, accordingly as wee now professe, it appeareth by the testimonies of these divines *Gregorius Ariminensis*, sometimes Prior generall of the fryars Heremites of the order of Saint *Augustine*, writing upon the sentences, hath these words: That is properly a theologicall discourse, that consisteth of sayings or propositions contained in the holy scripture, or of such as are deduced thence, or at the least of such as are consequent, and to bee deduced from one of these: this sayth hee, is proved, *ex communi omnium conceptione; nam omnes arbitrantur tunc solum theologicè aliquid probari, cum ex dictis probatur sacra scriptura*, out of the common concept and apprehension of all men: for all men doe thinke that then onely a thing is proved theologically, when it is proved out of the sayings of holy Scripture: and if wee distinguish theologicall conclusions, from principles theologicall, I affirme that all those verities that are not formally and in precise words contained in holy scripture, but are necessarily deduced from things soe contained in it, are conclusions theologicall, whether they bee determined by the Church or not: for the Church determineth that a proposition is to bee beleaved precisely, because it seeth, it is necessarily deduced from the words of holy Scripture: but no other that is not soe deduced, is to bee accounted a theologicall conclusion: which is proved out of the sayings of Saint *Augustine* in his fourteenth booke *de Trinitate cap. 1.* where hee sayth, hee doth not conceive, that all that, that may bee knowne by man in humane things, pertaineth to this science, but those things onely whereby the most wholesome faith, that leadeth to true happinesse is begotten, nourished, defended, and strengthened: but it is evident, that every such thing, is either expressly and in precise tearmes contained in holy Scripture, or is deduced from things soe contained in it: for otherwise the Scripture should not bee sufficient to our salvation, and the defense of our faith, which is contrary to Saint *Augustine*; 2 *de doctrinâ Christianâ* where hee sayth, *Quicquid homo extra didicerit, si noxiū est ibi damnatur, si utile, ibi invenitur*: that is, whatsoever a man shall learne without and beside the scripture, if it bee hurtfull, it is there condemned, if profitable it is there found. Here wee have a pregnant testimonie of a man of eminent place, and great worth, peremptorily resolving for

Lib. 1. di 1. q.
1. artic. 2.

for the sufficiencie of the Scripture, and assuring us, that this was not his private conceipt, but the generall opinion of all men in his time, and before.

^b Scotus agreeth with *Ariminensis*, his words are these, Whatsoever pert^b Prolog. 1.
taineth to the heavenly and supernaturall knowledge, and is necessary to bee sent q. 2.
knowne of man in this life, is sufficiently delivered in the sacred Scriptures; ^c Prolog. q. 3. ad
and in another place, *Sicut theologia beatorum habet terminum ita & nostra ex certiam q.*
voluntate Dei revelantis: terminus autem prefixus à voluntate divinâ quantum
ad revelationem generalem, est eorum quæ sunt in sacrâ scripturâ: quia sicut habe-
tur Apocalyp. ultimo, Qui apposuerit ad hæc, apponet ei Deus plagas quæ ap-
ponuntur in libro isto; igitur theologia nostra de factò non est nisi de his quæ conti-
nentur in scripturâ, & de his quæ possunt elici ex ipsis; that is, 'As the Theolo-
'gie of those blessed ones that are in heaven hath a certaine bound, without,
'and beyond which it extendeth not it selfe; so also that theologicall know-
'ledge that wee have, hath bounds set unto it by the will of God, that re-
'vealeth divine and heavenly trueth unto us and the bound prefixed by the
'will of God, who generally will reveale no more, is within the com-
'passe of such things, as are found in the holy Scripture; because, as it
'is in the last of the Revelation, whosoever shall adde unto these
'things, G O D shall adde unto him the plagues that are added in this
'booke.

^d Ockam in his Dialogues saith; 'There is one opinion, that onely those ^d Prolog 1. 2.
'verities are to bee esteemed Catholique, and such as are necessarily to bee P. 1. c. 1.
'beleaved for the attaining of salvation, which either expressly are delivered
'in Scripture, or by necessary consequence may bee inferred from things so ex-
'pressed; and that they that follow this opinion, alleadge sundry authorities
'for prooffe of the same, as that of *Augustine: Ego solis scripturarum libris* ^e Epist. ad
didici hunc timorem, honoremque deferre, ut earum nullum authorem in aliquo ex- ^f Hieron.
rasse firmissimè credam, &c. alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate quan-
tave doctrinâ polleant, non ideo verum putem quia ita ipsi senserint sed quia per
alios authores canonicos, vel probabiles rationes, quod à vero non aberrant, mi-
hi persuadere potuerunt. 'I have learned to give this honour and reverence
'onely to the bookes of Scripture, as that I should beleieve that none of the
'authors of them in ought have erred, &c. But others I so reade that how great
'soever their sanctitie and learning bee, I doe not therefore thinke
'that to bee true which they have written, because it was their
'opinion, but because they are able to perswade mee, either by some other
'canonicall Authours, or by probable reasons, that they have not erred
'from the trueth. And in another place; *Quis nesciat sanctam scriptu-* ^f De unico
ram canonicam tam veteris quam novi testamenti certi terminis suis conti- ^g baptism.
neri, eamque posterioribus omnibus Episcoporum libris preponi, ut de illâ
omnino dubitari & disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum
sit quicquid in eâ scriptum esse constiterit: Episcoporum autem literas;
quæ post confirmatum canonem; vel scriptæ sunt, vel scribuntur, per sermo-
nem fortè sapientiore cujuslibet in eâ re peritioris, & per aliorum Episco-
rum graviolem auctoritatem, doctioremque prudentiam, & per concilia re-
prehendi licere, si quid in ijs fortè à veritate est deviatum? 'ho knowes
'not that the holy Canonicall Scripture, as well of the Old as the New Te-
'stament, is contained within it's certaine bounds: and that it is pre-
'ferred before all the Bookes of Bishoppes that have beene written since:
'so that there may bee no doubt made, nor dispute raised concerning it,
'whether whatsoever is certainly knowne to bee registred in it, bee
'true or right. But that the letters of Bishoppes, which either have
'beene or are written since the confirmation of the Canon, may bee repre-
'hended if in any thing they have strayed from the truth, both by the

speech perchaunce wiser, of some one better skilled in that matter, and by the more grave authority & more learned wisdom of other Bishops, and by generall councells. And *Hierom; Quod de Scripturis auctoritatem non habet, eadem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur*: That which hath not authority and confirmation from the Scriptures, is with like facility rejected as it is urged. Others hee sheweth to bee of a contrary opinion; but being pressed to give instance of things necessarily beleaved, and yet not containd in the Scripture, they give no other but certaine maters of fact; as that the Apostles composed the Symbol called the Apostles creede, that *Peter* was at Rome, and things of that nature.

Ockam in this place delivereth not his owne opinion, but only reciteth the contrary opinions of other men: but in another place, inveighing against the Canonists, & going about to prove that it principally pertayneth to divines, to define, & determine, what is catholicke, and what hereticall; after many convincing reasons, hee addeth this in the conclusion. 'The defining of things in this kinde, pertaineth principally to the professors of that science, to which nothing may bee added, and from which nothing may bee detracted; but of this sorte is the profession of divines; and therefore *Moses* sayth in the person of God *Deuteronomie* 4. Yee shall not adde unto the word I speake unto you, neither shall yee take from it: to which that of *Solomon* answereth, *Prov. verb.* 30. where speaking of the word of God, hee sayth: Adde nothing to his words, least thou be reprov'd, & found a liar: And hence it is that the holy Ghost doth terribly threaten by *Iohn* the Evangelist, in the last of the *Revelation*, all them that adde or take any thing from the holy Scripture, saying; If any man shall adde more then this, God shall adde unto him the plagues that are in this booke, and if any man shall take any thing from the wordes of the prophesie of this booke, God shall take his part out of the booke of life, and out of the holy city. By all which it is evidently collected, that nothing is to bee added to the holy Scripture, nor nothing to be taken from it.

Cardinall Cameracensis agreeth fully with *Ariminensis* before cited; for first hee distinguisheth principles, and conclusions theologicall; principles he maketh to be the verities of the sacred canon; conclusions to bee those verities which are not found formally, and in expresse words, or precise tearmes, in Scripture, but may necessarily be deduced from things so containd; whether they bee articles, or not; whether they bee determined by the Church, or not determined: and then pronounceth, that that onely is a theologicall discourse which consisteth of sayings and propositions containd in the sacred Scriptures, or of such as may be deduced from them, and that then onely wee say a thing is theologically proved, when it is concluded out of the words of holy Scripture

To these wee may adde *Waldensis*, his words are these; That *Wickliffe* affirmeth, that neither Friars nor Prelates may define any thing in matters of faith, unlesse they have the authoritie of sacred Scripture, or some speciall revelation, I dislike not, but I condemne his waywardnesse & craft, and thinke it necessary least we wrest the Scriptures & erre in the interpretation of them, to follow the tradition of the Church, expounding them unto us, and not to trust to our owne private & singular conceits. *Gerson* acknowledgeth as much as the rest: his words are these: What evils, what daungers, what confusions have followed the contempt of sacred Scripture, which is sufficient for the government of the Church, or else, Christ was an imperfect law-giver experience will teach us. The authour of that most pious and worthy worke called *Destructorum vitiorum* hath sundry things for confirmation of this poynt: 'As, sayth hee corporall things here below may in some sort bee known, without the benefit of corporall light: for one may know the length, breadth, and other dimensions of such a thing, and may in the darkediscerne, whether

Dialog. 1. 1. p.
1. cap. 2.

Lib. 1. sent. 9.
1. EE.

Doctrinal. fid.
1. 2. art. 2. c. 19.

Sermon in
die circumcisi-
onis domini
confid. primâ.

Part. 6. c. 79.

whether it bee long or short, but whether it bee faire or foule, white or black, wee cannot certainly know: So it is in things that are to be discerned intellectually, for though Philosophers excell in mundane wisdom, & lacking the light of faith, had some kinde of knowledge of God, as that he is the beginning & cause of all things, yet could they not know how faire, how good, how mercifull, and how glorious hee is: neither did ever any man knowe it; but either by divine revelation, or by the information of the holy Scripture; so that the holy Scripture is that light, by which in this state of wayfaring men, wee may have sufficient knowledge of all things necessary to salvation: whence it is, that the Psalmist sayth: Thy word is a lanthorne to my feete, & a light to my steppes. But as experience doth teach, that hee that will be lighted by the light of a candle, must have the candle before him, and must follow it: but that if hee shall cause it to be brought after him in the darknesse of the night, it will not give him light to any purpose: so they that walke in the darknes of this life, if they desire to be lighted by the candle of Gods word, and to direct their goings in the way of truth without falling, they must have the light of Gods word before their eyes, and must follow it by well doing. But even as, if a candle be carried out in the darknesse of the night, where brute beasts, as horses and the like, are, they will runne from it: whereas birds will come towards it: So bestiall men that are like horses & mules flie from the light of the Scriptures, according to that of *John. 3.* Every one that doth evill, hateth the light, neither doth he come to the light, least his workes should be reprov'd.

For confirmation of that hee sayth, hee alleageth a most excellent discourse of Bishop *Grossthead*; who intreating of that history in the *1 Kings, 19.* where the Angell of the Lord sayd to *Elias*, goe forth and stand in the mountaine before the Lord, and hee stood and saw, and behold a winde passed by him, overthrowing the mountaines, and tearing the rockes in sunder, but the Lord was not in the winde: and after the winde an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake fire, but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voyce, and there was the Lord: sheweth that God is not found in any other science, but in the holy Scripture only which is given by divine inspiration: and for farther illustration hereof noteth, that there were three wels digged by *Isaak*, *Genesis, 26.* For he digged the first, and the Philistines strove for it: likewise the second, and they claymed it also: wherefore hee left them both, and digged a third, which hee peaceably enjoyed, and called the name of it *Roboath*, that is, latitude, because the waters of it were enlarged: and to the first of these wells, hee compareth naturall sciences, to wit, the seven liberall arts, as logicke, in which there is much brawlin & contending: to the second, such science as we learne for gaine sake, and to get preferment, as is the knowledge of humane lawes, according to those verses.

Dat Galenus opes & sanctio Iustiniana.

Ex alijs paleas, existis collige grana.

To the third hee compareth divine knowledge, and sayth, that that well was rightly named *Roboath*, that is, latitude, because the waters of it were enlarged: So the heavenly doctrine was published to all parts of the world by the Apostles, and other faithfull preachers, according to that of the Psalmist, Their sound is gone forth into all the earth: and the Lord inviteth his elect to come and drinke the waters of this well, saying, all yee that are thirsty come to these waters; and the wordes of Christ move all earnestly to thirst after these waters, when hee sayth, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: but the ungodly having tasted of the wine of mundane joy, and temporall riches, hate, dislike, and put from them this water, and therefore the Lord sayth well of them by the Prophet *Esay. 8.* Because this people have refused

the waters of Siloe that run softly and without noyse, and have taken rather
Rasin and the sonne of *Romelia*, I will bring upon them the mighty waters of
 the flood. Siloe is interpreted sent, and it signifieth the doctrine of the
 divine Law, sent unto us by Christ, the Apostles, and other faithfull ones,
 which doctrine the Pastors of the Church are bound under the paine of dam-
 nation to know and teach; whereupon *Isidore* sayth, *de summo bono lib. 3. c. 46.*
 The Priests shall bee damned for the iniquity of the people, if either they ne-
 glect to teach them being ignorant, or to reprove them when they offend, the
 Lord having said by the Prophet, I have set thee as a watch-man over the
 house of Israel, and if thou shalt not tell the wicked of his wickednes, that hee
 forsake his evill way, he shall dye in his iniquitie, but I will require his bloud
 at thy hand. Notwithstanding all this, many of the moderne Priests cast
 from them this learning, and say, we will none of it, because it is not *de pane*
lucrando, that is, it serveth not to bring in gaine and profite; and give them-
 selves to the study of humane lawes, which are not so necessary for the saving
 of soules as the law of God: because as *Odo* saith here upon the Gospell, *ser-*
mone 39. If Christ had knowne, that we might more easily attaine salvation
 by the Lawes of *Iustinian*, he would surely have taught them us with his own
 mouth, and have let that alone which he taught us, and delivered unto us, *in*
quâ continetur implicite, vel explicitè, omnis scientia ad salutem necessario requi-
sita. and in which is contained expressly or implicitly all knowledge ne-
 cessarily required to salvation, according to that of *S. Augustine 2. de doctrinâ*
Christianâ in fine. Whatsoever a man learneth without and beside the holy
 Scripture, if it be hurtfull it is there condemned, if it bee profitable it may
 there be found: But many Church-men leave this learning, and take unto
 them *Rasin*, and the sonne of *Romelia*; *Rasin* signifieth a picture; and *Romelia*,
 high and mighty thunder, so that by *Rasin*, and the sonne of *Romelia* wee may
 understand painted and glorious wordes, and that wordy thunder of humane
 lawes, which kindes of learning many Ecclesiastical persons assume, that they
 may be by such profession exalted in the courts of great Lords; and for this
 cause, as the Prophet addeth, the Lord shall bring upon them the migh-
 ty and great waters of the flood, that is, internall punishments, so saith
Odo.

¶ Part. 4. c. 12.

Hitherto hee hath alleadged the words of *Grosthed* and *Odo*. In another
 place he saith concerning them that so contemne the word of God, that the
 Lord complaineth of such by the Prophet *Ierem. 2.* saying, 'My people hath
 done two evils, they have forsaken me the fountaine of living water, and
 have digged to themselves broken cisterns, to which, as *Gulielmus Parisi-*
ensis saith, the decree or canon law may fitly be compared, which is a broken
 cistern that cannot hold water, which though it have water to day, shall have
 none to morrow, because it shall bee abrogated: whereas touching the Law
 of God it is otherwise: and therefore the Psalmist saith: thy righteousness,
 O Lord, is an everlasting righteousness, and thy law is truth. Yet is the
 holy Scripture much contemned by the profession of the Canonists; so that
 the knowledge of holy Scripture, and profession of Divinity, may say to an
 ill Advocate, or Lawyer, as *Sara* said to *Abraham*, in the 16 of *Genesis*: Thou
 dealest ill with me: I gave thee my handmaid into thy bosome, who seeing
 that she had conceived, despised me: for, as *Gulielmus Parisensis* saith, *de vitijis*
part. 4. cap. 6. The profession of Canonists contemneth the profession of Di-
 vines, and science of holy Scripture, because they are not so gainefull, as it is.
 When *Ismael* and *Isaack* played together, *Ismael* mocked *Isaack*, so that *Sara*
 was forced to intreate *Abraham* to cast out the bondwoman and her sonne. So
 happily it were behoofefull and profitable for the Church, that this Science in
 a great part should be cast out; because it not onely contemneth the divine Sci-
 ence, and Law of God, but blasphemeth it: and in so doing contemneth and
 blasphemeth

• blasphemeth God himselfe, who is the lawgiver.

Here wee have the opinion of three worthy men touching the sufficiency of the Scripture, and the dangers confusions, and horrible evils, that followed upon the multiplying of humane inventions. Many more might be alleadged to the same purpose; but these may suffice to let us know what the doctrine of the Church was in the dayes of our Fathers; for they deliver not their private conceits, but tell us what all good and judicious men conceived of these things in their times.

But some men will say, wee find often mention of traditions in the writers of former ages, soe that it seemeth, they did not thinke the Scriptures to containe all things necessary to salvation. For the clearing of this doubt, wee must observe that by the name of *tradition*, sometimes, all the doctrine of Christ and his blessed Apostles is meant, that was first delivered by lively voice, and afterwards written. Sometimes the delivering of the divine and canonick bookes from hand to hand, as received from the Apostles, is named a tradition. Sometimes the summe of Christian religion contained in the Apostles creed, which the Church receiveth as a rule of her faith, is named a tradition; but every one of those articles is found in the Scripture, as *Waldensis* rightly noteth, though not together nor in the same forme; so that this collection may rightly be named a tradition, as having beene delivered from hand to hand in this forme, for the direction of the Churches children; and yet the Scriptures be sufficient. Sometimes by the name of traditions the Fathers understand certaine rites and auncient observations; And that the Apostles delivered some things in this kind, by word, and lively voyce, that they wrote not, wee easily grant; but which they were, it can hardly now be knowne, as *Waldensis* rightly noteth. But this proveth not the insufficiency of the Scripture; for none of those Fathers spake of points of doctrine, that are to be beleaved without and besides the Scripture, or that cannot bee proved from thence; though sometimes in a generall sort, they name all those points of religion, traditions, that are not found expressly, and in precise tearmes, in Scriptures and yet may necessarily be deduced from things there expressed. Lastly by the name of tradition, is understood the sense and meaning of the Scripture, received from the Apostles and delivered from hand to hand together with the bookes.

There are, saith *Cassander*, 3 sorts of traditions; for some concerne the doctrine of faith, others, rites and ceremonies; and a third sort, things done. They that concerne rites and ceremonies, are variable according to the different circumstances of times; they that are historicall, are for the most part uncertaine and are not necessarie to salvation: they that are dogmaticall are certaine and perpetuall: but by dogmaticall traditions wee understand, not any divine verity not written, or any point of doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but such points of doctrine, as though they are not found in precise termes in holy scripture, yet are deduced from the same rightly understood, and interpreted; as the Apostles did understand, and expound them to their hearers, and they to such as came after them. So that this tradition is nothing else but the explication and interpretation of the Scripture, and therefore it may be sayd not unfitly, *Scripturam esse implicatam quandam & obsignatam traditionem, traditionem vero esse Scripturam explicatam & resignatam*. that the Scripture is a kind of tradition inuolved and sealed up: and that tradition is Scripture unfolded, explained, and opened. This it that, which *Vincentius Lyrinensis* long since delivered, to wit, that the Scripture is sufficient, and containeth all things necessary to be known of a Christian man, for the attaining of salvation: but that for the avoyding of the manifold turnings of heretickes, perverting the same to their owne perdition, wee must carefully looke to the tradition of the Church, delivering unto us the true sense and meaning of it. By this which hath beene sayd, it appeareth, that the Church wherein our Fathers

Defin. lib. de officio pij viri prope principium.

De officio pij viri in principio.

Contraheres. cap. 2.

thers lived and died, was, in this poynt touching the sufficiencie of the Scripture, an orthodoxe and true Protestant Church, as it was in the former, touching the canon of the Scripture.

C H A P. 3.

Of the originall text of Scripture, of the certainty and trueth of the originalls, and of the authoritie of the vulgar translation, I have discoursed at large in my fourth booke, and the 27. 28. chapters of the same; and made it appeare, that the principall and best learned divines, at, and since *Luthers* time, taught no otherwise touching these poynts then we now doe, so that I need not insist upon the prooffe hereof.

C H A P. 4.

Of the translating of the Scripture into vulgar languages, and of the necessity of having the publique liturgie, and prayers of the Church, in a tongue understood.

Touching the translating of the Scriptures, it is evident, that both anciently, and of late time, they have beene translated into the severall languages, of almost all the countries and kingdomes of the whole world, where ever Christianity prevailed. There is extant a translation of the old & new Testament in the *Armenian* tongue, which the *Armenians* now use, put forth, as they suppose, by *Chrysostome*: of this, *George* the patriarch of *Alexandria* maketh mention, in the life of *Chrysostome*, reporting, that when by the Emperours decree, hee was sent in banishment into *Armenia*, and stayed at *Cucusum*, hee brought the inhabitant, of that region to the faith of Christ; and caused the Psalmes of *David*, together with the holy gospels, and other histories of the old Testament, to bee translated into the *Armenian* tongue; that so the people of that countrey, might the sooner and more easily attaine the knowledge of holy Scripture. And *Theodoret* testifieth that the holy Scriptures were translated into the *Armenian* tongue before his time, though hee name not the authour,

The *Slavonians* affirme, that they have the Scriptures in their vulgar tongue, turned by Saint *Hierome*; and *Hierome* himselfe, in his epistle to *Sophronius*, seemeth to some learned men to intimate so much. But yet there is another translation also of the Scriptures into the *Slavonian* tongue, later then that of *Hieromes*, as *Scaliger* hath observed, written in the *Servian* character, & used in *Rascia*, *Bosnia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldovia*, *Russia*, *Muscovia*, and other nations, of the *Slavonian* language, that celebrate their liturgies after the *Greeke* ceremonye; of which later *Methodius* the companion of *Cyrill* is reported to have beene the authour. The former imputed to *Hierome*, is written in the *Dalmatian* character, and is used amongst the *Liburnians*, and *Dalmatians*, *Istrians*, *Moravians*, *Silesians*, *Bohemians*, *Polonians*, &c.

Vulphilas the Goth, (of whom *Socrates* maketh mention in his ecclesiasticall historie) who lived in the yeare 370, first found out the *Gothicke* alphabet, and first of all delivered to the *Goths* all the divine Scriptures, translated by him out of *Greeke* into the *Gothicke* tongue; and catholiquely expounded them, striving much against the *Arrians*; yet in the end, as *Theodoret* reporteth, he declined to the part of *Valens* the *Arrian* Emperour, moved so to doe by the threats and promises of *Eudoxus* the *Arrian*.

Neither were the Scriptures translated only into these languages, but into the languages of many other nations, as *Chrysostome* and *Hierome* affirme: and in particular into the *Egyptian*, *Persian*, *Indian*, *Scythian*, and *Sarmatian* tongues; and into the languages of all other nations that received the Christian faith

¶ Sixtus Senensis bibl. sanct. l. 4. vbi de Chrysostomo loquitur.

¶ Lib. 5. de curandis graecorum affectibus post medium.

¶ Diatrib. de linguis Europae

¶ Sixtus Senensis bibl. l. 4. c. 27.

¶ Syri, Indi, Persa, Aethiopes, & innumera alia gentes, &c. Chrysost. hom. 1. in Ioan. 2. Hier. praef. in Evangelia.

faith, as *Theodoret* telleth us. As likewise in the times following, we read of the like translations of the Scripture, into sundry languages of such Nations, as were afterwards converted to the Faith, or whose languages after altered. So *John* Archbishop of *Sivill* about the yeare 717, translated it into the *Arabique*, which then was the vulgar speech of that part of *Spainc*. And *Beda* about the same time some part of it, into the *Saxon* or *Englisch*. *Methodius* about the yeare 860, into the *Slavonique*; *Iacobus de Voragine*, Archbishop of *Genova* about the yeare 1290, translated the whole divine Scripture into the *Italian* tongue, and so did *Bruciolus* in our age. About 200 yeares since the whole Bible was translated into *French*, in the time of *Charls* the 5th; and as the *Rhemists* tell us, in their preface before the New Testament by them translated into *Englisch*, since *Luthers* time, diverse learned Catholiques have published the Bible, in the severall Languages of almost all the principall provinces of the *Latine* Church; so that the Papists themselves doe not simply condemne the translating of the Scripture into the vulgar tongues.

But there are some amongst them, as *Stapleton* telleth us, who out of zeale rather than knowledg, doe thinke the Lay people should bee wholly restrained from reading the Scriptures in vulgar tongues: others more moderate and discretethen these (as they would bee thought) are of opinion that all are not to bee restrained, nor all permitted to reade them, but some certaine onely. And therefore the *Rhemists* tell us, that order was taken by the Deputies of the Councell of Trent in this behalfe, and confirmed by supreme authority, that the holy Scriptures, though truly and Catholiquely translated into vulgar tongues, yet may not be indifferently read of all men, nor of any other then such as have expresse licence thereunto by their lawfull ordinaries, with good testimony from their Curates or Confessours, that they are humble, discret, and devout persons, and like to take much good, & no harme thereby. This was the decree of *Pius* 4: but *Clement* the 8th, in a later edition of the same *Index*, with new additions, saith, that this power of permitting Lay-men to have the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, was taken away by the mandate, and practise of the Roman Church, and of the generall inquisition, so that they may not permit any to have the whole Bible in the vulgar tongue, or any parts of the Olde or New Testament, or any summaries or epitomies, though historicall of the same Bibles; and this hee prescribeth to be inviolably kept. Thus doth hee condemne the practise of all the Churches of God, which had the Scriptures translated into vulgar Languages; (for to what end should they be translated, if no man might use them?) and together with them his Predecessour *Pius* the 4, and all the learned Prelates that concurred with him; and falleth into the folly or indiscretion which *Stapleton* condemneth, as wee heard before. Thus variable and uncertaine are these *Roman* Bishoppes, who yet would bee taken not onely to bee built upon the Rocke, but to bee that Rocke upon which the Church is builded, against which the gates of hell cannot prevaile.

But, as *Stapleton* telleth us, in the place above cited, There were certaine Catholique and great men, (and in the margent hee nameth Sir *Thomas More*) who thought it fit, as tending to the honour of God, and salvation of the people, to deliver unto them the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, without any restraint, leaving it free to all to read them that will; for that so many good and godly Christians who would receive great comfort, and be much edified thereby, are not to be deprived of that most excellent benefite, which they may have by reading them, in respect of few or many unlearned or unstable men, who deprave the Scripture to the perdition of themselves and others, as *S. Peter* saith in his 2 Epistle cap. 32. No more then it had beene fit that *Christ* the Lord, should have forborne to come and save others, in respect of such wicked ones, to whom his coming is a rock of offence, & a stone to stumble

b Lib. 5. de cur
andis Græco-
rum affect. post
medium

Vasæus in
chro. H sp. ad
annum 717.

6 Iohannes
Trev. l. 5 c. 24.

7 Aventius l. 4.
annal. p. 434.

8 Sixtus Se-
nensis Biblioth.

sanct. l. 4. in Iac-
obus Archiep.

Genuensis.

n Preface to the
Remiss Testa-
ment

a Controv. 5 q.
3. art. 4. explicati-
one articuli.

p Preface to the
New Testament

9 Indice lib.
prohib. regulâ 4

r Observat. in
regulam. 4.

* In Dialog.
Anglicanis.

'stumble at: or that he that is the true light, that lightneth every man that com-
'meth into the World should therefore have kept him selfe away, or not ap-
'peared to the world, because men loved darkenes more then light; And sure-
ly if the vulgar free and ordinary reading of the Scripture, were to be denied
and restrained, in respect of the wicked who abuse it, the Scripture must never
have bin in the *Hebrew, Greeke, or Latine* tongues; for all these tongues were
vulgar to the *Jewes, Grecians, and Romans*; This opinion *Stapleton* confesseth to
be probable and godly, and yet he disliketh it.

And yet it is confirmed by the authority of the Fathers, who earnestly ex-
hort the people to the reading of the Scripture, as a thing necessary to salva-
tion, So doth *Chrysostome*, in sundry places, '2 *Homily* upon *Mathew*. '3.
Homily upon *Lazarus*. '3. *Homily* upon the second to the *Thessalonians*, '28.
Homily upon *Genesis*. 9. *Homily* upon the Epistle to the *Colossians* where he
sayth, the Apostle commandeth secular men that are married to reade the scrip-
ture; and whereas *S^t Paul* to the *Colossians* 3. hath these words, 'Let the word
' of Christ dwell plentifully in you in all wisdome, teaching and admonishing
' your selves in Psalmes, hymnes, and spirituall songs, *Chrysostome* in his ninth
Homily and *Hierome* in his commentaries upon the same place, collect, and in-
ferre, that the Scriptures are to be reade of Lay men, and that by the precept
of the Apostle. It is therefore untrue, that *Stapleton* hath, that *Chrysostome*
doth not exhort the people to the reading of the Scripture, as a thing necessary,
but as fitte and profitable for them, that lived idly in a rich citty, thus to oc-
cupy themselves; as if it had beene onely to keepe them from doing nothing,
that they were to reade the booke of God. Neither is it any better, that he hath
in answer hereunto, that *Chrysostome* spake not exactly, but as a preacher or
orator; as if in the pulpit a Preacher might exhort the people with all earnest-
nesse, to that which is not fitte to be done; or as if there were not many now
adayes, that live idly in rich cities.

From the translating of the Scriptures into vulgar tongues, and the peoples
private reading of the same, let us come to speake of the publike liturgy of the
Church, and the common prayers in the vulgar tongue. Here I will first shew
what the practice of the Church hath beene; and secondly, what the opinion of
Iudicious men is and hath beene touching this point: That in the Primitive
Church they had the service in the vulgar tongue, it is evident by the testimo-
nies of the auncient. For first *Origen* writing against *Celsus*, and answering
that calumniation of them that said, Christians used certaine barbarous words
and names of God, in their prayers, supposing vertue to be in them, more then
in *Greeke* or *Latine* words, or names; telleth them, there is no such thing: but
' that they that are true and right Christians, in their prayers use not the names
' of God found in the Scripture written in *Hebrew*; but the *Grecians* use greeke
' words; the *Latines*, latine. and all pray, and praise God, in their owne tongue;
and he that is the Lord of all tongues heareth them, in what tongue soever they
pray: and understandeth them speaking in so different languages, no lesse then if
they all used one language.

Bellarmino saith, in the time of the Apostles the whole people was wont to
' answer Amen in the celebration of divine service, and not as now by one ap-
' pointed in their steed: For *Iustin Martyr* testifieth expressly in his 2 apology
' that the whole people was wont to answer *amen*, when the Priest ended his
' prayer or thanksgiving; and it is euident that the same use was continued a
' long time after, both in the East and West, as it appeareth by the liturgy of
' *Chrysostome*, where the things that were to be sayd by the priest, deacon, and
' people, are distinctly set downe. And by *Cyprian* in his sermon upon the Lords
prayer: where he sayth, 'the people doe answer, we lift them up unto the Lord,
' when the priest willet them to lift up their harts, and by *Hierome* *prafat: cib.*
' 2. in *epist. ad Galatas*, who writeth that in the Churches of the city of *Rome* the
people

• Lektionem
divinarum
scripturarum
ad solos mona-
chos putatis
pertinere cum
multo magis
vobis quam il-
lis sit necessa-
ria.

• Semper hor-
tor & hortari
non desinam,
ut non hic tan-
tum atten-
datis ijs quæ
dicuntur, ve-
rum etiam
quum domi
fueritis, assidue
divinarum
scripturarum
lectioni vacetis.

• At nescio in-
quit quæ
scripta sunt in
scripturis. Qua-
re Num in He-
braicâ, num Ro-
manâ, num ali-
â linguâ dicta
sunt? an non
græcè dicun-
tur?

• non solum cū
huc venitis, sed
& domi divi-
nos libros in
manus sumite
• Stapleton
ubi supra art 4.
in sol. argu-
menti.

f Lib. 8. p. 799.

people are heard with so loud a voyce, sounding out *amen*, as if it were a thundring from heaven. Thus farre *Bellarmino* in his second booke *de verbo Dei*, chap. 16. which argueth that they had their service in a knowne tongue, for otherwise how could they thus have answered to the severall parts of the divine service as they were appointed to doe: surely the long answers of the people to the priest in their prayers, found in sundry * liturgies are a demonstration that it was so.

* Anaphora
Syror. &c.

* *August. de catechizandis rudibus*, hath these words. *Let them know, that there is no other voyce that entreth into the eares of God, but the affection of the minde: and then they will not deride the prelates and ministers of the Church, if happily they discern any of them to use barbarismes, or solecismes, in the invocation of God, or not to understand the words they pronounce, nor aptly and distinctly to utter them: not as if these faults were not to be amended, that so the people might answer amen, to that which plainly and distinctly they understand: but that they should learne lovingly to beare with these defects, having learned, ut sonno in foro, sic voto in ecclesia benedici: and that forensis illa nonnunquam forte bona dictio, nunquam tamen benedictio dici potest.*

* cap. 9.

The *Ethiopians* or *Habassines* anciently had, and still have the common prayers, & whole liturgie, in their own vulgar tongue, into which language *Sabellicus* reporteth, that both the old and newe Testament were translated out of the *Chalde*. The *Armenians* have their divine service in the *Armenian* tongue, as *Iacobus à vitriaco*, *Brocardus*, *Mishonius*, *Breitenbachius*, and many others, partly out of their own knowledge and partly from certaine relation have recorded. The *Moscovites* and *Russians* have their service in their vulgar language, which is a kinde of *Slavonian*, intermingling sometimes certaine greeke hymnes: the epistle, and gospel, that the people may the better heare and understand, are read with a loud voyce without the quier, in the middle of the Church. Neither have those *Russians* only their service in the vulgar, that are subject to the great Duke of *Mosco*, but they also that are subject to the King of *Polonia*. The *Nestorians* have their service in a degenerate *Chalde*, or *Syriack*, and so have the *Indians* from which their vulgar differeth very little. The *Iacobites* of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylon*, *Palestine*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*, have their liturgie in the *Syriack* tongue, (and it is that which is called *anaphora Basilii* as it is thought) which though it be not well understood by their common people (their vulgar, as now it is, differing something from it:) yet that it was commonly understood, when that liturgie was first ordained, it appeareth by the long answers of the people to the priest, in their prayers which wee find in it. The *Maronites* likewise have their service in the *Syriack*, their vulgar being the *Arabique*. As also the *Egyptians* have their service in the same bastard *Chalde* or *Syriack*, their vulgar being the *Arabique*: but these first read the Gospell in *Chalde* & afterwards in *Arabique*.

* *Aluar. histor. Ethiop. c. 159.*

* Supplement. hist. lib. 8.

* Hist. oriental. cap. 78.

* descript. terre sancte.

* De Sarmatia li. 2. c. 1.

* Peregrinar. c. de Armen.

* Guagnin. de scrip. Moscho- uiz. cap. 2.

* Possuin. de rebus Moscoviticis p. 4.

* Sigismund. de rebus Moscoviticis. p. 34.

* Vitriac. hist. Oriental. c. 76.

* Oforius de rebus Emanuel. l. 3.

* Possuin. apparatus sacr. in Diamperense concilio.

* In biblioth. patrum tom. 6. p. 27.

* Apud Thom. à Iesu. li. 7. c. 11.

* Guido Fabricius in his preface before

the new Testament sayth, the Hebrew tongue

is divided into 3 dialects, the Babilonicall or

Chaldaicall: the *Syrian* or *Hierosolymitan*: the *Arabique*, or tongue of *Ismaell* as the *Iewes* call it. The first was the dialect of such *Iewes* as never returned after the captivity of *Babylon*, where they had learned a kind of mixt language, the second of such as returned to *Ierusalem* and brought backe a mixt language; and after their returne by new mixtures made it farther to degenerate from the originall purity.

have their service in Greeke; and so are the Syrians, or Melchites, but if that Liturgie which *Andreas Masius* translated out of the Syriack, and which is found in the 6 Tome of *Biblioth. Patrum*, and is named *Anaphora Basilij*, bee theirs then surely they celebrate not in Greeke.

But to leave these Easterne Churches, and to come to those that are nearer to us; wee may divide all the Churches of this part of the world into three sorts; For some of them aunciently understood and spake Latine, as they did in *Augustine's* time in those parts of *Africa* wherein he lived; and therefore it is not to be marvelled at if they had their Liturgie in the Latine tongue, for they understood it better then the *Punique*: so that he preached unto them in Latine. That generally they understood and spake Latine, it is evident by that which *Augustine* saith of himselfe: *Latina didici sine ullo metu, atque cruciatu, inter etiam blandimenta nutricum, & joca arriudentium, & latitias alludentium.* That is, I learned Latine without any feare or vexation, whiles the nurses sought to please me, while men sported and played with mee. In another place, he hath these wordes. *Proverbium notum est Punicum, quod quidem Latine vobis dicam, quia Punica non omnes nostis.* That is, The *Punique* Proverbe is knowne, which I will utter unto you in Latine, because you doe not all understand the *Punique* tongue: whereby it appeareth, that the Latine tongue was better understood in some parts of *Africa*, then the *Punique*. The Latine tongue was also vulgar in *Italy*, in *France*, and *Spaine*, for when they received the *Romane Lawes*, they learned the tongue also, and beganne to speake Latine, though their owne tongue were not presently extinct. So that it is not improbable but that they had their service in Latine; but whether they had, or not, it is evident they had it in a tongue they understood.

Confess. l. i.
c. 14.

De verbis A.
post. serm. 26.

in vit. Mart. l. 1

For touching *France*, *Severus Sulpitius* writeth, in the life of *Martin*, that when there was no little difference about his election, the *Lector* whose course it was to read that day, inclosed in the multitudes, was kept out from the place, and could not performe that duety: whereupon the *Ministers* being troubled, while hee came not that was looked for; one of them that stood by, tooke the *Psalter*, and read that verse, that hee first found; and the *Psalme* was this: *Out of the mouthes of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained praise, that thou mayest destroy the enemy, & defensorem, and the defender;* which, when the people heard, they made a great shout, and that part that was opposite to *Martin*, was confounded, for the principall man that opposed him was named *Defensor*, and the people thought that it was by Gods speciall direction, that this *Psalme* was read, to put downe the faction that opposed against *Martin*. By this it appeareth, that the Scripture was read in Latine, and yet in a tongue understood by the people; for otherwise how could they have beene thus affected?

And that it was so read in auncient times, as to bee understood, it is cleare by the forme of blessing, used in the constituting of *Lectors*, which was this, as it appeareth by an old manuscript cited by *Cassander*: *Benedicere dignare hos famulos tuos, in officium lectorum, ut assiduitate lectionis sint apti pronunciare verba vite, & mentis ac vocis distinctione populo monstrare intelligibilia:* That is, Vouchsafe to blesse these thy servants designed and appointed to the office of *Lectors*, that by the daylie and ordinary use of reading, they may bee fitted to pronounce to the people the words of life, and with distinction both of understanding and voice, to shew unto the people the things they read, so as that they may bee understood of them that heare them. And in the *Pontificall* wee finde these wordes directed to the *lectors*, *Studete verba Dei videlicet lectiones sacras, distincte, & aperte, ad intelligentiam, & adificationem.*

Ex vetusto
manuscrip. l.
de ordin. lect.
Apud Cassand.
l. i. c. 26.

f Pontif. Rom.
excus. Venet.
1561. in ordin.
Lect.

a edificationem fidelium, absque omni mendacio falsitatis, proferre. That is: Bee yee
 • carefull to utter, publish, and rehearse the words of God, to wit, the sacred
 • lessons, distinctly, and clearely, to the understanding, and edification of the
 • faithfull without all lying, falsehood, and untruth.

How generally they understood and spake Latine in *Spaine* heretofore, it
 may appeare by their present language, a barbarisme of Latine; as also by the
 lawes the *Goths* gave unto them, called the *Gothique Code*, written in good
 Latine; And by *Lucan*, *Seneca*, and sundry other principall lights of the
 Latine tongue. So that *Marineus Siculus* feareth not to say, that if
 the *Goths* and *Moors* and other barbarous nations, had not come into
Spaine, the *Spaniards* would still have spoken as good Latine, as the *Romans*
 did in the time of *Tullie*. So that it is not unlikely but that the
Spaniards aunciently had their service in Latine; but whether they had
 or not; it is evident they had it in a tongue understood, by that wee
 reade in *Isidore*. *Oportet ut quando psallitur, psallatur ab omnibus; cum lectio*
legitur, facto silentio aequè audiatur à cunctis. That is, 'It is fitte that when the
 • singing beginneth, all should sing; when the lesson is read, there being a ge-
 • nerall silence kept, all should equally; and in one and the same sorte hearken
 • to that which is read; And againe; *Ideo & diaconus clarâ voce silentium ad-*
monet, ut sine dum psallitur, sine dum lectio pronuntiatur, ab omnibus unitas
conseruetur, ut quod omnibus predicatur, equaliter ab omnibus audiatur.
 • That is, And therefore doth the deacon also with a cleare and lowd voyce call
 • upon all to keepe silence; that aswell when the singing is, as when the lesson
 • is read, all may doe one and the same thing, that all may heare that which is
 • pronounced equally to all.

Some other parts there were that had not such use of the Latine tongue as
 these had; who having Alphabets, and characters of their owne; so that they
 could write & expresse things in their owne tongues, had the whole liturgie
 and divine service, in their vulgar tongue; Of this sort were all those nations;
 kingdomes, and people, that speake the *Slavonian* tongue, which was the
 language of more then the third part of *Europe*: besides the *Mengrellians*,
Circassians and *Gazarites* in *Asia*. The characters of this language are of two
 sorts, for there is the *Servian* character, and the *Dalmatian*. All the Christians
 of *Rascia*, *Bosnia*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldavia*, *Russia*, *Moscovia*, and all other
 nations of the *Slavonian* language in the Easterne parts, that celebrate their li-
 turgies after the *Greeke* ceremonie, and professe obedience to the Patriarch of
Constantinople, have the Scriptures in their owne tongue translated as it is sayd
 by *Methodius*, the companion of *Cyrril*, in preaching the Gospell to Gentile
 nations, and written in the *Servian* character, as also their liturgies are. The
Dalmatian characters are in use in *Dalmatia*, *Liburnia*, *Istria*, *Moravia*, *Silesia*,
Bohemia, *Polonia*, &c.

It is a received opinion, that *Hierome* first devised the *Dalmatian* cha-
 racters, and translated the Scriptures into the *Dalmatian* tongue; but it
 seemeth, that in proceesse of time his translation was neglected, the La-
 tine service brought in, and those characters out of use; For *A-*
ventinus reporteth, that *Methodius* having found out * letters, and tran-
 slated the Scripture into the *Slavonian* tongue, perswaded the *Dalma-*
tians to explode the Latine tongue, to hisse out the Roman rite of cere-
 monie; and make vse of their owne tongue in the holy service of
 God.

Eckius confesseth that heretofore the divine service was in the *Dal-*
matian tongue throughout all *Illyricum*. 'The priests of *Liburnia*,
 • sayth *Aventinus*, which in this our age is subject to the Arch-
 • duke of *Noricum*, are yet still ignorant of the Roman tongue, and doe
 • say

Hist. Hispan.
l. 3. c. 4.

Isidor. His-
palensis de of-
fic eccles. l. 1. c. 10.

Hof. de sacro
vernacule le-
gendo.
Bretewoods
enquiries c. 8.

Postel. de lin-
guâ Dalmatica.

Lib. 4. p. 434.
* Literas Ve-
nedas.

De missa lati-
nè faciendâ, in
locis commu-
nibus.
Vbi supra.

p Deration:
scribendi cita-
tus à Cassan-
dro liturgic:
cap. 36.
r Vbi supra.

* Salburge ho-
diè appellatur

j De sacro ver-
tutè legen-
do.

j De rebus Po-
loni. l. 3. p. 32.

v Lib. 15. pag.
249.

x Apud Baron.
tom. 10. anno.
880. numero.
19. pag. 662.
& inter epist.
Ioannis. 8. a-
pud Binnium.
epist. 247.

j Hist. Bohem:
cap. 13.

say their divine service in their owne, that is, in the *Slavonian* tongue. And *Iohannes Baptista Palatinus* sayth, the *Slavonians* and those of *Illyricum* have their service and common prayers in their vulgar tongue, and all the people understand it as wee doe our native language. *Aventinus* sayth, that *Methodius* went into the kingdome of *Boiaria*, and sought to perswade the inhabitants of *Liburnia*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, and *Veneda*, to abandon the *Latine*, and to have their service in the vulgar; but *Richovalda* the Bishop, and *Adelvinus* the Archbishop of *Salburge*, and the priests of *Iuvania* which successively had governed the Churches in those parts, for the space of 85 yeares, according to the decree of *Charles* the greate; resisted him, and forced him to flie into *Moravia*. But afterwards that which he attempted tooke effect as it appeareth by *Aventinus* in the words before cited; for they of *Liburnia* had their service in the vulgar in his time.

Hofius confesseth, that the service in the vulgar tongue was in *Bohemia* & *Pollonia*, and that there were some living when hee wrote that might remember, when in *Cleopardia* in the temple of *S^t Crosse* the priests said service in the vulgar or *Slavon* tongue. *Cromerus* sayth that the two Bishops *Methodius*, and *Cyrellus*, did good service in bringing the people of those parts to the knowledge of God in Christ, and that they caused the *Slavonians* to have their service in their owne tongue, the Pope giving assent and approving that they did. And the same *Cromerus* sayth, the service was in the *Slavon* tongue in *Cracovia*.

That the *Moravians* had the service in their owne tongue wee have prooffe sufficient, for *Iohn* the eight tooke precise order, and commanded it should bee soe. His *Epistle* written to the Prince of *Moravia* is extant, in which epistle he hath these words. Whereas one *Constantine* a Philosopher found out letters and characters of the *Slavon* tongue, that so in it they might sound forth the praises that are due to God; wee exceedingly commend the same, and do commaund that the praises of Christ our God, and his workes be uttered and set forth in the same; for wee are admonished to praise God not in three tongues only but in all, by the sacred authority that commanded saying; Praise the Lord all yee *Gentiles*, and praise him together all people, *Psalme* 117. And the Apostles being filled with the holy Ghost spake in all tongues and uttered the great and wonderfull workes of God *Act: 2*. Hence also *Paul*, that heavenly trumpet, soundeth forth and exhorteth every tongue to confess, that our Lord Iesus Christ is in the glory of God the Father: concerning which things he admonisheth us sufficiently, and manifestly, in his first *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, requiring us no otherwise to speake with tongues, but soe, that wee may edifie the Church. Neither is it contrarie to the right faith and sound doctrine, to sing masse in the same *Slavon* tongue, or to reade the holy Gospell, or the divine lessons of the old or new Testament, rightly translated and interpreted, or to sing all other parts of divine service, appointed for certaine houres and times; because that hee that made 3 principall tongues, to wit, the *Hebrew*, *Greeke*, and *Latine*, created also all other, for to set forth his praise and glory. Notwithstanding wee command, that in all the Churches of your country the Gospell be first read, for the greater honour, in *Latine*; and afterwards the translation into the *Slavonian* tongue, in the hearing of the people that understandeth not *Latine*; as it seemeth the custome is in some Churches; and if it seeme good to thee and thy judges, and great men, to heare masse rather in *Latine*, wee command that the masse bee celebrated for thy selfe and them in *Latine*.

Aneas Silvius, afterwards *Pius* the second, reporteth that *Cyrell*, having brought *Suarocopus* to become a Christian, & to be baptized, won the *Moravians*, and sundry other nations of the *Slavonians*, to Christianity: & afterwards being

at Rome, besought the Pope, that with his good liking hee might say service in the Slavonian tongue, to the people of that Nation. whom he had baptized; concerning which thing when there was no little dispute in the sacred Senate and many disliked this motion, there was suddainely heard a voice, as it had beene from Heaven, saying, Let every spirit praise the Lord, and let every tongue confesse unto him, whereupon the Pope yeelded to his motion, & gave consent that he should doe as he desired.

There is no doubt, but that there were many crossings in this kinde, and that sometimes they had the service in one tongue, and sometimes in another, not onely in diverse countreyes, but even in the same accordingly as the different factions prevailed. *Vratislaus* Duke of the *Bohemians* desired of Pope *Hildebrand*, that he would give consent that they might say divine service in the Slavon tongue, and it seemeth by the Popes answere, it had bin so before, as in other places, so here; for he sayth, *neque ad excusationem, juvat, quod quidam religiosi viri. hoc quod simpliciter populus quarit, patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum, dimiserunt, cum Primitiva Ecclesia multa dissimulaverit, quæ à sanctis Patribus postmodum firmata Christianitate, & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correctæ sunt.* That is, neither doth it serve to excuse, and make good this petition, that some religious men patiently endured and suffered that to be done, that the people simply desired, or that they let it alone uncorrected, or altered it not, seeing the Primitive Church was content to winke at diverse things, which the holy Fathers afterwards, when Christianity was firmly settled, and Religion increased, upon diligent and exact examination, thought good to correct and alter. *Walafrius Strabo* testifieth, that in his time the divine service was still celebrated in the vulgar German tongue, amongst certaine *Scythian* Nations, especially those that are called *Tomitani*, and that certaine Germans doe inhabite in those parts.

There was a third sort of people to whom the Gospell was preached, that were so rude and unlettered at the time of their conversion, that they knew not how to write any thing in their owne tongue, having no characters or letters of their owne, nor any monuments of antiquity, or report of things past. but in the Latine tongue. these could have no forme of divine service delivered unto them at the first in their owne tongue. So that happily to some in this case, the Booke of God was at first delivered in Latine, to be expounded by such as understood it, to them that understood it not: not as thinking it best so to have it in a tongue not understood, but because they could not doe otherwise. And therefore *John* the 8th, understanding that they of *Moravia* had an alphabet & characters, so that they could expresse things in writing, commaundeth the to have their service in the Slavonian tongue. And so in those places where they could not have the booke of God in the vulgar tongue at the first, yet so soone as they had meanes, they caused the same to be put into the vulgar.

And therefore it is reported that *Ludovicus* the Emperour, having a great care of Religion, and seeking the salvation of his subjects soules, whereas till that time the people of *Germany*, that understood nothing but the *Thendiscall* tongue, could not read the Scriptures, but the learned onely, having now met with one *Osfridus*, a learned and holy Monke, commaunded him to translate the Old & new testament into the German tongue, *quatenus non solum literatis, verum etiam illiteratis sacra divinorum praeceptorum lectio panderetur.* that so the sacred reading of the divine precepts might be made comon to the learned & unlearned: which worke he took in hand, & perfected, at the Emperors commaund, very willingly, having bin moved & admonished from above so to do, & it was approved by *Luidbertus* Archbishop of *Mentz*. If the Index of prohibited bookes had beene out, which *Pius* 4. first, & *Clement* the 8 since, published to the world, the Emperour, Archbish. Translator, & people using the translation, had incurred grievous censures, and had beene branded as Heretickes.

27 Lib ep. 11.

De rebus Ecclesie. 7.

* Osfridus inter epistolas

Hincmari Rhe-

menis in epistola ad Luitbertum excus.

Par. 1613. pag.

633. Theorica

lingua velut ag-

gressus habetur,

dum à proprijs

nec scriptura,

nec arte aliqua

ullis est tem-

poribus expo-

lita: quippe qui

nec historias

suorum ante-

cessorum ut

multæ gentes

ceteræ com-

mendant me-

moræ. Quod si

rarò contigit,

aliam gentem

um linguam,

id est Latino-

rum, vel potius

Græcorum

explanant.

6 Inter episto-

las Hincmari

præfatio in li-

brum anti-

quum lingua

Saxonica scrip-

tum pag 634.

* Poeticè trans-

ferre.

But this poynt of the new religion of Rome, was not then knowen, and therefore as they could, in all parts of the world, they translated the Scripture into the vulgar tongue

Io. Trevisan.
bⁱ supra.
Hist. Anglor.
4. cap 24.

Whether the Saxons at the comming of *Augustine* into *England*, could write any thing in their owne tongue, it is much doubted; and many thinke they could not: so that happily the Bible was not delivered to them in the vulgar at the first; but afterwards when they knew how to write in that tongue, it was. For, as we read, *Beda* translated a part of it into the *Saxon* tongue. And the same *Beda* reporteth, that before his time there was a certaine brother, in the monasterie of the Abbess *Hilda*, who having received excellent grace of God, was wont to make poems, fit to set forward religion & pietie; so that whatsoever he learned by interpreters out of the holy bookes, the same things presently after hee would expresse in verse, in his owne tongue, that is, in *English*, most sweetly, and so as that he would pierce the hearts of such as heard him; and therefore the abbess commaundered, that hee should bee taught the whole series and course of the holy historie, that he might expresse the same in his owne tongue: and so he did, for whatsoever by hearing hee could possibly learne, he turned into most sweete poems, so that his teachers became his hearers; for he composed poems & songs, concerning the creation of the world, and the beginning of mankind, the whole historie of *Genesis*, *Israels* going out of *Aegypt*, and entring into the land of promise, and sundry other histories of holy Scripture; of the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ into heaven, of the comming of the holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Apostles, the terrour of the future judgment, the feare of hell punishment, and the happinesse of the kingdome of heaven: and sundry other benefits and judgments of God. In all which hee sought, to draw men from delighting in things that are evill, to the love and practise of that which is good. Which poems no doubt were written, if they knew how to write at that time. Thus were they willing in those dayes, to take all occasion to make the Scripture knowen to the people, as farre forth as possibly they might.

In proemio
citatus à Cas-
sandro liturgic.
cap 36.

In fine lib. 3.
contra hæreses.

And therefore it is not to bee doubted, but that when they had the Scripture onely in Latine, yet it was interpreted to the people, that they might understand it, according to that of *Iohn Billet*, 'in summâ de divinis officijs'; 'In the primitive Church no man was permitted to speake in a tongue not understood, unlesse there were one to interpret: for to what purpose were it for a man to speake & not to be understood? truly to none at all. Hence grew that laudable custome in some parts of the Church, that so soone as the gospell should bee read in the Latine, it should presently be expounded to the people in the vulgar. And this which hee sayth is confirmed, by the authoritie and testimony of *Epiphanius*; who describing all the severall orders in the Church, amongst others hee reckoneth them that were, ἑρμηνευτὰς γλώσσης εἰς γλῶσσαν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν, ἢ ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς That is, *Interpreters that expressed in one tongue, that which was uttered in another, as well when the lessons were read, as when the preacher spake to the people.*

By all that which hath beene sayd, it appeareth, that the desire of Gods Church was ever, to communicate the Scriptures and bookes of God, to all people in the tongue they understood; That the most part of the Christian Churches, had the booke of God in their owne tongue; And that if any had not, it was either because they could not tell how to write any thing in their barbarous tongues: or because the tongue, wherein they first received them, altering, they were not understood then, as formerly they had beene of their ancestours, to whome they were first delivered in the same. So in *Italy*, *France*, & *Spaine*, aunciently they generally understood and spake *Latine*, and therefore had the Scriptures delivered unto them in that tongue; but in time the *Latine* which they spake was so corrupted, and so degenerated into barbarisme, that the people

ple of those parts understood uery little, of that which was written in the purer Latine formerly understood; and therefore in proceſſe of time they were forced to have the Scriptures newly tranſlated, into this new dialect, or rather corruption of the Latine. So had they the Bible tranſlated into *Italian, French, and Spaniſh*, as before I ſhewed.

Their prayers and liturgies indeede were not altered; yet was there never any judicious man, that thought it fitteſt, to have the ſervice of God performed without underſtanding; but all the beſt & moſt pious in euery age, thought it neceſſary by all good and poſſible meanes to provide, that the people might have their ſervice of God, in a tongue they underſtood. Wee have heard already *John Billet* peremptorily affirming, that in the primitive Church no man was permitted, to ſpeake in a tongue not underſtood, unleſſe there were one to interpret; and that it was the cuſtome of ſome Churches, ſo ſoone as the goſpell was read in the Latine, to expound the ſame in the vulgar tongue: but, ſaith he, What ſhall wee ſay of our times, wherein ſcarce, or not at all, either he that readeth, or heareth, underſtandeth what hee heareth or readeth? So that wee may ſay truly, as the Prophet ſometime complained; The prieſt ſhall bee as one of the people: *Videtur ergo tacendum potius eſſe quam pſallendum*, it ſeemeth therefore it were better to keepe ſilence than to ſing.

Haymo a worthy and learned Biſhop, writing upon the *1 Epist.* to the *Cor.* hath theſe words; If hee that underſtandeth onely that tongue, wherein he was borne and bred, ſtand by thee, when thou ſolemnly celebrateſt the myſterie of the maſſe, or makeſt a ſermon, or powreſt forth the wordes of bleſſing, how ſhall hee anſwere amen to thy bleſſing, not knowing what thou ſayeſt? that is, how ſhall he anſwere that confirmatory word, amen, when he underſtanding onely his owne tongue, knoweth not what thou ſayeſt in that barbarous tongue? And leaſt any man ſhould take aduantage, and urge, as the Papists are wont to doe, that becauſe hee ſpeaketh of a barbarous tongue, his words are not to bee underſtood; of him that ſpeaketh in one of the three learned tongues, hee ſheweth that he that ſpeaketh in the *Hebrew* tongue, to him that underſtandeth nothing but *Greeke*, or in the *Greeke*, to him that underſtandeth nothing but *Latine*, or in *Latine*, to him that underſtandeth nothing but *Greeke*, is a barbarian. Yea if a *Roman*, and ſuch a one, as is not a *Grecian*, pronounce the ſymbol or creed in *Greeke*, he is a barbarian to him, that underſtandeth nothing but *Latine*, though hee be of the ſame nation, and people.

Thomas Aquinas mentioneth this, but giveth another interpretation of the word, but not ſo fit; making them to bee barbarians, that excell in ſtrength of body, but are defectiue in ſtrength of reaſon, which how farre wide it is from the ſcope of the Apoſtle, a blind man may ſee. But in the ſame place, propoſing the queſtion, how hee that underſtandeth no other tongue, but that of the country wherein he was borne, can confirme himſelfe and ſay, *amen*, to the prayers he underſtandeth not; his anſwere is, that hee may conforme himſelfe in a generality, but not in particular, ſeeing hee knoweth not in particular, what it is that the miniſter ſayeth, though in generall hee know that hee prayeth, or bleſſeth. And farther, asking why the prayers and bleſſings are not in the vulgar, that more fully & particularly the ignorant might conforme themſelves unto the ſame; his anſwere is; that happily it was ſo in the primitive Church, but now that the faithfull are inſtructed, and knowe what it is they heare in the ſervice of the Church, the bleſſings are in Latine; How weake an anſwer this is to proceed from ſuch a man, who ſeeth not? for when hee ſayth they know what they heare, either hee meaneth in particular, and then hee contrarieth his former words; or onely in generall; and then, they can give no conſent, but in generall: and ſo the queſtion is not answered, why the prayers and bleſſings are not in the vulgar, that ſo being diſtinctly underſtood, there might bee a diſtinct conforming to the ſame.

g Vbi ſupra.

b Cap 14.

Sedulius in 1.
Cor. 14. Qui
nullam præter
propriam in-
telligit lin-
guam, quod pro-
prium eſt audi-
toribus, quo-
modo dicet
amen? hoc eſt,
quomodo tunc
benedictioni
perhibebit tes-
timonium uel
conſenſum,
cum ignoſcit
ipſius lingue
qualitatem?
In 1 Cor. 14.

Lyra writing upon the same place hath these wordes. 'When a Lay man sayth the Lords prayer, or any other, devoutly, his affection is lifted up to God: *reficitur affectus, non intellectus: sed quando intelligit, reficitur affectus, & intellectus:* and this the Apostle sheweth to be true in respect of the publique prayers, because if the people understand the prayer or blessing of the Priest, *melius reducitur in deum, & devotius respondet Amen.* And then proceeding to those words, If thou bleste, &c. hath these words, 'What shall he doe that suplieth the place of the unlearned? Which words import as much, as what doth it profite the simple people that understand not? as if he should say, litle or nothing, because they know not how to conforme themselves, to him that is the minister of the Church; by answering Amen, and that for this cause in the Primitive Church, the blessings and all other things pertaining to the publique service of God, were in the vulgar tongue; but after that people were multiplied and increased, and they had now learned to conforme themselves to the Priest, by standing when the Gospel is read, and by adoring the Eu- charist, the service was in latine, and that it sufficeth now, that the Clarke doth answere for the whole people.

Here is confession, that the people profiteth litle or nothing when the prayers and blessings are in a tongue they understand not; that therefore the Primitive Church had the service in the vulgar; that while it is in latine they cannot them selves, but another must answere Amen for them; and that yet, now they have learned by standing or kneeling, differently to conforme themselves to the Priest, according to the different things he doth; (which a deaf man that neuer heard word, may doe by observation of the eye) it is well enough.

But Cardinall *Cajetan* upon the same place hath these words: Out of this doctrine of the Apostle *Paule*, it may be gathered, that it were better, & more for the edification of the Church, to have the publique prayers that are read in the hearing of the people, pronounced in a tongue common to the cleargy and people, and understood of them both, then in Latine. And when hee was challenged by the *Parisians* for saying, it were better to have the prayers sayd in the Church in the vulgar, rather then in the Laine tongue; his answere was, that they recited not his words fully: for hee had not sayd, *it were better*, but *it were better for edification*, nor that *the prayers should be sayd*, but that *the publique prayers should be sayd in the vulgar tongue*; and this his assertion, hee sayd, was groundd upon the authoritie of the Apostle.

Cardinall *Contarenus*, proposing the question, what is to bee thought of such prayers as ignorant men make without understanding, answereth, that it is to be conceived that they are of force, in respect of the affection of the mind, and intention they have to pray unto God, though they know not what they desire, or pray for; but that they want the fruit which they should have, if they understood those prayers that they utter with their mouthes: for then they would direct the intention of their mindes, and their desires to God, for the obtaining in particular of such things as with the mouth they pray for; and they would bee more edified, by the pious sense and understanding of their prayers; And he concludeth, that they pray not in vaine, but that they would pray better, if they understood the meaning of their prayers: And to the same purpose *Harding* against Bishop *Inell*, saith, 'it were better the people should say their prayers in their owne tongue, that they might the better understand them.

Innocentius the 3^d seemeth to have had due consideration hereof, & therefore he prescribeth, that, because in sundry parts there are mixed within the same city or diocesse, people of different languages, having in the unity of the same faith, different rites and manners; the Bishops of such Cities or Diocesses, shall provide fit men to celebrate divine service, according to the diversities

opusc. tom. 3.
tract. 15.

Instruct. Chri-
stian.

m 3 Article 33.
division.

Cap. Quoni-
am in plerisque
extra: de offi-
cijs judicis or-
dinarij.

of their rites and languages, & to minister the Sacraments of the Church unto them, instructing them both by word, and example. Some reſtraine the words of *Innocentius* to the Greeke and Latine tongues only, as if he had only allowed the having of the ſervice in different tongues, in thoſe citties and places, where *Greeks* and *Latines* met. * But I ſee not why theſe words ſhould be thus reſtrained; ſeeing there is no queſtion but this Pope would allow that which *John* the 8th his predeceſſour & others had done, in permitting, nay in commanding the ſervice to be in the *Slavonian* tongue. And beſides, how he could ſay that the *Greeks* in ſome parts of the world agreed with the *Latines* in the faith, whom he ſo bitterly reproveth for very maine differences in religion, and who as *Thomas à Jeſu* teſtifieth moſt ſtiffely hold their owne religion, though they live under Princes of the Roman profeſſion, I know not.

* *Hofius* de ſacro vernaculo legendo, p. 665. ſayth the Pope meant not to make any innovation but his meaning was that the *Greeks* and *Slavonians* that already 300 years had the ſervice in their owne tongue, ſhould have prieſts to ſay ſervice unto them in the ſame.

Wherefore to grow to a concluſion, it appeareth that anciently all Churches, & that ever moſt of the Chriſtian Churches, had their ſervice in a tongue vulgarly underſtood; that if any had not, it was either becauſe they knew not how to write any thing in their owne tongue; or becauſe that which was their naturall tongue ceaſed to be ſo, after they firſt had the ſervice in it; that many had ſoe in the Weſt Church when *Luther* firſt ſhewed his diſlike of Romiſh errors and abuſes that there never wanted worthy divines, B^s & Prælates of great eſteem, who urged the unſuitneſſe, of having it in a tongue not underſtood, & the neceſſity of the vulgar; that all in whom there was any ſparke of grace, ſought to have it underſtood; And therefore as I noted before out of *John Billet*, ſundry Churches though they had their ſervice in *Latine*, yet cauſed the ſame things that they read in *Latine* to be expounded in the vulgar; others, as the B^s in the third councell of *Tours*, that ſuch things ſhould be read to the people in the vulgar as might informe & inſtruct them, in all points of Chriſtian faith & religion: their words are theſe. 'We all with unanimous conſent have thought fit to ordain, that every B^s ſhall provide and have homilies containing neceſſary admonitions, that ſo they that are under him, may be taught: our meaning is that theſe homilies ſhall containe inſtructions touching the catholike faith, according to their capacities, concerning the everlaſting rewards of the good, & eternall damnation of the wicked, the reſurrection & laſt judgment, & ſuch works & courſe of life, whereby men may attain, or whereby they are ſure to be excluded from eternall life. And we ordaine, that every B^s take care, to tranſlate the ſame homilies, plainely and perſpicuouſly, into the vulgar *Roman* or *German* tongue, that all may the more eaſily underſtand the things that are uttered unto them.

Cap. 71.

Among other articles propoſed in the councell of *Trent* by the Embaſſadors of *Ferdinand* the Emperour, concerning the neceſſary reformation of the Church, one was, that 'Happily it were to be permitted, that in ſome places, prayers faithfully tranſlated into the vulgar tongue, might be intermingled with thoſe things that are ſung in latine. Likewise in the articles of reformation exhibited to the councell of *Trent*, by *Charles* the 9th. 'In ſacrificiis paracialibus Evangelium aperte & dilucidè & pro populi captu copioſe ex ſuggeſtu exponatur, quo in loco quæ plebano præeunte ſient preces lingua ſunt vernacula peractæ autem re divini, nâ latine & myſticis precibus, lingua etiam vernacula publica ad Deum preces ſiant. & ibidem plura. Which thing if it had bin granted by the councell, no new nor ſtrang thing had bin brought in for as *Hofius* teſtifieth, 'the Church never forbade, to ſing in the Churches in the vulgar tongue, in time and place.

Anno 1562. apud Goldaſtum conſtit imperial tom. 2. p. 376.

Apud Gold. conſtit imper. tom 3. p. 570.

De ſacramen- eucharist. pag 134.

It were to be wiſhed, ſaith *Erasmus*, that the whole ſervice of God, might be celebrated and performed, in a tongue underſtood of the whole people, as in ancient times it was wont to be, and that all things ſhould bee ſoe plainely and diſtinctly ſounded out, that they might bee underſtood of all that liſt to attend. And *Cassander*, fully agreeing with *Erasmus*, and alleading to this purpoſe the Popes permitting of it to the *Slavonians* upon the hearing of a voice from heaven, & the authority of *Cajetan*, ſayth; It were to be deſired that according

De modo- orandi. Defenſio. lib. de officio pſi, ri. pag. 141.

‘ cording to the mandate of the Apostle, and the auncient custome of the Church, consideration might be had of the people in the publike praier of the Church, and in the hymnes and lessons, which are there read and sung for the peoples sake; and that the ordinary and vulgar sort of beleeuers, might nat for ever bee wholly excluded, from all communion of prayers and diuine readings: and hee addeth; that unlesse there bee a reformation in this and other things, there is no hope of any durable peace or consent of the Church: and protesteth, hee cannot see but that they to whom the government of the Church is committed, shall one day give an account, why they suffered the Church to be thus miserably disquieted and rent in sunder, & neglected to take away the causes, whence heresies & schismes do spring, as in duety they should have done. So that in this poynt as in the former, we see the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died was a true Protestant Church.

C H A P. 5.

Of the three supposed different estates of meere nature, grace, and sin: the difference betweene a man in the state of pure and meere nature, and in the state of sinne; and of originall sinne.

¶ G. Cameracensis
1. q. 2.
Scotus lib. 3. d.
27. q. ult. vnicā

They of the Church of Rome at this day imagine, that God might have created a man in the state of pure nature, or nature onely, as well without grace, as sin; and that in this state of pure or meere nature, without any addition of grace, hee might have loved God above all, and have kept all the commaundements of God collectiue-ly, so as to breake none of them, at the least for a short time, though happily hee could not have holden on constantly so to keepe them all, as never to breake any of them: seeing there would have beene a contrariety, betweene reason, and that appetite that followeth the apprehension of sence, in that state of pure or meere nature. So that, according to this conceipt, grace was added not to inable man to love God above all, to keepe the severall commaundements, which hee hath given, and to do the workes, of morall vertue, (For all these he might have beene able to performe, out of the power of nature, without any such addition,) but to make him able constantly to keepe all the commaundements of God collectiue-ly, so as never to breake any one of them, and to keepe them so as to merit eternall happines in heaven.

Hence they inferre diuerse things: First, that the losse of grace or originall righteousness, that was given to Adam, doth not deprive those of his posterity of the power of louing God their Creator aboue all, of keeping his commaundements diuinsiue-ly, and doing the severall workes of morall vertue, though happily not with that facilitie, that in the state of grace hee might have done them. Secondly, That Infidels and such as have no fellowship with the Saints & people of God, nor any part in his grace, may decline sinne, and doe the workes of morall vertue. Thirdly, That all the contrariety that is found in the powers of the soule, the rebellion of the inferiour faculties against the superiour, the pronenesse to euill, and difficultie to doe good, would have beene the conditions of meere nature without addition of grace or sinne, and consequently, that they are not sinne in the state wherein wee are; that these euills are not newly brought into the nature of man by the fall; that as man would have beene mortall in the state of meere nature, because compounded of contraries, so out of the contrariety of sensitive and ratiōall desire, hee would have found a rebellion in himselfe, of the inferiour faculties against the superiour; that as a heavy thing falleth not downward while it is stayed, but falleth so soone as the stay is taken away, by reason of the same nature it had, while it was stayed, and as a ship that lay quietly while it was stayed with an anchor, upon the removing of the same is driven with the windes, yet in no other sort then it would have beene before, if it had not beene stayed; so all these contrarieties

rieties, differences, and pronenesse to desire things contrary to the prescript of right reason, would have beene in meere nature as the conditions of it, & would have shewed themselves if grace had not hindered them; and that there is no other difference betweene a man in the state of pure or meere nature, and in the state of originall sinne, then there is betweene a man that never had any cloathing, and him that had, but by his owne fault and folly is stript out of all; betweene whom there is no difference in the nature of nakednesse, but all the difference standeth in this, that the one is in fault for not having cloathes, the other not so. For they suppose man would have beene carried as strongly to the desire of sinfull things, in the state of pure nature, as now, that freewill is not made more weake, then in that state it would have beene, nor the flesh become more rebellious then it would have beene without grace, before the entrance of sin.

This opinion *Bellarmin* followeth, and professeth, that though some of excellent learning thinke, that both *Thomas*, and the best and most approved of the schoolmen, were of a contrary judgment, yet they are deceived in so thinking, and that this is the opinion of them all, 6 Degrati primi hominis l. vnic. c. 5.

Against these erroneous conceits, that are indeed the ground of all the points of difference, betweene them and us, touching originall sin, freewill, the power of nature, the workes of infidels, and the like, we oppose this proposition: That no state of pure or meere nature can be conceived, but that either a man must be lifted above himselfe by grace, or fall below himselfe by sin. And this proposition is proved by unanswerable reasons: For if the principall powers of the soule, cannot performe their owne proper actions, by any naturall facultie, nor without the addition of grace, and a kind of divine force, and helpe, then can there be no concept of a state of pure or meere nature, seeing the nature of a thing implyeth the powers pertaining to it, and a possibility to bring forth the actions of such powers: But it is evident that the principall powers of mans soule cannot by any naturall facultie performe their proper actions, because the first truth and chiefest good, are the objects of the reason, and the will, and these are infinite, and the naturall capacitie of reason and the will is finite, so that whatsoever we understand and conceive concerning God, is so much lesse, and cometh so much short of his infinite perfection, as the capacitie of our understanding is lesse then the infinite being of God.

But how then will some men say, can man attaine his good being so high, excellent, & farre removed from him, and so infinitely beyond, & without the compasse of his naturall facultie. The answer hereunto is, that though nothing can be lifted up, to be any thing above the nature of it, yet by forrain helpe a thing may be carried or lifted above it selfe, or above the nature of it, that is, above that to which the naturall facultie of it extendeth it selfe, as a stone may by the hand of man be cast up on high, whether it hath no facultie to move it selfe: so the soule may be raysed and lifted by grace in the acts of her powers, above that to which by any naturall facultie, they can extend themselves: For though by nature men cannot know God as he is in himselfe, but onely so farre forth as by his effects and glorious workes he may be knowne, yet God may present himselfe unto them in the light of grace, as he is in himselfe, and make his infinite greatnesse to appeare unto them: * and so he must, or else man can never

* All the knowledge that natu-

rally we have of God is by considering those perfections that are found in the creatures, that imple in them no imperfection, and which whatsoever hath, is better then those things are that have them not: for perswading our selves that they are some where found in the highest degree, and without that mixture of imperfection that cleaveth to them in this or that particular, we name that thing God, wherein they are so found in so excellent sort: now all these perfections that we conceive and apprehend are finite, for they are perfections found and discerned in the creatures, and the degrees of them, are the degrees of things finite, so that unless we have another illumination by grace, whereby we may come to some apprehension of God, as he is in himselfe, we know not God as God, neither do we worship and honour him as God, because not as infinite, and all our worship is idolatrie giving that unto the resemblance, that pertaineth to the truth, as *Cusanus* sheweth at large de doctrâ ignorantia l. i. c. 16.

attaine

attaine that which is his proper good. *Actus rationalis creaturae*, saith *Alen-*
sis, p: 3 q. 61. memb. 1. oportet quod ordinetur ad bonum quod est supra naturam,
 quod est summum bonum & infinitum; quia ergo non est possibilis extensio rationalis
 creatura supra seipsam, ideo non est ei possibile per naturam ut ordinet suum actum
 siue perueniat in suum finem, & ideo necesse est quod iuvetur a gratia. The act of a
 reasonable creature, must be directed to a good above nature which is the chiefe
 good, and infinite; because therefore a reasonable creature cannot raise it selfe a-
 bove it selfe, therefore it is not possible that by the power of nature it should
 order its act, or attaine its end: and therefore it must be holpen by grace.

So then there is no immediate knowledge of God, as hee is in him selfe, no
 knowledge that in time for his owne sake hee made all things of nothing, no
 knowledge how and in what sort we depend on him, how his providence rea-
 cheth to us, how hee guideth us in all our wayes, and consequently how wee
 should love him, feare him, and trust in him, and depend upon him; And if with-
 in the compasse of nature there be no such knowledge of God, then is there no
 right love of God; For no man can rightly love God, unlesse hee rightly
 know him; And if we doe not rightly love God, wee can do nothing well, nay
 wee cannot but continually doe evill; For every thing that a man willet and
 affecteth, is either God, or some other thing besides God; If a man love God &
 not for himselfe but for some other thing, this act is sinfull and culpable, and
 not morally good. If a man love any other thing besides God, and love it not
 finally for God, the act of his love resteth finally in some other thing that is not
 God, and hee loveth it for it selfe without any further reference, and soe in-
 joyeth some other thing besides God, as if it were the uttermost and most
 principall good, which act is culpable. Now if a man remaining within
 the compasse of nature without addition of grace, cannot but doe evill, then
 can there bee noe state of nature that is not sinnefull, without grace, and
 consequently there can bee no state of pure or meere nature, seeing everie
 thing that is culpable and faulty in any kind, is contrary to the nature of the
 thing wherein it is found, and a corruption of nature. But that all the principall
 actions of men without grace are culpable and faulty it is evident; because
 they love God for some other thing and not for himselfe, never coming to any
 knowledge of him as hee is in himselfe, and they love other things for
 themselves, and finally, without any reference to God. So that grace is necessa-
 rily required in man, for the performance of his actions, so as not to sin. And
 it is true that *Gregorius Ariminensis* hath, that *Adam* in the state of his creati-
 on, was not sufficiently inabled, to performe any act morally good, or soe
 to doe any good thing as not to sin in doing it, by any thing in nature,
 if hee had not had speciall grace added. Whence it will follow that there is
 no power to doe good, or not to sin, in the nature of a man, but from grace;
 that when grace is lost, there is an impossibility of doing good, and a necessity
 of doing evill.

The Papists and wee agree that originall sin is the privation of originall
 righteousness; but they suppose there was in nature without that addition of
 grace, a power to doe good, and that it was not given simply to make man
 able to do good, but constantly, and so as to merit heaven; so that it being taken
 away, a man may decline each particular sin, and doe the severall workes of
 vertue, though neither so as never to sin, nor so as to merit heaven thereby;
 But wee say there neither was nor could be any power in nature as of it selfe,
 to doe any act morally good, or not sinfull; that grace was given to inable
 men, to performe the actions of their principall powers, about their principall
 objects, and to do good; and that it being taken away, there is found in them an
 impotencie to doe any act of vertue, and a necessity of sinning in all their morall
 actions, till they be restored againe to the state of grace; that the difficulty to do
 good, pronenesse to evill, contrariety betweene the powers and faculties of the
 soule

Grego. Ari-
minensis l. 2 d.
29. q. 1.

ubi supra

soule, and the rebellion of the meaner against the superiour and better, are not the conditions of nature, as it was or might have beene in it selfe before the entrance of sin, but that all these proceede from the putting of the powers of the soule, by the losse of grace, out of that course, which by the law of GOD and nature they were to hold. For doth not the condition of mans nature require, that amongst things inquired after, thought of and knowne, God should be the first? and amongst things desired and loved, nothing should be desired and loved more or before him, nor otherwise then for him? and is it not cleare and evident, that if God be the first thing that is thought of, sought after, and loved, and that nothing be sought after or respected, but after and for GOD, that there will bee noe pronenesse to euil, difficultie to doe good, contrariety betweene the powers of the soule, and rebellion of the meaner and inferiour against the better and superiour? surely there is none that can or will make question of it. Now it is confessed by the best learned amongst the Schoolemen, that howsoever it be not soe in the course of our understanding, in this state wherein wee are, yet according to the course of the nature of our understanding simply considered, it should bee soe, that *GOD should bee the first thing sought after and knowne by us.

Secundum naturam (sayth Scotus) *Deus est primum cognitum, quia naturalis cognitio procedit ab indeterminato ad determinatum, indeterminatum negative est magis indeterminatum, quam priuative indeterminatum: ergo praconcepitur illi; & illud indeterminatum priuative secundum nostram cognitionem praconcepitur determinato, quia ens & res prima impressione imprimuntur in animam nostram secundum Auicennam 1. Metaphys. c. 5. ergo indeterminatum negative omnino primo est obiectum nostro intellectui. At rationaliter posterius creaturam cognoscitur: quia primo concipitur hoc bonum, deinde bonum universale abstractum secundum abstractionem, puta quod est indeterminatum priuative, deinde bonum prima abstractione abstractum, quod scilicet est indeterminatum negative. And therefore it is noted by the learned, that there is a double knowledg and apprehension of things; the one distinct, the other confused; in the confused knowledge of things that is first apprehended by us, that first affecteth the sense, but in distinct knowledge cognitorum primum est communissimum, & quae propinquiora sibi sunt priora, & quae remotiora, posteriora; quia nihil concipitur distincte, nisi quando concipiuntur omnia quae includuntur in ratione eius essentiali.*

And to the same purpose it is that Bonaventura hath, *Cum non esse privatio sit essendi, non cadit in intellectum nisi per esse; esse autem non cadit per aliud; quia omne quod intelligitur, aut intelligitur ut non ens, aut ut ens in potentia aut ut ens in actu; si igitur non ens non potest intelligi nisi per ens, & ens in potentia non nisi per ens in actu, & esse nominat ipsum purum actum entis. esse igitur est quod primo cadit in intellectum, & illud esse est, quod est purus actus: sed hoc non est esse particulare, quod est esse arctatum, quia permixtum est cum potentia, nec esse analogum, quia minime habet de actu, eo quod minime est: restat igitur quod illud esse, est esse divinum: mira igitur est caecitas intellectus, qui non considerat illud quod prius videt, & sine quo nihil potest cognoscere: sed sicut oculus intentus in varias colorum differentias, lucem per quam videt cetera, non videt, & si videt non tamen advertit: sic oculus mentis nostrae intentus in ista entia particularia, & universalia, ipsum esse extra omne genus, licet primo occurrat menti, & per ipsum alia, tamen non advertit; unde verissime apparet, quod sicut oculus vesperilionis se habet ad lucem: ita se habet oculus mentis nostrae ad manifestissimam naturam. Quia assuefactus ad tenebras entium, & phantasmata sensibilium, cum ipsam lucem summi *entis intuetur, videtur sibi nihil videre: non intelligens, quod ipsa caligo summa est mentis nostrae illuminatio, sicut quando videt oculus puram lucem, videtur sibi nihil videre.*

By this which hath bin sayd, it is euident, that according to the course of nature not disordered, nor put out of course, the first thing that is inquired after, thought of and knowne, is GOD, and that hee is the first good that *Esse.

*Sensitivus appetitus rationis quasi particeps fuerat effectus, sed cum a deo voluntas ad se ipsam defecit, appetitus preto rationis imperio sui juris esse cepit. atq; hinc innumeræ cupiditates, innumeris timoribus atq; moribus ex quo etiam factum est, ut cum in primo actionum suarum principio occurrat sit intellectus, & in particulari bono ultimum finem collocat, & suæ dignitatis ignarus in corpus sese & sensum demerferit, & in corporis naturam degeneravit in corporis voluptatibus assequendis, & doloribus fugiendis finem suum constituere. Contare nus de libero arbitrio. e 1. Sent. d. 3. q. 1.

f Bonaventura itinerarium mentis in deum c. 5.

Bernard.
serm. ad milit.
Templi c. 11.
de sepulcro.

that is desired & loved, & that no other thing is desired or loved but after him & for him. So that none of the things formerly mentioned can be found in the nature of man, unlesse it be put out of course. whence groweth the contrarietie betweene the meaner and better, superiour and inferiour faculties of the soule, but from hence, that the soule in this state of her aversion from God, taketh the beginning of all her knowledge from the senses, apprehendeth particular things as good upon the first view, and to be desired, which afterwards upon better consideration, in respects not considered at the first, shee findeth are not good nor desirable? And whence is the rebellion of the inferiour against the superiour, but from hence, that the superiour having cast off the dependance it formerly had upon God & respect unto him, the inferiour also casteth off the respect it had to it? *Quid justius esse poterat, quam talionem recipere? Vita Dei anima est, ipsa corporis; peccando voluntarie volens perdidit vivere, nolens perdat & vivificare; sponte repulit vitam cum vivere noluit, non valeat eam dare cui, vel quatenus voluerit; noluit anima regi à Deo, non queat regere corpus: si non paret superiori, inferiori cur imperet? Invenit conditor suam sibi rebellem creaturam inveniat anima suam sibi rebellem pedisequam; transgressor inventus est homo divina legis, inveniat ipse aliam legem in membris suis repugnantem legi mentis sue, & captivantem se in legem peccati: porro peccatum separat inter nos & Deum, separet proinde mors inter corpus nostrum & nos.*

From hence likewise is that danger of erring, wherunto man is subject; for apprehending particular things first, his knowledge is imperfect, and confused; & not without much labour and danger of erring, doth he come to the distinct knowledge of any thing; And hence also floweth that ignorance that is found in men; for taking the beginning of all the knowledge they have from the senses, they know no more touching any thing then may bee discerned by the accidents and outward effects of it, and so never come to know any thing in the essence of it, or immediatly as it is in it selfe. So that according to that which before I noted, out of the booke called *Destructorium vitiorum*; as a man may know in the darke, the length, breadth, and other dimensions of a thing; but not whether it be faire or foule, white or blacke. So men in this obscurity of discerning, may finde out that there is a God, and that he is the beginning and cause of all things: but they cannot know how faire, how good, how mercifull, and how glorious hee is, that so they may love him, feare him, honour him, and trust in him as God, unlesse they have an illumination of grace.

The difference therefore betweene those of the Church of Rome and us, touching originall sin, consisteth in two points. First, In that they make the former defects of ignorance, difficultie to doe good, pronenesse to evill, contrarietie betweene the powers of the soule, and the rebellion of the meaner and inferiour, against the better and superiour, consequents of nature, as it might and would be in it selfe simply considered, without all defection and falling from God: that originall righteousness was given, to prevent and stay the effects that these naturally would have brought forth, and that these are not the consequents of *Adams* sin, but that onely the leaving of them free to themselves to disorder all, is a consequent of the losse of that righteousness which was given to *Adam*, and by him forfeited and lost: that they proceede from the guilt of sin, but that they make not them guilty in whome they are. But we say that these are no conditions of nature simply considered, that they cannot bee found but where there is a falling from God, that they are the consequents of *Adams* sinfull aversion from God his Creator, that they are a part of original sin, and that they make men guilty of grievous punishment, so long as they remaine in them.

The second thing is, that originall sin is indeed according to their opinion the privation of originall righteousness: but as originall righteousness was not given simply

simply to inable men to decline evill and do good, but collectively, constantly, and meritoriously to decline evill & doe good: so the privation of it doth not deprive men of all power of declining evill & doing good, but only of the power of declining all evill, and doing all good collectively & meritoriously. But we say that originall righteousness was given, simply to inable men to decline evill & to doe good, and that without it the nature of man could not performe her proper and principall actions, about her principall objects: So that the privation of it, depriveth a man of all power of knowing, loving, fearing, honouring, or glorifying God as God, and of all power, of doing any thing morally good or not finfull; and putteth him into an estate, wherein hee cannot but love and desire things that God would not, or so as hee would not have him; yea of loving other things more than God: and so as to dishonour God in any kind, rather than not to injoy the things he desires.

So that if wee speake of originall sinne *formally*, it is the privation of those excellent gifts of divine grace, inabling us to know, loue, feare, serue, honour, and trust in God, and to doe the things he delighteth in, which *Adam* had and lost. If *materially*, it is that habituall inclination that is found in men averse from God, carrying them to the loue and desire of finite things more then of God, and this also is properly sin, making guilty of condemnation, the nature and person in which it is found. This habituall inclination to desire finite things inordinately, is named concupiscence; and this concupiscence is twofold as * *Alensis* noteth out of *Hugo* for there is *concupiscentia spiritus*, and *concupiscentia carnis*, there is a concupiscence of the spirit, or superiour faculties; and of the flesh or inferiour; the former is sinne, the latter sinne and punishment. For what is more just then that the will refusing to be ordered by God, and desiring what hee would not have it, should finde the inferiour faculties rebellious and inclined to desire things the will would have to bee declined?

* p 2. q. 105.
memb. 2. art. 1.

It remaineth therefore that wee proccede to prove, that this doctrine was received, taught, & continued in the Churches wherein our Fathers liued and died, till, and after *Luthers* time. I have shewed already that *Gregorius Ariminensis* professeth that *Adam* in the state of his creation, was not inabled to perform any acte morally good, or so to doe any good thing, as not to sinne in doing it, by any thing in nature, without addition of grace; which thing he proveth out of the *Master* of the sentences, whose words are these, speaking of the first man before his fall. *Egebat itaq; homo gratia, non ut liberaret voluntate suam qua peccati serva non fuerat, sed ut prepararet ad volendum efficaciter bonum, quod per se non poterat.* That is, 'The first man needed grace, not to free his will, for it never had been in bondage, but to prepare and fit it effectually to will that which is good, which of it selfe it could not doe.

g 2 sent. d. 29.

And he confirmeth the same out of Saint *August* his words are these, *h Istam gratiam non habuit homo primus, qua nunquam vellet esse malus; sed habuit in qua si permanere vellet, nunquam malus esset; & sine qua etiam cu libero arbitrio bonus esse non posset; sed eam tamen per liberum arbitrium deferere posset; nec ipsum ergo Deus esse voluit sine sua gratia, quem reliquit in ejus libero arbitrio, quoniam liberum arbitrium ad malum sufficit, ad bonum autem * parum est, nisi * nihil. adjuvetur ab omnipotenti bono: quod adiutoriu si homo ille per liberum non deseruisset arbitrium, semper esset bonus, sed deseruit, & desertus est.* That is, 'The first man had not that grace, that might make him so will good, as never to become evill; but truly he had that, wherein if he would have continued, he should never have bin evill, and without which, notwithstanding all the freedome of his will, he could not be good; yet by the freedome of his will he might lose it; wherefore God would not have him to be without his grace, whom he left in the freedome of his will, because free will is sufficient of it self to doe evill, but it is of little force, (or rather as the true reading is of noe force, & nothing) to doe good, unlesse it be holpen of the omnipotent good, which helpe if ma had not forsaken

saken by his free will, he had ever beene good; but he forsooke it, and was forsaken.

Thirdly he proueth the same in this sort: *Si Adam ante peccatum potuisset per suas vires naturales precise agere actum moraliter bonum, ipse potuisset facere se de non bono bonum, posito quod aliquando fuisset sine omni actu voluntatis, cum suis tantum naturalibus; aut de bono meliorem, deo illum non specialiter adiuuante.* that

is If Adam had power before the entrance of sinne precisely by the strength of his naturall faculties to do an act morally good, then hee might have made himselfe good of not good, supposing that sometimes in the state of meere nature he had no act of will; or at the least he might have made himselfe of good better, without the speciall helpe of God; but this consequent must not be admitted; for if Adam might thus have done, the good Angels might have done so, but that is contrary to *S^t Augustine*, his words are these: *Si boni Angeli fuerunt prius sine bona voluntate, eamque in seipsis deo non operante fecerunt: ergo meliores a seipsis, quam ab illo facti sunt; Absit. At si non potuerunt seipsos facere meliores, quam eos ille fecerat, quo nemo melius quicquam facit, profecto & bonam voluntatem quam meliores essent, nisi operante adiutorio creatoris, habere non possent.* That is, 'If the good Angells were first without any good motion of will, or the goodnesse of the will, and afterwards, God not working, wrought it in themselves, then they made themselves better then they were made of him, which God forbid wee should ever thinke. But if they could not make themselves better then he made them, then whom no man can do any thing better, truly unless the helpe of their Creator wrought them to it, they could not have that goodnesse of will whereby they might become better then they were before.

That which hee thus proveth touching the state of man before the fall, is undoubtedly true in the state of the fall; and therefore all the most pious and judicious men in every age, have taught as wee now doe, that since the fall of Adam, there is no power left in any of his posterity before they be renewed by grace, to decline sinne or to doe any worke morally good, and that may be truly named a worke of vertue. And these cannot but farther agree with *Ariminensis* and us touching the impotencie of nature before the entrance of sin, to do any good act, or act of vertue, of it selfe, without the addition of grace. For if grace had not bin given in the state of the creation simply to inable to do good, but that there had bin a power of doing good in nature, without and before the addition of grace, then upon the losse of it there had followed no such impotencie in the present state, as these men affirme there did, and they that hold the other opinion denie. All these affirme that all the posterity of Adam are plunged into such an estate of ignorance by this fall, that without speciall illumination of grace, they know not sufficiently concerning any thing that is to be done or committed, and wherefore, and in what sort: and into such an estate of infirmitie and impotencie in respect of the will, that they cannot will any thing that is to be willed, for such cause, and in such sort as it is to be willed, and with such circumstances as are required, to make an act to be morally good, and truly vertuous.

& De libero arbit. l. 3 cap. 7.

S^t Austine sayth, that Adam and Eve, so soone as they had sinned, were cast headlong into error, misery, and death, & that it was most just they should soe be; for what sayth hee is more just then *ut admittat quisque quo bene uti nolit, cum sine ulla posset difficultate si vellet; id est, ut qui sciens recte non facit, amittat scire quid rectum sit; & qui recte facere, cum posset, nolit, amittat posse, cum velit?* that every one should loose that which when with ease he might, he would not use well; that is, that he that having knowledge doth not right, should loose the knowledge of that which is right: & that he that would not do well when he might, should loose the power of doing well when he would. And elsewhere speaking of the first sinne of the Angells and men; hee sayth, that, when they fell, *Subintravit ignorantia rerum agendarum, & concupiscentia nostrarum*; that is, there entred in ignorance of things to be done, and desire of things

Enchirid. c. 24.

things hurtfull that are to be declined. Prosper in his booke in defence of the preachers of grace against Cassian, reprehendeth him because he had said in his collation *de protectione Dei*, that Adam gained the knowledge of evill after his fall, but lost not the knowledge of good which he had received, & telleth him that both these propositions are untrue; so that hee thinketh that Adam lost the knowledge of good.

Hugo de sancto Victore saith, the first man was indued with a threefold knowledge, *cognitione scilicet creatoris sui, ut cognosceret à quo factus erat; & cognitione sui, ut cognosceret quid factus erat; & quid sibi faciendum erat; deinde cognitione quoque illius quod secum factum erat, & quid sibi de illo, & in illo faciendum erat.* That is, 'he was indued with knowledge of his Creator, that he might know of whom he was made, with knowledge of himself, that he might know what he was made, and what he was to doe; lastly, with knowledge of that which was made together with him, & what he was to doe with, & in it. For no man is to doubt but that man had perfect knowledge of all those visible things, that were made for him, & with him, as much as pertained either to the instruction of his soule, or the necessity of bodily use. This knowledge man hath not lost by the fall, neither that whereby he was to provide things necessarie for the flesh, and therefore God was not carefull afterwards to instruct him touching these things by the Scriptures, but he was to bee taught that knowledge that concerneth the soule only, when he was to be restored, because he had lost that only by sinning. And in the same place hee excellently describeth the knowledge of God that Adam had, to have bin not by hearing only from without, as now, but by inspiration within, not that whereby now beleevers by faith seeke after God as absent, but that whereby by presence of contemplation, hee was more manifestly seene of him as knowing him. And concludeth, it is hard to expresse the manner of the divine knowledge the first man had, but that onely this is certaine, that being taught visibly by inward inspiration, he could no way doubt of his Creator.

In like sort the same Hugo sheweth most excellently, that man hath lost all rectitude of will; for whereas there was given to man a double desire, *justi, & commodi*: of that which is just, and that which is pleasing: the one voluntary, the other necessary; that by the one he might merit, or demerite; by the other he might be punished or rewarded (for if he had no desire of that is pleasing, hee could neither be rewarded by having, nor punished by being deprived) He hath lost the one, & is punished in the other which remaineth when either he is kept from injoying the things he orderly desireth, or left free to desire such things, as orderly are not to be desired. If man have lost all desire of that which is just as just, as here he saith he hath; then surely he sinneth in all his actions, and is deprived of all morall rectitude; for what morall rectitude is in him, that loveth nothing, because it is just, farther then it may be commodious, and in that respect pleasing?

The schoolmen are wont to vrge, that a man may naturally love God above all; for seeing he naturally loveth that which appeareth unto him to bee good, why should he not love God above all, who is the chief good? To this Luthers answer is this, that there is a twofold love; for there is *amor amicitie*, & *amor concupiscentie*, a love whereby a man willeth the good of him that he loveth, & a love whereby he desireth to make use of the good of that hee loveth, and to make it serve his turne. In the first sort a man loveth his friend; by the latter his horse: now saith Luther, it is true, that every sinfull man loveth God with the latter kinde of love, desiring to make use of God to serve his owne turne: but it is not possible for a naturall man to love God as a man loveth his friend, that is, to desire that God may rule, & raigne, & be glorified as God, to rejoyce when his will is done, though it be contrary to that we desire; to bee grieved when he is offended. And this surely is confirmed by Bernard, for he saith, that

there are 4 degrees of love. For 1, a man loveth nothing but himselfe, 2^d He loveth other things, & amongst other things God for himselfe finding that he cannot be without him. Thirdly, He loveth God, for God. Fourthly he loveth himselfe for God. The two former are naturall, and as I thinke finfull: the two latter I am well assured in the judgment of Saint Bernard proceede from grace, and not from nature, for he sayth, 'That is first that is naturall, and then that which is spirituall; and that scarce any of the elect of God goe beyond the first of these two latter degrees in this life. So that according to that which before I alleaged out of *Gregorius Ariminensis*, every one that willett any thing either willett God, or some other thing that is not God; if God, & not for God, but for some other thing expected to be had from him, or by him, that is *uti fruendis*, to make use of that, for the having of some thing as more loved, that should be enjoyed as the best and most loved of all other things, and this is most perverse, as Saint *Augustine* telleth us, If wee love any thing else besides God, and not for God, it is likewise an iniquitie. so that seeing naturally it is impossible to love for God, it is impossible to love any thing rightly; and consequently all the actions of naturall & unregenerate men are sin. And that they are so indeede, it is proved by such authorities as may not be excepted against. *Cyprian de bono patientie in principio* saith, the true vertue of patience cannot be in Infidells; now there is the same reason of one vertue and of all his words are these, *Hanc se sectari Philosophi quoque profitentur, sed tam illis patientia est falsa, quam & falsa sapientia; unde enim vel sapiens esse vel patiens posset, qui nec sapientiam nec patientiam Dei novit, quando ipse deus qui sibi sapere in mundo videntur moneat & dicat, perdam sapientiam sapientum, & prudentiam prudentum reprobabo?* *Augustine* sayth, 'Thou wilt say if a Gentile shall cloath the naked, is it sin, because it is not of faith? truly in that it is not of faith, it is sin; not because the action of cloathing the naked in it selfe is sinne: but to glory in such a worke and not in the Lord, none but an impious man will deny to bee sinne. If a Gentile that liveth not by sayth, shall cloath the naked, deliver him that is in daunger, binde up the wounds of him that is wounded, bestow his goods to honest & friendly purposes: and shall suffer himselfe to bee brought by any torments to beare false witness; I aske of thee, whether hee doe these good workes well or ill? for if hee doe these things ill, that are good, thou canst not deny but that hee sinneth, that doth any thing ill: if thou say he doth these good things, and doth them well, then an evill tree bringeth forth good fruite, which he that is truth it selfe saith cannot bee. If thou shalt say that a man that is an Infidell is a good tree, then hee pleaseth God, for that which is good cannot but please God who is good.

9 Contra Iulianum Pelagianum, l. 4. c. 3.

Sequitur ibidem apud Augustinum, Sed forte dicturus es misericors voluntas bona est. Rectè istud diceretur, si quemadmodum fides Christi, id est,

fides quæ per dilectionem operatur, semper est bona, ita misericordia semper esset bona; si autem reperitur & misericordia malis, quæ persona pauperis accipitur in iudicio, propter quam postremo rex Saul meruit à Domino utique misericordie damari, quia contra ejus præceptum captivo regi per humanum peperit affectum, attentius cogita ne forte misericordia bona non sit, nisi quæ hujus bonæ fidei fuerit. Imò responde ut hoc sine dubitatione perspicias, utrum bonam misericordiam existimes infidelem. Porro si vitium est male misereri, procul dubio vitium est infideliter misereri. Quod si & ipsa per seipsam naturali compassione opus est bonum, etiam isto bono male utitur qui infideliter utitur, & hoc bonum malè facit, qui infideliter facit, qui autem malè facit aliquid, profecto peccat. Ex quo colligitur etiam ipsa bona opera quæ faciunt infideles, non ipsorum esse, sed illius qui bene utitur malis. Ipsorum autem esse peccata, quibus & bona male faciunt, quia ea non fidei, sed infidei, hoc est, stultæ & noxiæ voluntate faciunt. Qualis voluntas nullo Christiano debitante est arbor mala, quæ facere non potest nisi fructus malos, id est, sola peccata. Omne enim, velis nolis, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est.

bee

bee full of darknesse, &c. Know that this eye is the intention, with which every one doth that he doth; and learne by this, that he that doth not his good workes, out of a good intention of a good faith that is, of that faith that worketh by love, all the whole body that consisteth of such workes as members, is full of darkenes, that is the blacknesse of finnes. Or truly because thou grantest that such workes of infidels as seem to thee, to bee good, bring them not to eternall salvation and the kingdome of heaven: know thou that we say that that good will, that good worke by which onely a man may bee brought to the everlasting gift and kingdome of God, can be given to none, without that grace that is given by him, that is the only mediator betweene God and man. All other things that seeme to be commendable amongst men, let them seeme to thee to bee true vertues, let them seeme to thee to bee good workes, and done without all sinne. For my part this I know, that the will is not good that doth them, for an unbeleeving will and ungodly is not good. Let these wills be according to thy judgment good trees, it sufficeth that with God, or in Gods judgment, they are barren, and so not good. Let them bee fruitfull amongst men, amongst whom also they are good, upon thy credit & authority, thy commendation, thy planting, if thou wilt have it so: so that I obtaine this whether thou wilt or not, that the loue of this world, whereby every one is a friend of this world, is not of God; and that the loue that maketh a man injoy the creatures whatsoever they bee without the loue of the creator, as the chiefeest and uttermost good, is not of God. Now the love of God whereby wee come to God is not but from God the Father, by Iesus, together with the holy Ghost. By this love of the creator, each one useth the creatures rightly, and without this love of the creator, no man useth the creatures well.

And againe, *Noveris non officijs, sed finibus à vitijs discernendas esse virtutes.* / August. *ibid.*
Officium est autem quod faciendum est: finis vero propter quod faciendum est. Cum itaque facit homo aliquid ubi peccare non videtur, si non propter hoc facit propter quod facere debet, peccare convincitur. Quia tu non attendens fines ab officijs separasti, & virtutes veras officia sine finibus appellandas esse dixisti. Ex quo te tanta absurditas sequitur, ut veram cogaris appellare justitiam, etiam cujus dominam repereris avaritiam. Siquidem manus abstinere ab alieno, si officium cogites, potest videri esse justitia. Sed cum quaritur quare fiat, & respondetur, ne plus pecunia litibus pereat: quomodo jam hoc factum vera poterit esse justitia, cum serviat avaritie?

And againe, *Absit ut virtutes vera cuicquam serviant, nisi illi vel propter* *Ibid.*
illum cui dicimus Psal. 79, Deus virtutum converte nos. Proinde virtutes que carnalibus delectationibus, vel quibuscunque commodis & emolumentis temporalibus servantur, vera prorsus esse non possunt. Quae autem nulli rei servire volunt, nec ipsae verae sunt. Vera quippe virtutes Deo servantur in hominibus, à quo donantur hominibus. Quicquid autem boni fit ab homine, & non propter hoc fit, propter quod fieri debere vera sapientia precipit, etsi officio videatur bonum, ipso non recto fine peccatum est. & ideo, Virtutes non relatae ad deum, vitia potius sunt, quam virtutes: Nam licet à quibusdam tunc vera & honesta putentur esse virtutes, cum ad seipsas referuntur: nec propter aliud expetuntur, etiam tunc inflatae ac superbae sunt: & ideo non virtutes virtutes, sed vitia iudicanda sunt. *Bona* *De civitate Dei, l. 19. c. 25.*
opera extra fidem, simillima sunt celerrimo cursui extra viam. *August. in Ps. 31.*

And againe, *Quamlibet videatur animus corpori, & ratio vitijs laudabiliter* *De civit. Dei l. 19. c. 25.*
imperare, si tamen Deo animus & ratio ipsa non servit, sicut sibi serviendum esse ipse Deus praecepit, nullo modo corpori vitijque recte imperat. Nam qualis corporis atq; vitiorum potest esse mens domina, veri Dei nescia, nec ejus imperio subjugata, sed vitiosissimis demonibus corrumpentibus prostituta? Proinde virtutes quas sibi habere videtur, per quas imperat corpori, & vitijs ad quodlibet adipiscendum vel tenendum, nisi ad Deum retulerit, etiam ipsa vitia sunt potius quam virtutes.

c 1 Lib. de vo-
catio. gentium
cap. 7.

d Cap. 1.

e Lib. sent ex
Augustino sen-
tent. 106.

f Quæst. 7.

g Lib. 22 c. 10.
super 31 cap.
Iob.

h Cap. 40.

Prosper agrees with Saint Augustine; his words are these, *sine cultu veri Dei etiam quod virtus videtur esse, peccatum est; nec placere ullus Deo sine Deo potest. Qui vero Deo non placet, cui nisi sibi & Diabolo placet?* That is, without the worship of the true God, even that which seemeth to be vertue is sin; neither can any man please God without God; And whom doth hee please that pleaseth not God but himselfe and the divell? And the same Prosper in his 3^d booke *de vitâ contemplativâ: Apostolus non dixit, omnem quod non est ex fide nihil est; sed dicendo, Omne quod non est ex fide, peccatum est: declaravit quod omnia gesta, si non fuerint ex fide, non sint aliqua bona credenda, sed vitia, quæ non juvant suos operarios, sed condemnant, inflatosque præcipitant, atque à finibus æternæ salutis eliminant;* That is, the Apostle did not say whatsoever is not of faith is nothing, but by saying it is sin, he declareth that whatsoever things have not beene done out of faith, are not to be thought good, but faults and vices, which doe not help the workers of them, but condemne them, and cast them headlong downe being puffed up, and banish them out of the confines of eternall salvation. And the same Prosper in another place, *Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est, & nihil bonum sine summo bono, ubi enim deest agnitio æterna, & incommutabilis veritatis, falsa virtus est etiam in optimis moribus.* That is, the whole life of Infidels is sin, and there is nothing good without the chiefe good; and wheresoever the knowledge of the eternall and incommutable veritie is wanting, let a mans manners be never so good, it is no true vertue hee seemeth to have.

There is nothing good without faith, saith Chrysostome, and that I may use a similitude and make a comparison, they that flourish in good workes and know not God, seeme to me to bee like the reliques of the dead wrapped up fairely. Basil in his second booke *de baptisate*, proposing the question whether it be possible, or whether it be acceptable to God, that he that serveth sin, should do the workes of righteousness, bringeth the explication of this question out of the Old Testament, where G O D saith; the sinner that offereth to me a calfe, is as he that killeth a dogge, and in the New Testament the Lord saith, he that doth sin is the servant of sinne, and no man can serve two masters; wherefore wee are to be exhorted to make the tree good and her fruit good, and first to purge and make cleane that which is in the inside of the cuppe and of the platter, and then all that is without will bee cleane.

Gregory in his morales, writing upon those words of Iob, 'If my mouth have kissed my hand, hath these words. *Sancti viri sciunt se non virtute propria sed præveniente supernâ gratiâ ad meliora vota vel opera commutatos; & quicquid sibi mali inesse cognoscunt, de mortali propagine sentiunt meritum: quicquid verò boni in se inspicunt, immortalis gratia cognoscunt donum, eiq; de accepto munere debitores fiunt. qui & præveniendo dedit eis bonum velle quod voluerunt, & subsequendo concessit bonum posse quod volunt.* Let them that are otherwise minded tell us, whether the morall actions of Infidels bee good or evil, if good, then they are from grace, whereof they are not partakers, if evill, then have they the thing proved about which we contend.

Beda writing upon the 14 to the Romans upon those words, 'Whatsoever is not of faith is sin, saith as Prosper, that all the whole life of Infidels is sinne, that nothing is good without the chiefe good, that where the knowledge of the eternall and incommutable veritie is not, if the manners and conversation of them that have it not, bee never so good, they have no true vertue.

Bernard in his booke *de gratiâ & libero arbitrio: Liberi arbitrij conatus ad bonum & cassi sunt si non gratiâ adjuventur: & nulli si non excitentur: ceterum in malum dicit scriptura proni sunt sensus & cogitationes hominis.* That is, the endeavouring of freewill to doe good is in vaine, if it bee not holpen by grace.

and

and none at all if it be not stirred up by grace; but the scripture saith the senses and thoughts of men are prone to evill. Neither can they say that he speaketh onely of meritorious good, and such as is rewardable in heaven; for hee speaketh generally of good; as it appeareth; in that hee opposeth it not to some other kind of good, but to evill.

Anselme Archbishop of *Canterbury* fully agreeth with the rest, affirming in the same words that *Prosper* and *Beda* did before, that the whole life of infidels is sinne, that there is nothing good without the chiefe good, and that where the knowledge of the eternall and incommutable veritie is wanting, if the manners and conversation of them that have it not bee never soe good and commendable, they have no true vertue. *Peter Lombard* the Master of the sentences sometimes Bishop of *Paris* writing upon the same place, hath the same words and soe hath the ordinary glosse.

Comment. in
14. caput: epi-
stolæ ad Ro-
manos.

Grossthead the renowned Bishop of *Lincolne* in his sermon upon the Advent, the beginning whereof is this. 'There shall be signes in the sunne and in the Moone, hath these words; Bright and glittering starres of vertue seemed to shine and appeare in the morall doctrine of naturall men, and in the conversation of many Gentiles, as of the *Scipioes* and others: but now it is truely manifest and cleare, that without the faith of *Christ* there is no true vertue, in the doctrine or conversation of any man. And in his *Enchiridion* hee saith, that this was the opinion of *S^t Augustine*; where treating of the foure Cardinall vertues, and proposing the question, whether *Cato* and the *Scipioes* had such vertues, hee sayth thus: 'Wee grant with *Augustine* that no man ever had or could have true vertue without the faith of *Iesus Christ*: and proveth it immediately after, in this sort. *Non enim potest esse amor ordinatus, ubi contemnitur & non amatur quod maxime amandum est, cum non ametur nisi quod scitur aut creditur: unde patet, quod qui nescit, aut non credit dominum Iesum Christum, non amat aut contemnit quod maxime amandum est, quapropter in tali virtus non est: quod etiam probat Augustinus talibus argumentis, dicens. Absit ut in aliquo sit vera virtus nisi sit justus &c.* that is, 'There can bee no orderly loue of things where that is contemned and not loued; that is to bee loued most of all, whence it is cleere and evident, that seeing nothing can bee loued but that which is knowne or beleevd, hee who knoweth not or beleeveth not the Lord *IESVS CHRIST*, contemneth or at least loueth not, that which is most of all to bee beleevd, and therefore in such a one there can bee noe true vertue, which also *Augustine* proveth by arguments of this sort, saying, *G O D* forbidde that true vertue should bee conceited to bee in any man unless hee bee just &c. By these passages of the Bishop of *Lincolne* it appeareth, sayth *Ariminensis*, that hee thought, as wee doe; that noe acte morally good, canne bee done without the speciall grace of *G O D*, for if there bee noe vertue without such grace, then canne there bee noe acte morallie good: which is yet more fully cleared: for every vertuous and morall good acte, either is orderly loue, or presupposeth it: soe that if there can bee noe orderly loue without *G O D S* grace, there can bee noe acte of vertue, or acte morally good. With this famous Bishop of *L I N C O L N E* wee may joyne *Thomas Bradwardine*, the noe lesse famous and renowned Archbishop of *C A N T E R B U R I E*, who in his *Summe de causa Dei contra Pelagium* at large confirmeth and proneth the same. Soe that it seemeth by *Beda*, *Anselme*, *Grossthead* and this *B R A D W A R D I N E*, that this was euer the doctrine of the Church of *England*, as now it is.

Clarius ab
Ariminensi li.
2. d. 16. 27. 28
q. 1. artic. 1.

cap. 37.

Pappertus Goochianus that lived a litle before *Luthers* time saith, 'The whole life of infidels is sinne, there is nothing good without the chiefe good: where there' *De libertate Christiana li. 2. cap. 34.*

Cap. 35.

Explicat. Orthodoxæ fidei
pag 273.

Lib. de gratia
& libero arbitrio contra
Cassianum, c.
39. definit. 8.

Lib 6. d. 50.
pag 430. 431.
&c.

there wanteth the knowledge of the eternall trueth, if mens manners be never so commendable they have no true vertue; he that offendeth in one, that is in charity is guilty of all; he therefore that hath not faith and charitie, every action of his is sinne. And he addeth, that when *Augustine* sayth, that they that have not charity may doe good things, but not well, his words are not to bee understood as if the things which they doe without charity were good, when they doe them without charity, but that they would bee good, if they were done in charity or that they are of such nature and kinde, which being done in charity, may bee good: otherwise he should bee contrary to himselfe, where hee sayth that every action of him that hath not charity is sinne.

Andradus saith, that there was much difference touching this poynt not onely amongst the latter, but the more auncient divines also: and that some did so deject all the actions and endeavours of infidels, as to affirme that none of them are or can bee without sinne; It is true indeede that there were ever some in the latter ages of the Church that contradicted this verity, which wee have hitherto proved, but they were such as had a touch of Semipelagianisme.

Prosper speaketh of a rule found in the collations of *Cassian*, *Cavendum nobis est, ne ita ad Deum omnia sanctorum referamus, ut nihil nisi id quod malum est, humane ascribamus nature*. That is, 'Wee must take heed least wee so attribute all the merits of the Saints to God, as to ascribe nothing to nature, but that which is evill and perverse. This rule sundry carefully followed in the midst of the Church in all the latter ages, who so acknowledged that no man can merit heaven without Gods grace, that yet they thought they might doe many things morally good by nature without grace. But *Prosper* bitterly reprehendeth this; his words are these. *Quasi natura ante gratiam non sit in damnatione, non sit in cecitate, non sit in vulnere: aut non gratis justificati sint, quorum inde sunt merita unde justitia*. That is, 'As if nature before grace were not in a state of condemnation, were not in blindness, and grievously hurt, or as if wee were not freely justified, all whose merits are from thence, whence is our righteousness. And all they that rightly understood the doctrine of the Church, cleared by Saint *Augustine* against the *Pelagians*, concurred with *Prosper*, and taught as wee doe now, that all the workes of infidels and men not renewed and justified by Gods speciall grace were finnes.

Yea so great is the force of this trueth, that since the councill of *Trent*, some of great esteeme and place, in a sorte give way unto it. For *Didacus Alvarez* an Archbishop within the dominions of the king of *Spaine*, hath written a learned worke *de Auxilijs gratia*, and dedicated it with good allowance to the king that now is; wherein hee sayth, that though every morall acte that is good *ex genere & objecto*, as to give almes to a poore man out of naturall compassion, bee of that nature, that it may bee done in reference to God, as loved above all, as the authour of nature, or as the cause and object of supernaturall happinesse, yet no such can bee so done *de facto*, but by the acte of charitie. So that by a man unregenerate, no such acte canne bee done in reference to God, formally, or virtually. Now I suppose there is no morall acte that canne bee done by man, but it must bee referred, formally or virtually to some last end, and if not to God, as hee sayth the workes of Infidels cannot, then to some other end, and then of necessity they must bee sinne, for whatsoever is done in reference to any thing besides God as the last end, is done perversely and sinfully. The good man, no doubt, saw the trueth touching this poynt; and therefore sayth, that there is no true vertue without charity, that the workes of Infidels are not onely not meritorious, but not truly good, nor the workes of vertue: and proveth the same at large out of *Augustine*; whence it will follow that they are sinne; for every morall acte is either a worke of vertue and truly good, though in

in an inferiour sort, or sin; but this he durst not say: * and so putteth him-
 selfe into a necessitie of contradicting himselfe: for if an infidell when hee
 giveth an almes, cannot doe this act in reference to GOD, as the last end,
 either formally, or virtually, then he must doe it formally, or virtually,
 in reference to some other thing most loved by him; and if hee doe so,
 then he putteth an ill circumstance to this his action, and so it cannot but bee
 sinne.

Thus then wee have strongly proved, out of the testimonies of such as best
 understood the doctrine of the Church, that grace was given to Adam, in the
 day of his creation, not onely to make him constantly and collectively to doe all
 the morall duties that were required of him, and to merit supernaturall happi-
 nesse, as if he might have done the severall duties and performed the severall
 acts of morall vertue without it; but simply to inable him to doe good, and de-
 cline evill, so that it being taken away, man knoweth not his true good, nor is
 any way inclined to seeke it as he should doe. For whereas there was a three-
 fold eye in Adam, as *Hugo de Sancto Victore* noteth; *Carnis, quo mundum*
& quæ in mundo cernebat: rationis, quo se, & quæ in se: contemplationis, quo
deum: primum perfectè habet, secundum ex parte, tertium omnino non habet,
nam postquam tenebræ peccati intraverunt, oculus contemplationis extinctus est
ut nihil videret; oculus rationis lippus factus est, ut dubiè videret: solus oculus
carnis in suâ claritate permansit: That is, 'Of the flesh by which hee saw the
 'world, and the things that are in it: of reason whereby hee saw and under-
 'stood himselfe, and all the things that were in himselfe: and of contemplati-
 'on, by which he was to see God: the first he hath still in perfection, the second
 'in part, the third he hath wholly lost; for after the darkenesse of sin entred,
 'the eye of contemplation was put out, so as to see nothing at all; the eye of
 'reason was dimmed so as to see doubtfully; only the eye of the flesh remained
 'in perfection. And two kindes of evill are brought into the nature of man,
Privativa, amissio notitiæ in intellectu, & rectitudinis in voluntate, & conversi-
onis ad deum tanquam ad proprium objectum: positiva, perpetua & tristes dubi-
tationes de Deo, de providentiâ Dei, judicio, promissionibus, comminationibus, in
voluntate conversio ad objecta contraria legi: That is, there are * newly brought
 'into the nature of man, evils of two sorts; privative, as the losse of the true &
 'right knowledge of God in the understanding, of rectitude in the will, and of
 'due conuersion to God as her proper object: positive, as perpetuall doubtings
 'of God, of the providence of God, his judgment, promises, threatens, in his will
 'a conversion to the desiring of things the Law forbiddeth.

This corruption of mans nature is excellently described by *Prosser, Huma,*
na natura in primi hominis pravavicatione vitiata, etiam inter beneficia, inter
præcepta & auxilia Dei semper in deteriore est proclivior voluntatem, cui com-
mitti, non est aliud quam dimitti. Hac voluntas vaga, incerta, instabilis, imperita,
infirma ad efficiendum, facilis ad audendum, in cupiditatibus caca, in honoribus
tumida, curis anxia, suspicionibus inquieta, gloria quam virtutum avidior, fama
quam conscientia diligentior, & per omnem sui experientiam, miserior fruendo
his quæ concupiverit, quam carento: nihil in suis habet viribus nisi periculi fa-
cilitatem. And againe, 'Omnes homines in primo homine sine vitio conditi sumus,
 ' & omnes natura nostra incolumitatem, ejusdem hominis pravavicatione perdidimus,
 ' inde tracta mortalitas, inde multiplex corporis, animique corruptio, inde
 ' ignorantia, & difficultas, cura inutilis, illicitæ cupiditates, sacrilegi errores,
 ' timor vanus, amor noxius, injusta gaudia, penitenda consilia, & non minor mi-
 ' seriarum multitudo, quam criminum.

might, but by taking away the former stay, and as a horse is incited to runne, not by the spurre, but by taking away
 the bridle, *De vocatione gentium* l. 1. c. 6. Cap 7.

By

By this which hath beene sayd it appeareth, that the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, euer taught as we doe, touching the state of mans creation, fall, and originall corruption: and euer rejected the fancies of those more then *Semipelagians*, that brought in the errours the Romanists now maintaine, and so was in this as in the former points a true, orthodoxe, and Protestant Church.

C H A P. 6.

Of the blessed Virgins conception.

HAVING spoken of Originall sin and shewed the nature of it; the next thing that is questioned, is the generality of it; for wee say that amongst all them that have beene borne of women, there never was any found that was not conceived in sin, besides Christ the Lord, who had God for his father, and a virgin for his mother; of whose spotlesse conception, his Fathers divinity, and mothers virginity, were prooffe sufficient. But they of the Church of *Rome* at this day, for the most part say, that the blessed virgin the mother of our Lord, was conceived likewise without spotte of originall sin,

Opuscul tom.
2. tractatus 1.
de concep. B.
virginis. c. 5.

Leo the tenth was moved to determine this question touching the conception of the virgine in the councell of *Lateran*; But Cardinall *Cajetan* writeth a learned discourse touching the same matter, and offereth it to *Leo* praying him to be well advised: and in this tract, for prooffe of her conception in sin, he produceth the testimonies of 15 canonized Saints; For first *S. Augustine* writing upon the 34 Psalme, sayth, that *Adam* died for sin, that *Mary* who came out of the loynes of *Adam* died for sin, but that the flesh of the Lord which hee tooke of the virgin *Mary*, diéd for to take away sin. And in his 2^d booke *de baptismo parvulorum*, Hee only who ceasing not to be God, became man, never had sin, neither did he take the flesh of sin, or sinfull flesh, though hee tooke of the flesh of his mother that was sinfull. And in his tenth booke *de Genesi ad litteram*, he sayth, Though the body of Christ were taken of the flesh of a woman, that was conceived out of the propagation of sinfull flesh: yet because he was not soe conceived of her, as shee was conceived, therefore it was not sinfull flesh, but the similitude of sinfull flesh. And Saint *Ambrose* upon those words, Blessed are the undefiled, hath these words: The Lord *Iesus* came; and that flesh that was subject to sin in his mother, performed the warrefare of vertue. And *Chrysostome* upon *Matthew* sayth: Though Christ was no sinner, yet hee tooke the nature of man, of a woman that was a sinner. And *Eusebius Emisennus* in his second sermon upon the nativity, which beginneth, *Yee know beloved &c.* hath these words, There is none free from the tie and bond of originall sin, no not the mother of the redeemer. Saint *Remigius*, upon those words of the Psalme, O God my God, looke upon mee: saith; The blessed virgin *Mary* was made cleane from all staine of sin, that the man Christ *Iesus* might be conceived of her without sin. Saint *Maximus* in his sermon of the assumption of the blessed virgin, sayth; The blessed and glorious virgin was sanctified in her mothers wombe from all contagion of originall sin, before shee came to the birth, and was made pure and undefiled by the holy Ghost. Saint *Beda* in his sermon upon *missus est* (and the same is in the ordinary glosse) sayth, that The holy spirit comming upon the virgin, freed her mind from all defiling of sinfull vice, and made it chaste, and purified her from the heat of carnall concupiscence, tempering and cleansing her heart. Saint *Bernard* in his epistle to them of *Lyons* sayth: It is beleevéd that the blessed virgin after her conception, received

ved sanctification while shee was yet in the wombe; which excluding sinne, made her birth holy, but not her conception. Saint *Erardus* a Bishop, and a martyr, in his sermon upon the nativity of the virgin, crieth out: 'O happie damsell, which being conceived in sinne, is purged from all sinne; and conceiveth a sonne without sinne. Saint *Anthony* of *Padua* in his sermon of the nativity of the blessed virgin sayth: 'The blessed virgin was sanctified from sinne by grace in her mothers wombe, and borne without sinne. Saint *Thomas Aquinas* (for he also was a canonized Saint) in the third part of his summe quest. 27. art. 2. sayth, that the blessed virgin because shee was conceived out of the commixtion of her parents, contracted originall sinne. Saint *Bonaventure* upon the third of the sentences, *distinct. 3. p. 1. artic. 1. quest. 1.* faith. Wee must say the blessed virgin was conceived in originall sinne, and that her sanctification followed her contracting of originall sinne: this opinion is the more common, the more reasonable, and more secure. More common, for almost all hold it. The more reasonable because the being of nature precedeth the being of grace. The more secure because it better agreeth with the piety of faith, and the authority of the Saints, then the other. Saint *Bernardine*, in *sermonum suorum opere tertio*, in his tract of the blessed virgin, sermon the fourth, sayth: 'There was a third sanctification, which was that of the mother of God, and this taketh away originall sinne, conferreth grace, and removeth the pronenesse to sinne mortally, or venially. Saint *Vincentius* the confessor, in *sermone de conceptione virginis*, sayth, 'The blessed virgin was conceived in originall sinne. but that the same day and houre, shee was purged by sanctification from sinne contracted: so soone as ever shee had received the spirit of life. And besides all these holden to bee Saints in the Church of Rome, hee sayth, there were a great multitude of auncient doctors, who speaking particularly and distinctly of the virgin, say shee was conceived in originall sinne: whose sayings who pleaseth may find in the originalls: or may find them in the bookes of *Iohannes de Turrecremata*, and *Vincentius de Castro Novo* writing upon the conception of the virgin, whence they are taken. Thus farre *Cajetan*.

Bonaventura professeth, that the opinion of the blessed virgins spotlesse conception was soe new in his time, that he had never read it in any author, neither did he finde it to be holden by any one, that he had ever scene, or heard speake. And *Adam Angelicus* faith: 'If the sayings of the Saints be to be beleved; wee must hold that the blessed virgine was conceived in originall sin: and none of the Saints is found to have sayd the contrary. Yet in time some beganne to bring in this opinion, and to make it publike; as *Scotus*, and *Franciscus de Maironis*: but very doubtfully, and fearefully: for *Scotus* having spoken of both opinions touching the conception of the virgin, faith in the conclusion: that God onely knoweth, which of them is the truer: but if it be not contrary to the authority of the Church or of holy Scripture, it seemeth probable to attribute that to the virgin, that is more excellent. And that indeede hee had reason to feare least hee should contrary the Fathers and holy men that went before, it will easily appeare by that of the Master of Sentences: 'It may truely bee said, and wee must beleve according to the consenting testimonies of the Saints, that the flesh which *CHRIST* tooke was formerly subject to sinne, as the rest of the flesh of the virgin; but that it was soe sanctified, and made pure, and undefiled, by the operation of the holy Ghost, that free from all contagion of sinne, it was united to the world.

But see how strangely things were carried: this opinion which was unknowne to the Church for more then a thousand yeares, and at the first broaching of it had fewe patrons, yet in time grewe to bee so generally approved

b In 3. sent. d. 3. part. 1. artic. 1. q. 2.

c In 3. l. sent. d. 3. citatus a Cajetano ubi supra.

d In 3. sent. d. 3. q. 1.

e 3. Lib. dist. 3.

f Antonius
sum p. 1. tit. 8.
c. 2. prope fi-
nem.

g Tractatus ci-
tati superius. c. 1

h Cap. cum ex
injuncto extra:
de hæreticis.

i Cap. 3.

k Epist. 174.

proved, that almost all they of the Latine Church, thought they did God good service in following this opinion: many visions, revelations, and miracles were pretended in favour of it and the Councell of *Basil* decreed for it. *Bridget* canonized for a Saint, professed it had beene particularly revealed to her: but *Catharina Senensis*, a prophetesse also, and more authentically canonized then the former, professed that the contrary was revealed to her, as the Arch-bishop of *Florence* reporteth in his *summe*. And *Cajetan* saith; 'if miracles be pretended for prooffe, great caution is to be used, both in respect of the strange workes: and in respect of the illusions that may fall out in things of this kinde. In respect of the strange workes that are done, because the Angell of Satan transformeth himselfe into an Angell of light; and can doe many great and strange things, which wee would thinke to bee true miracles, and such things as God onely can doe: as the workes of healing, strang mutations in the Elements, and the like. Whence it is, that it is said, Antichrist shall doe soe many miracles in the sight of men, that if it were possible the very elect should bee deceived. Moreover as the Apostle testifieth 1 Cor. 14. and blessed *Gregory* in his tenth Homilie, miracles were given to Infidels, not to beleevers; but to the Church, as faithfull, and not faithlesse, the propheticall and Apostolicall revelation was given for her direction. So that though that course of prooffe that is by miracles, was appointed by Christ, Marke the last, in respect of infidels: and though it bee allowed by the Church, to make good the personall condition of some man, as when one pretendeth to bee sent extraordinarily of God: yet unlesse most clearly a true and undoubted, not wonder, but miracle, were done in the sight of the Governours of the Romane Church, expressely to testifie that this particular is true, the Roman Bishops ought not to determine any doubtfull thing in matter of faith, upon the doing of a miracle. And the reason is, because God hath appointed an ordinary course for the resolving of points of faith, so that if an Angell from Heaven should say unto us any thing contrary to this way, wee were not to beleeve him, as the Apostle saith in the first to the *Galathians*. Adde hereunto, that the miracles which the Church admitteth in the canonization of Saints, which yet are most authentically, are not altogether certaine, seeing the credite of them dependeth upon the testimony of men, and every man is a lyar. And hee concludeth, that these things being so, wise men thinke, that pretended miracles and revelations in this kinde, contrary to so many Saints, and auncient Doctors, argue rather that the Angell of Satan is transformed into an Angell of light, and that whatsoever things are alleadged in this kinde are meere fancies, and counterfeite stuffe, then that they proove the truth of this concept; and that proofes in this kinde are fitter for silly women, then counselsto take notice of.

It appeareth by Saint *Bernard*, that in his time they of *Lyons* in *France*, out of a superstitious concept, as he rightly censureth it, beganne to celebrate the feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin, supposing that she was conceived without sinne; but he opposeth himselfe against this innovation, and saith, 'the observation of the Church hath no such thing, reason inferreth it not, nor ancient tradition commendeth it, that wee are not more learned and devout then our Fathers, that in like sort others may bring in the Feast of her parents Conception, that *patria non exilij frequentia hac gaudiorum, & numerofitas festivitatum cives non exules decet*: That, whereas some brought out a certaine pretended writing of divine revelation, it was not to be regarded, and that another might bring forth the like writing, wherein the holy Virgin might bee found to commaund the same thing to be done, in honour of her parents, according to the commaund of the Lord, Honour thy father and thy mother, so did hee shew his dislike.

Yet

Yet after this many Churches received the same observation; and in proceſſe of time all were brought to keepe the ſame day holy: yet ſo that many of them professed, that they would keepe it holy, not in reſpect of her preſervation, but of her ſanctification from ſinne. So that wee ſee, that this poynt of Romiſh ſuperſtition, was never admitted by the Church, but proteſted againſt by all the moſt worthy members of it; which thing beſides that which hath already beene alleaged, the reader may finde farther confirmed by *Ariminenſis*; who not only contradicteſt this fancie himſelfe, but produceth many authorities for the reproof of it. So that herein alſo the Church wherein our Fathers lived, and died, is found to have beene a Proteſtant Church, as in the former.

But ſome man will ſay, many of thoſe that we produce for witneſſes that ſhe was conceived in ſinne, yet thinke that ſhee was ſanctified in the wombe, and borne without ſinne. For anſwere hercunto, we muſt obſerve that which *Gregorius Ariminenſis* hath, that many thought ſhee was ſanctified in the wombe, and borne without originall ſinne, as ſinne. and making guilty of condemnation: but not without concupiſcence inclining to evill, which was wholly taken away, or ſo reſtrained by the ſuperabundance of grace, when the holy ſpirit overſhadowed her, that ſhee might be the mother of God; that it ſhould never be an occaſion of ſinne: this opinion the ^m Maſter of ſentences followeth; and this opinion the Schoolemen followe for the moſt part. ^{Dist. 31. q. 2. artic. 3.}

But *Auguſtine* ſayth, *Iſta ſanctificatio quâ efficitur & ſinguli templa Dei, & in unum omnes templum Dei, non eſt niſi renatorum, quod niſi nati homines eſſe, non poſſunt. Si homo regenerari per gratiam ſpiritus in utero poſteſt, quoniam reſtat illi adhuc naſci, renaſcitur ergo antequam naſcitur, quod fieri nullo modo poſteſt.* Seeing therefore none can be ſanctified before hee bee borne, neither can any man be cleaſed from originall ſinne before his birth; in aſmuch as that is not taken away. But by the infuſion of grace. And the *gloſſe* upon the eight to the *Romans* ſaith, 'Chriſt was the firſt that was borne without ſinne. And *Anſelme* in his ſecond booke *cur Deus homo*, hath theſe wordes: 'Though Chriſts 'conception were pure, and without the ſinne of carnall delight, yet the virgine 'her ſelfe, of whom he tooke fleſh, was conceived in iniquity, and her mother 'conceived her in ſinne, and ſhee was borne with originall ſinne, becauſe ſhee 'alſo ſinned in *Adam* in whom all ſinned. ^{De præſentiâ Dei ad Dardanum ep. 57. poſt medium. p. 319.}

And diverſe of the Fathers feared not to make her ſubject to actuall ſinne. ^{o Rom. 5. 12.} *Origen* writing upon *Luke*, inſiſting upon thoſe wordes of *Simeon* to *Mary*, ^{p Homil. 17. in Lucam.} 'a ſword ſhall pierce thorough thy ſoule, hath theſe wordes: What is this 'ſword that pierced the heart, not only of others, but of *Mary* alſo? It is plainly written, that in the time of his paſſion all the Apoſtles were ſcandalized, as 'the Lord himſelfe had ſayd, you ſhall all be ſcandalized this night: they were 'all therefore ſo ſcandalized, that even *Peter* the prince of the Apoſtles denied 'him thrice. What ſhall we thinke that when the Apoſtles were ſcandalized, 'the mother of our Lord, was free from being ſcandalized? Surely if ſhee ſuffered no ſcandall in the time of the Lords paſſion, Chriſt dyed not for her ſinnes; 'but if all have ſinned, and have bin deprived of the glory of God, & are juſtified by his grace, & redeemed, then ſurely *Mary* was ſcandalized at that time: 'and that is it that *Simeon* now prophetieth, And even thy ſoule (which knoweſt that being a virgin, and never knowing man, thou broughteſt him forth, 'which heardeſt of the Angell *Gabriel*, the holy Ghoſt ſhall come unto thee, & 'the power of the moſt high ſhall overſhadow thee,) a ſword of infidelity ſhall pierce; thou ſhalt bee ſtricken with a ſword of doubting: and thy thoughts 'ſhall rent thee into diverſe parts, when thou ſhalt ſee him whom thou 'heardeſt to be the ſonne of God, and whom thou kneweſt to be generated 'in thee without the ſeed of man, to be crucified, to die, to be ſubject to humane 'punishments, and at the laſt with teares and ſtrong cries complaining and ſaying, if it be poſſible let this cup paſſe from me.

9 Apud Sixtum
Senensem, li. 6.
cap. 138.

7 Quæst. vete-
ris & novi Testi-
menti q. 73.

In 2: Luc.

Homil: 45: in
Mathæum:

Homil: 46: in
Mathæum.

Homil: in Io-
annem 20.

Super Ma-
thæi 12: v. 48

Chrysostome upon the 13 Psalme agreeth with *Origen*: his words are these: When Christ was crucified, there was none found that did good: the Disciples all fledde away, *John* ranne away naked, *Peter* denied him, the sword of doubting went through the soule of *Mary* her selfe, And *Augustine* to the same purpose hath these words. And that which hee addeth saying, and a sword shall pierce thy soule, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed: thereby doubtlesse, hee signified, that even *Mary* herselfe, of whom the sonne of God tooke flesh, should doubt in the time of Christs death, but soe, as to be confirmed in his resurrection. And *Theophylact* upon the same place of *Luke*, Happily by the sword he understandeth the dolour, happily the scandal wherewith *Mary* was scandalized, for seeing him to be crucified, happily she thought how hee that was borne without the seed of man, who had done miracles and raised the dead, could be crucified, spit upon, and die: and that hee sayth, the cogitations of many hearts shall be revealed, importteth no more but the thoughts of many that shall be scandalized, shall be revealed: and being reprehended, they shall find present remedy: and so shalt thou o virgin, be revealed, and manifested, what thou thoughtest of Christ: and then thou shalt be confirmed in the faith: so likewise *Peter* shall be manifested, when hee shall denie him: but the power of God shall be shewed when he receaveth him upon his repentance.

Chrysostome writing upon those words: behold thy mother and thy brethren &c. and those words of Christ, *Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?* sayth, that Christ uttered these words, not as being ashamed of his mother, or denying her that bare him, (for had he bin ashamed of her, he would not have passed through her wombe:) but shewing that it would nothing profit her, that she was his mother, unles she did all those things that becomed her: for this that she now attempted, argued too much ambition: for she would make it known to the people, that she had power over and could command her sonne, not conceaving any great matter of him, and therefore shee came unseasonably. See therefore, sayth hee, the want of discretion, in her and them, for it had beene fitt for them to come in, and to have heard with the multitude: or if not, to have stayd till hee had ended his speech, and then to have come unto him: but they call him out, and this they doe before all, shewing too much ambition, and willing to shew that with greate power they command him.

And in another place, "It is admirable to see, how the disciples, though very desirous to learne, yet knew when it is fitte to aske him: for they doe not this in the sight and hearing of all: and this *Mathew* sheweth saying, and comming unto him: and Saint *Marke*, they came unto him privately, or when hee was alone: It had beene fitte his mother and his brethren had done so, & that they should not have called him out and made such a shew as they did. And writing upon *John*. and intreating of those words of the virgin (when the wine began to faile,) *they have no wine*, sayth, Shee was willing to do them a pleasure, and to make herselfe the more illustrious by her child: and happily shee was carried with some humane affection, as his brethren were, when they sayd, shew thy selfe to the world, desiring to reape glory from his miracles: and therefore hee answereth something sharply, saying, what have I to doe with thee? my houre is not yet come: & a little after, speaking of her calling him out mentioned in the former place, hee sayth: Shee had not that opinion of him that was fitte, but because shee had brought him forth, shee thought to command him in every thing, after the manner of other mothers, whom she should have honoured and worshipped as her Lord: and therefore he sayth, who is my mother? And *Theophylact* writing upon the same words, sayth: the mother of Christ would take upon her to be a mother, and shew that shee had power over her sonne, for as yet shee conceived noe great thing of him: and therefore shee would drawe him out unto her, while hee was yet speaking, being a little

'a little proud, that she had such a sonne at her commaund. What doth Christ therefore? because he knew her intention, heare what hee saith. Who is my mother? which he said not to wrong his mother, but to correct her minde, desirous of glory, and subject to such affections as men are wont to be. *Enthy-mius* in his Commentaries observeth the former place in *Chrysostome*, but da- reth not reprehend it, as *Sixtus Senensis* telleth us.

But they will say *Augustine* affirmeth, that the Mother of our Lord was without sinne; surely it will be found that he saith no such thing; the circum- stances of that they alleage out of *Augustine* are these; The *Pelagian* com- memorateth sundry holy ones, which are reported not onely not to have sin- ned, but to have lived righteously, as *Abel*, *Enoch*, *Melchizedech*, *Abraham*, *Isaak*, *Iacob* &c. and addeth to these certaine women, as *Deborah*, *Anna*, *Sam- uels* mother, *Judith*, *Esther*, another *Anna* the daughter of *Phannuel*. *Eliza- beth*, and the mother of our Lord and Saviour, whom he saith that pietie requi- reth us to confesse to have beene without sinne. The words of *Augustine*, in answer to the *Pelagian* are these: 'except therefore the holy Virgin *Mary*, (of whom for the honour of our Lord, I will make no queltion at all, now that wee are to speake of sinnes; for hence doe we know that more grace was given to her wholly to overcome sinne, who was honored so much as to con- ceive and beare him, whom wee know to have had no sinne; this Virgin therefore excepted) if we could gather together all those holy men and wo- men, as now living, and aske of them whether they were without sinne what answer thinke we would they make? I pray tell me whether that which this man saith, or that which the Apostle *John*? surely how much soever they ex- celled in sanctity while they were in this body, they would all crye out with a loud voice, If we say, we have no sinne, we deceive our selves, and there is no trueth in us.

Gregorius Ariminensis noteth, that *Augustine* speaketh not of originall sin, but actuall, and that this ample grace to overcome sinne, was not given her till the spirit over-shadowed her, and the power of the most High came upon her, that shee might conceive and beare him that never knew sinne, so that be- fore shee might commit sinne, which yet hee will not affirme, because the mo- derne Doctours for the most part thinke otherwise, so intimating that all did not. And surely the wordes of *Augustin*, doe not import that shee had no sinne, but that shee overcame it, which argueth a conflict: neither doth he say, he will acknowledge shee was without sinne, but that hee will not move any question touching her, in this dispute of sinnes and sinners. So passing by the point, and not willing to enter into this dispute with the *Pelagian*, who conceived it would be plausible for him, to pleade for the puritie of the Mo- ther of our Lord, and disgracefull for any one to except against her. By that which hath beene said it appeareth, that the Church of God never resolved any thing, touching the birth of the blessed Virgin without sinne, nor whether she were free from all actuall sinne, or not.

If happily it bee alleadged, that the Church celebrated the Feast of her na- tivitie, and therefore beleevved that shee was borne without sinne. First, touching the celebration of this Feast, it is evident, that it was not auncient: That it was not in the dayes of Saint *Augustine*, (as some imagine, because on that day there is read in the Church, a Sermon of Saint *Augustines*, touch- ing the solemnitie of that day,) it is proved out of Saint *Augustine* him- selfe, for in his 21 Sermon *de sanctis* he hath these wordes. 'Wee celebrate this day the birth-day of *John* the Baptist, which honour wee never reade to have beene given to any of the Saints. *Solius enim Domini & beati Ioan- nis dies nativitatis, in universo mundo celebratur, & colitur*: That is, For the birth-day of our Lord onely, and of *John* the Baptist is cele- brated and kept holy throughout the whole world: *illum enim sterilis peperit illum*

2 Lib. 6. c. 58.
4 De natura &
gratia contra
Pelagianos lib.
unic. cap. 36.

ubi supra.

c vide Baronij
Martyrologium
mens Septem.

illum virgo concepit, in Elizabetha sterilitas vincitur, in beatâ Mariâ conceptionis consuetudo mutatur; That is, 'A woman that was barren bare the one, and 'a Virgin the other, in Elizabetha barrennes is overcome, in blessed Mary the 'ordinary course of conceiving is changed. And in his 20th sermon, hee hath these words: *Post illum sacrosanctum Domini natalis diem, nullius hominum natiuitatem legimus celebrari, nisi solius beati Ioannis Baptiste. In alijs sanctis & electis Dei, novimus illum diem coli, quo illos post consummationum laborem, & devictum triumphatumque mundum, in perpetuas aternitates præsens hac vita paraturit. In alijs consummata ultimi diei merita celebrantur, in hoc etiam prima dies, & ipsa etiam hominis initia consecrantur; pro hac absq^{ue} dubio causâ, quia per hunc Dominus adventum suum, ne subito homines insperatum non agnoscerent voluit esse testatum.* That is, 'After that most sacred day of the birth of our Lord, 'wee reade not that the nativity of any one amongst men is celebrated, but of 'John the Baptist onely; touching other Saints. and other the chosen of God, 'wee know that that day is celebrated, in which, after the consummation of 'their labours, after their victories and triumphs over the world, this present life bringeth them forth to begin to live for ever. In others the consummate 'vertues of the last day are celebrated, in this the first day, and the beginnings 'of the man are consecrated; for this cause no doubt, because the Lord would 'have his coming made known to the world by him, least if his coming 'had not beene expected and looked for, it might happily not have beene acknowledged. Neither doth the reading of the sermon of Saint *Augustine* on that day pertayning to the solemnity of the day, prove that this day was kept holy before his time; for as *Baronius* sheweth, the sermon was fitted originally to the solemnity of the feast of the Anuntiation, & the words were these, 'Let our land rejoyce illustrated with the solemne day of so greate a virgine, which are altered and read in the breviarie in this sorte, 'Let our land rejoyce 'illustrated by the birth day of so great a virgin. And it is evident by the 'council of *Mentz* holden in the time of *Charles* the great in the yeare 813, that this feast was not celebrated in the Church of *Germany* and *France* in those times. As likewise it appeareth by the 'constitutions of *Charles* and *Ludovicus Pius*.

^a Ubi supra.

^e Cam 36.

^f Ex capitulis Caroli magni & Ludovici Pij, l. 1. c. 164. l. 2. c. 35. l. 6. c. 186. citat. a Baronio in Martyrol. septemb.

Secondly, the celebrating of the birth-day of the blessed virgine, will no more prove that shee was borne without all sinne, then that *John* the Baptist was so borne; concerning whom *Bernard* sayth, hee knoweth he was sanctified before he came out of the wombe, but how farre this sanctification freed him from sinne, hee dareth not say or define any thing. Thus wee see that the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, was a Protestant Church, in these points touching the conception and birth of the blessed virgine, aswell as in the former.

C H A P. 7.

Of the punishment of originall sinne and of Limbus puerorum.

^a De amissione gratiæ & statu peccati, l. 6. c. 1.

Bellarmino sheweth, that there are foure opinions in the Roman Church touching the punishment of originall sinne, and the state of infants dying unregenerate; for *Ambrosius Catharinus* in his booke of the state of children dying unbaptized, *Albertus Pighius* in his first controversie, and *Savanarola* in his booke of the triumph of the crosse, doe teach, that infants dying without baptisme, shall after the judgment enjoy a kinde of naturall happinesse, and live happily for ever, as it were in a certaine earthly paradise: howsoever for the present they goe downe into those lower parts of the earth, which are called *Limbus puerorum*. These men suppose, that infants incurre no staine or infection by *Adams* sinne; but that for his offence

fence being denyed the benefit of supernaturall grace, which would have made them capable of heaven happines, they are found in a state of meere nature, in which as they cannot come to heaven, so they are subject to no evill that may cause them to sorrow. For though they see that happinesse in heaven, whereof they had a possibility, yet they nomore greive that they have not attained it, then innumerable men doe that they are not Kings and Emperours, as well as others, of which honours they were capable as well as they, in that they were men. The second opinion is, that infants dying in the state of originall sinne not remitted, are excluded from the sight of God, and condemned to the prison house of the infernall dwellings for ever, so that they suffer the punishment of losse but not of sence; and that they are subject to no dolour or greife inward or outward, this he saith is the opinion of *Thomas Aquinas*, and some other Schoolemen. The third opinion is, that they are in a sorte subject to the punishment of sence, that is, to greife and dolour, which floweth out of the consideration of their great and inestimable losse of eternall happines, but because they cannot have remorse, not having lost that eternall good by their owne negligence and contempt, therefore they are not subject to that dolour that is properly named *the worme that never dyeth*, whereof wee read in the ninth of *Marke*. 'Their worme dieth not and their fire never goeth out'. There is a fourth opinion, which is that of *Augustine*, who saith: 'Wee must firmly beleve, and no way doubt, that not onely men that have had the use of reason, but infants also, dying in the state of originall sinne, shall bee punished with the punishment of eternall fire; because though they had noe sinne of their owne proper action, yet they have drawne to themselves the condemnation of originall sinne, by their carnall conception. To this opinion on *Gregorius Ariminensis* inclined, fearing exceedingly to depart from the doctrine of the Fathers, and yet dareth not resolve any thing seeing the moderne doctours went another way. And to the same opinion *Driedo* inclineth likewise.

But Bonaventura (sens. l. 2. d. 33. art. 2. quest. 2. sheweth, that if they have any such dolour and greife it is without patience and hope, and so joyned with murmuring and despaire; and if it proceed from deliberation, it cannot be without a small obliquity, neither can it but redound into the flesh so that if there be any such greife, there is not only privative, but positive and sensible greife also; there is therefore a worme and hell punishment.

De fide ad Petrum, c. 27. *De gratia & libero arbitrio*, l. 1. tract. 3. c. 2. *Contra Iulianum*, l. 5. c. 8. *Hypognost*, l. 5.

Thus then wee see that *Pelagianisme* was taught, in the midst of the Church wherein our Fathers lived, and that not by a few but many; For was not this the doctrine of many in the Church, that there are foure mansions in the other world of men sequestred from God, and excluded out of his presence. The first of them that sustaine the punishment as well of sensible smart, as of losse, and that for ever, which is the condition of them that are condemned to the lowest hell. The second of those that are subject to both these punishments, not eternally, but for a time onely, as are they that are in purgatory. The third of them that were subject onely to the punishment of losse, and that but for a time, named by them *Limbus patrum*. The fourth of such as are subject onely to the punishment of losse, but yet eternally; and this named by them *Limbus peccatorum*? nay were there not that placed these in an earthly paradise? and was not this *Pelagianisme*? Surely *Augustine* telleth us, that the *Pelagians* excluded such as were not made partakers of Gods grace, out of the kingdome of heaven, and from the life of God, which is the vision of God, and yet supposed that they should be for ever in a kind of naturall felicity; so that they imagined a third state and place, betweene the kingdome of heaven and hell, where they are that endure, not onely the punishment of losse, but of sensible smart also; where they are whose worme never dieth; and whose fire never goeth out; and this is the opinion of Papists, against which Saint *Austine* mightily opposeth himselfe. The unregenerate is excluded out of the kingdome of heaven, where Christ remaineth that is the fountaine of the living. Give mee besides this another place, where there may bee a perpetuall rest of life; the first place the faith of Catholiques by divine authoritie, beleeveth to bee the kingdome of heaven: the second Hell, where every apostata, and such as are aliens from the faith of Christ, shall suffer everlasting punishment: but that

there is any third place we are altogether ignorant, neither shall wee finde in the holy Scripture, that there is any such place. There is the right hand of him that sitteth to judge, and the left; the kingdome, and hell; life, and death; the righteous, and the wicked: On the right hand of the Iudge are the just, and the workers of iniquitie on the left. There is life to the joy of glory, and death to weeping and gnashing of teeth. The just are in the Kingdome of the Father with Christ; the unrighteous in eternall fire prepared for the devell and his Angels. By which words of *Augustine* it is evident, that there is no place to bee admitted, as the papistes imagine their *Limbus puerorum* to bee: neither did the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, beleieve any such thing, though many embraced this fancie.

And therefore *Gregorius Ariminensis* having proved out of *Augustine*, and *Gregory*, that infants that die in the state of originall sinne not remitted, shall not onely suffer the punishment of losse, but of sence also, concludeth in this sort. 'Because I have not seene this question expressly determined either way by the Church, and it seemeth to mee a thing to be trembled at, to deny the authorities of the Saints: and on the contrary side, it is not safe to goe against the common opinion, and the consent of our great Masters, therefore without peremptorie pronouncing for the one side, or the other, I leave it free to the Reader to judge of this difference, as it seemeth good unto him.

CHAP. 8.

Of the remission of originall sinne, and of concupiscence remaining in the regenerate,

IN the remission of all sinne there are two things implied; the taking away of the staine or sinfullnesse, and the removing of the punishment, that for such sinfullnesse, justice would bring upon the sinner. In actuall sinne there are three things considerable. First, an act or omission of act. Secondly, an habituall aversion from God, and conversion to the creature remaining after the act is past, till wee repent of such an act, or omission of act; and this is the staine of sinne remaining, denominating the doers sinners, and making them worthe of punishment. And thirdly, a designing to punishment after the act is past. In remission therefore of actuall sinne there must bee; first, a ceasing from the act or omission; secondly, a turning to God and from the creature, and thirdly, for Christs sake, who suffered what we deserved, a taking away of the punishment that sinne past made us subject to.

In originall sinne there are onely two things considerable; the staine or sinfullnesse, and the designing of them that have it to punishment. The staine of originall sinne consisteth of two parts: the one privative, which is the want of those divine graces that should cause the knowledge, loue, and feare of God: the other positive, and that is an habituall inclination to loue our selves more then God, and inordinately to desire whatsoever may be pleasing to us, though forbidden and disliked by God; and is named concupiscence. This sinne first defileth the nature, and then the person; in that it so misinclineth nature, as that it hath the person at commaund, to be swayed whether it will. The remission of this sinne implieth a donation of those graces, that may cause the knowledge, loue, and feare of God, a turning of us from the loue of our selves, to the loue of God, and for Christs sake a removing of the punishment we were justly subject to, in that we had such want, and inordinate inclination. The donation of grace maketh originall sinne cease so to miscline nature, as formerly it did, and so as to have the person at commaund to be swayed whether it will; it maketh it not cease to miscline nature in some sort, and so to be a sinne of nature, it maketh it

it cease to be a sinne of the person, freeing it from being subject to it, and putting it into an opposition against it; so that it is no farther a sinne of the person, then it is apt to be ledde by it, to be hindred from good, or drawne to evill. The nature and person are freed from the guilt of condemnation; the nature in respect of the sinne that remaineth in it, is subject to punishment; the person is not free from those punishments which the remaining sinne of the nature it hath, bringeth upon it, as death &c. The person is freed from being subject to any punishment, farther then it must needes be in respect of nature. So that originall sinne or concupiscence remaineth in act in the regenerate, moving to desire things not to be desired; and so a sinne of nature, making it subject to punishment; but it doth not remaine in act *illiciendo & abstrahendo mentem, ejusq; consensu concipiendo, & pariendo peccata*; that is, it doth not so remaine in act, as to allure and draw the minde, and to gaine the consent of it to conceive and bring forth sinne, and so remaineth not in the guilt of condemnation, nor as a sinne of the person.

If therefore when the question is proposed, whether concupiscence in the regenerate which grace restraineth and opposeth, be sinne; wee understand by sinne a thing that is not good, an evill that is not a punishment onely, but a vice and fault; and such an evill as positively and privatively repugneth, against the law which the spirit of God writeth in the hearts of the beleevers; an iniquitie; a thing that God hateth, and which wee must hate and resist against by the spirit, that it bring not forth evill acts; if wee understand by sinne such a disposition of nature, as God by the law of creation at first forbad, and ceaseth not still to forbidde to be in the nature of man; it is undoubtedly sinne, a sinne I say of nature, though not of person. And hereunto *Stapleton* agreeth; for whereas it is objected out of *Augustine*, to prove that concupiscence in the regenerate is sin; that as blindness of heart is a sinne, in that men by reason of it beleeve not in God, and a punishment of sinne wherewith the proud heart of man is punished, and a cause of sinne, when men through error of their blind heart do any evill thing; So that concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good spirit opposeth good desires, is a sinne, in that there is in it disobedience against the minde that should command; and a punishment of sinne, because it was justly brought upon him, whose disobedience against God deserved so; and a cause of sinne, when it obtaineth a consent: hee answereth, setting aside all other answers as not sufficient, that concupiscence in that place is sayd by *Augustine*, not onely to be a punishment and cause of sinne, but sinne also, not as if it were truly and properly a sinne, making God displeased with the regenerate in whom it is; but that it is a sinne of nature, respecting the first integrity of it; and not of the person; according to that of the Apottle, 'It is not I that do it, but the sinne that dwelleth in mee that is my flesh. For the reason which he bringeth why it is sinne, doth evidently shew this. Because, sayth hee, there is in it disobedience against the dominion of the minde, it is therefore a certaine sinne, or fault, contrary to the integrity of nature, in which there was no disobedience of the flesh: as it is a fault of the eye, to be dimme, and of the eare to heare imperfectly. And though *Stapleton* say he had no author to follow in this interpretation: yet hee might easily have found, that *Alexander of Ales* long since was of the same opinion, making concupiscence in the regenerate a sinne of nature and not of the person, as I have else were shewed at large.

a De doctrin. justificationis l. 3. c. 7. p. 67. b Contra Iulian. lib. 5. c. 3

c Lib. 3. c. 26

If this be soe, what then will some man say is the difference, betweene the Romanists and those of the reformed Churches? surely it is very great, for these teach that concupiscence was newly brought into the nature of man by *Adams* sinne, that in the unregenerate it is properly sinne, that it maketh them guiltie and worthy of eternall condemnation that have it. But the Romanists say it was not newly brought in by *Adams* fall: that it is a consequent of nature: that it is more free, and at liberty to produce the proper effects of it now, then

d De amiff. gra-
tia & ftatu pec-
cati, l. 5. c. 13.

ecap. 13.

f Cap. 14.

Cap. 7.

then it would have beene if grace had not beene loft, but not more then it would have beene in nature fimpfy confidered without grace or finne; and that it never made them guilty that had it. Thefe fay, that in the regenerate it is fo far weakened, as that it hath no power to fway him that is fo renewed, to what it pleaseth; that the guilt of condemnation which it drew upon man before his regeneration, is taken away; that yet ftill it is a finne of nature, making guilty of punifhment, that yet ftill it is hated of God, and muft be hated of us: But the Romanifts fay, the guilt that is taken away, is not the guilt whereby concupifcence maketh guilty, but out of which it came, that man de- ferved to have concupifcence free and at libertie: And therefore ^d Bellarmine fayth, the guilt of concupifcence may be conceived in three forts. Firft, To be a guilt rifing from it, and founded in it, making him guilty that hath it, as the guilt of theft it that whereby he is guilty that hath committed theft. Secondly, That may bee faid to bee the guilt of concupifcence, not that floweth from it, but from which it floweth; as if a man fhould cut off his hand, he might be faid to be guilty of the hand that is cut off, not becaufe it is a finne making guilty to have a hand cut off, but becaufe he is guilty of the not having a hand, that hath cut it off himfelfe: fo wee are to underftand the guilt of concupifcence, not as if the having of it did make a man guilty, but becaufe *Adam*, by finne, made himfelfe guilty of having concupifcence at libertie to follicit him to ill, that was formerly reftained. Thirdly, the guilt of concupifcence is that which it caufeth, if it obtaine concent to thofe motions it maketh; not for that a man is guilty becaufe he hath concupifcence, but becaufe he yeeldeth to it. So that according to their opinion, when there is a remiffion of the offence, that fet concupifcence at liberty, it is no guilt to have it, for it is naturall. Foure things therefore are to be proved by us. Firft, That concupifcence was no condition of nature. Secondly, That it maketh guilty of eternall condemnation, if it bee not remitted. Thirdly, That God hateth it, and that wee muft hate it, as long as any remaines of it are found in us. Fourthly, That the firft motions of it are finne.

The firft of thefe foure is clearly delivered by Saint *Augustine* in his ^e third booke againft *Iulian*, his words are thefe, *An vero cujuscunque frontis fis, audeas fufpicari, in primâ hominum constitutione priusquam culpam debita damnatio fequeretur, istam carnalem concupifcentiâ aut extitiffe in paradiso, aut inordinatis, ut eam nunc videmus motibus, pugnas adversus spiritum fadiffimas edidiffe?* And in his ^f fourth booke where *Iulian* objecteth, that if wee graunt, that that concupifcence of the flefh, againft which wee refift by continencie, was not in paradise before finne, but that it flowed from that finne, which the devill firft perfwaded the firft man to commit, it will bee confequent that the fenfes of feeing, hearing, talting, fmelling, and handling, are not of God but of the devill; he answereth, that *Iulian* is ignorant or maketh fhew to be ignorant, *per quemlibet corporis sensum, aliud esse sentiendi vivacitatem, vel utilitatem, vel necessitatem; aliud sentiendi libidinem, Vivacitas sentiendi, quâ magis alius, alius minus, in ipsis corporalibus rebus; pro earum modo atque naturâ quod verum est percipit, atque id à falso magis minusve discernit. Utilitas sentiendi est, per quam corpori vitæque quam gerimus, ad aliquid approbandum, vel improbandum, sumendum vel rejiciendum, appetendum, vitandumve consulimus; Necessitas sentiendi est quando sensibus nostris etiam quæ nolumus ingeruntur. Libido autem sentiendi est, de quâ nunc agimus, quæ nos ad sentiendum, sive consentientes mente, sive repugnantes, appetitu carnalis voluptatis impellit. Hæc est contraria delectationi sapientia, hæc virtutibus inimica.* And in his ^g fifth booke he hath thefe words; *Dixi inobedientiam carnis, quæ in carne concupifcente adversus spiritum apparet, diabolico vulnere contigisse.* And againe, *Hanc legem peccati repugnantem legi mentis, à Deo illatam propter ultionem, & ideo pœnam esse peccati.* But I will no longer infift upon this point, having fufficiently proved in that part that is of originall finne, that all thefe evils did flow from *Adams* transgression, & were not conditions of nature. The

The next thing that is to be proved is, that concupiscence till it be remitted, maketh them in whom it is, guilty of eternall condemnation: This is proved out of Saint *Augustine*, his words are these: *Iulianus concupiscentiam bonam, predicat, Nos autem qui eam malam dicimus, & manere tamen in baptizatis, quamvis reatus ejus (non quo ipsa erat rea, neque enim aliqua persona est, sed quo reum hominem, originaliter faciebat) fuerit remissus, atque vacuatus; absit ut dicamus sanctificari, cum quâ necesse habent regenerati, si non in vacuum Dei gratiam suscepimus, intestino quodam bello tanquam cum hoste configere, atque ab eâ peste desiderare atque optare sanari.* And afterwards, *Et concupiscentia quæ manet oppugnanda atque sananda, quamvis in baptismo dimissa sint cuncta omnino peccata, non solum non sanctificatur, sed potius ne sanctificatos æterna morti obnoxios possit tenere, evacuatur.*

Gregorius Ariminensis fully agreeth with *Augustine*, and contradicteth *Bellarmino*: his words are these, 'Originall sinne is in a sort taken away, and in a sort remaineth after Baptisme: for it is taken away in respect of the guilt, not of the essence; that is, that vice, or that qualitie that is named concupiscence, and is before Baptisme originall sinne, abideth truly in the essence of it after Baptisme, but not in the guilt; that is, it maketh not men guilty of condemnation after Baptisme, as it did before; and for prooffe hereof hee alleadgeth the testimony of Saint *Augustine* in his booke de peccato originali: his words are these: *Obesset ista carnalis concupiscentia etiam tantummodo quod inesset; nisi peccatorum remissio sic prodesset, ut quæ in eis est, & nato, & renato, nato quidem & inesse & obesse, renato autem inesse quidem, sed non obesse possit. In tantum enim obest natis, ut nisi renascantur, nihil possit prodesse, si nati sunt de re-natis. Manet quippe in prole, ita ut reatum faciat, originis vitium, etiamsi in parente reatus ejusdem vitij remissione ablatus est peccatorum.* That is, 'Carnall concupiscence by onely beeing in a man would undoe him; if remission of sinnes did not so helpe the matter, that it being in men borne, and borne anew; in men. As borne into the world, it is, and is to their hurt, and evill: in men borne anew, it onely is, but is not to their hurt. For it is so farre forth hurtfull to men borne, that unlesse they be borne anew, it nothing profiteth them to have beene borne, of such as were new borne. For originall sinne doeth so abide in the childe, as to make him guilty, though the guilt of the same sinne be taken away in the parent, by remission of sinnes.

The Master of sentences in his 2^d booke, agreeth with Saint *Augustine*: his words are these: 'Unlesse it bee by an ineffable miracle of the Creator, Baptisme doth not cause the Law of sinne which is in our members to be extinguished and not to bee: it causeth indeede all the evill a man hath thought or done, to be abolished, and to be accounted as if it had never beene done: but it suffereth concupiscence (the bond of guilt, wherewith the divell by it, held the soule, and separated it from God her Creator, being loosened) to remaine, that there may be a continuall fight. *Bonaventura* writing upon the same place, saith: Concupiscence importeth in the unregenerate an immoderate desire of commutable good, in such sort as to captivate reason, and to pervert the soule, so that it must preferre commutable good, before that which is incommutable: this concupiscence cannot be found in any, but it must make him, in whom it is, guilty of condemnation; the strength of this concupiscence, is so broken and overthrowne, by the grace of regeneration, that it hath no power to captivate reason, to pervert the soule, & bring upon it a necessity of preferring things finite before infinite; and so the guilt of condemnation is taken away: but it hath still power to move and sollicite us to evill, and we by Gods grace have power to resist & overcome. For as the Master of the sentences saith in the same place; though concupiscence remaine after Baptisme, yet doth it not rule & raigne as before, but it is diminished, weakened, and made lesse forcible, that it may rule no longer, unlesse any man will give strength

Contra Iulian. l. 6 c. 6

Contra Iulianum l. 2. prope finem pag. 332.

In baptismo mortuum est

peccatum in eo reatu quo nos tenebat: & jam non eodem

modo appellatur peccatum

quo facit reum; sed quod sit reatu primi hominis factum,

& quod rebelando nos trahere nitatur ad reatum, nisi adjuvet nos gratia Dei per Iesum Christum

Dominum nostrum; ne sic etiam mortuum peccatum rebellet, ut vincendo reviviscat & regnet.

l. 2. d. 3 l. q. 1. art. 4.

Cap. 39.

m Dist. 32.

Strength unto his enemy, by going after the lusts thereof.

¶ Vbi supra:

¶ In consultati-
one de articulis
religionis artic.
2.

¶ formula con-
cordiæ de pe-
cato originis &
concupiscentiæ
intra Worma-
tiæ ann. 1541.
inter Ecclesiam
& Mensingum,
item Bucerum
& Philippum
Melanctho-
nem, ut repe-
tur ibidem a-
pud Cassan-
drem.

¶ Compend.
theolog. verita-
tis lib. 3. qui in-
scribitur de cor-
ruptelâ peccati:
cap: 10:

So that it is evident, that the Church of God taught as wee doe, that concupiscence in its owne nature is a sinne, making guilty of grievous punishment: that when it is weakned, and ceaseth to be so potent as formerly it was, yet it ceaseth not to be of the same kind that formerly it was, as *Gregorius Ariminensis* sheweth: and therefore seeing it was before a sin, it is still in some sort a sin: that God hating it before, he hateth it still: & we also are to hate it, and by all meanes to seeke to weaken and destroy it. *Cassander* sayth, that a very worthy and famous divine affirmeth, that it is sin in the regenerate, though it be not imputed. And he addeth that the difference between them that say it is sin; and the that say it was sinne properly, & made guilty of condemnation, but now being weakened, & the guilt taken away, it is not properly sin, is a meere *logomachia*.

And therefore in the conference at *Wormes*, the colloquutors agreed touching this point: the forme of their agreement is this; We confesse with *unanimous* consent, that all that come of *Adam* according to the ordinary course, are borne in originall sinne and under the wrath of God. Originall sinne is the privation and want of originall righteousness, joyned with concupiscence. We agree also, that the guilt of originall sinne is remitted in baptisme, together with all other finnes, by the merit of Christs passion. But we thinke that concupiscence, a vice or fault of nature, an infirmity and disease, remaineth: taught soe to thinke, not only by the apostolicall scriptures, but by experience also. And touching this disease wee agree, that that which is materiall in originall sinne, remaineth in the regenerate, that which is formall being taken away by baptisme. And wee call that the materiall part of originall sinne, that tooke beginning from sinne, that inclineth unto sinne, and repugneth against the law of God, as *Paul* also calleth it: and in this sort it is briefly sayd in the Schooles, that the materiall part of originall sinne, remaineth in the baptized: and that the formall is taken away: By the formall part of sinne they understand the privation or want of those divine graces, that should cause the knowledge, love, and feare of God, the inordinate inclination to love our selves and finite things, so as not to regard God, and the consequent guilt of condemnation accompanying such privation and inordinate inclination: by the materiall part they understand not concupiscence as it is in strength, captivating all to the sinister love of our selves, and things finite: but as weakened it still solliciteth to evill, but so that easily it may be resisted, if wee make right use of the grace, that God hath given us: this remainder of concupiscence is evill, inclineth to evill, God hateth it, and we must hate it &c. And therefore it is most absurd that the councill of *Trent* hath, that God hateth nothing in the regenerate, and the reason they give is very weake, that therefore he hateth nothing in them, because there is no condemnation unto them: for many things may be disliked, in them that shall not be condemned.

It remaineth that wee speake concerning first motions, *Bonaventura* describeth first motions to be, the motions of sensuality according to the impulsion of concupiscence, impetuously tending to the fruition of a delectable creature. First motions (saith hee) are either *primò primi*, or *secundò primi*: *primò primi sunt naturales. secundò primi sunt sensualitatis: primò primi sequuntur naturalium qualitatum actionem, secundò primi imaginationem*: these first motions hee pronounceth to be sinne for three causes. First, because they moue to that which they should not, and to that which is unlawfull. Secondly, because they are in a sort voluntary: though not in themselves, yet in that they are not hindred by the will. or in respect of precedent apprehension. Thirdly, they are sinne in respect of delight annexed: for when the soule is joyned by delight to the creature, it is darkned and made worse, as when it is joyned to God, it is enlightened and bettered. These sayth he are veniall finnes, because the will hath not a compleate dominion over these motions of sensuality, as over those acts that proceed

proceede from the command of the will, but yet it might have hindered them, and therefore they are veniall sinns; and so they continue, so long as they stay & proceed not so farre as to have the willes consent; but if they proceede so farre, as that the will consenteth to take delight therein, though not to proceed to action, it is a mortall sinne. This is the opinion of *Bonaventure* a cardinall and a canonized Saint, and with him agree sundry others: soe that in this point, the Church formerly taught as wee do now.

C H A P. 9.

Of the distinction of veniall and mortall sinne.

B*ellarmino* sayth, that the Romanists with one consent do teach, that some sinnes in their owne nature, (no respect had to predestination, or reprobation; to the state of men regenerate, or not regenerate) are mortall, other veniall; and that the former make men unworthy of the favour of God, and guilty of eternall condemnation; the other onely subject them to temporall punishments and fatherly chastisements. But wee knowe the Church of God beleeveth otherwise. For first, *Gerson* proveth, that every offence against God, may justly be punished by him in the strictnesse of his righteous judgment, with eternall death, yea with utter annihilation; because there is no punishment so evill, and so much to be avoyded, as the least sinne that may be imagined. So that a man should rather choose eternall death, yea utter annihilation; then commit the least offence in the world. Secondly, he proveth the same, because all divines do agree, that wheresoever there is eternity of sinne, there must be eternity of punishment; now where there is no remission, there sinne must of necessity remaine for ever: for though sinne soone cease in respect of the act, yet every sinne remaineth after the act is past, in respect of the staine and guilt. till it bee remitted; whence it followeth, that every sinne in it owne nature; and without grace to remitte it, remaineth eternally, and deserveth eternity of punishment and is mortall.

Wee say therefore that some sinnes are mortall and some veniall; not because some deserve eternity of punishment, and others do not; for all deserve eternity of punishment, and shall eternally be punished, if they remaine without grace, and unremitted eternally: but because some sins, either in respect of the matter wherein men do offend, or *ex imperfectione actus*, in that they are not committed with full consent, exclude not grace, the roote of remission, and pardon, out of the soule of him that committeth them: whereas other, either in respect of the matter wherein they are conversant, or the full consent wherewith they are committed, cannot stand with grace. So that, contrary to *Bellarmines* position, no sinne is veniall in it owne nature, without respect had to the state of grace, And this is proved against him, by the authority of such men, living in the Church in the dayes of our fathers, as he must not except against. *Thomas Aquinas* saith, eternity of punishment answeareth not to the grievousnesse of sinne, but to the eternall continuance of it without remission: and that therefore, eternity of punishment is due, to every sinne of the unregenerate so continuing, *ratione conditionis subjecti*, in respect of the condition and state of him that committeth it, in whome grace is not found, by which only sinne may bee remitted. Whence it will follow, that every sinne of the unregenerate so continuing, is worthy of eternall punishment, and shall soe be punished, and therefore is mortall: And on the contrary side every sinne of the regenerate, that may stand with grace, and not exclude it, is rightly sayd to be veniall: that is, such as leaveth place for that grace, that can and will procure remission: of which sort are all the sinnes of the elect of God, called according to purpose, which are not committed with full consent.

a De amissione gratiae & statu peccati. l. 1. c. 4.

b De vita spirituali lect. 1.

c Prima secundae quaest. 87. art. 5.

Cardinall *Cajetan* writing upon those words of *Thomas Aquinas*, cleareth this point exceeding well: 'Grace onely, saith hee, is the fountaine whence floweth remission of sinne: nothing therefore positively maketh sinne veniall, or remissible, but to be in grace: nor nothing maketh a sinne positively irremissible, or not veniall, but the being out of the state of grace: for to be in the state of grace, is to have that which will procure remission of sinne, and to be out of the state of grace, is to be in a state wherein remission cannot be had. So that that which positively maketh sin veniall, or not veniall, is the state of the subject wherein it is found: if we respect therefore the nature of sinne, as it is in it selfe, without grace, it will remaine eternally in staine, and guilt, and so will subject the sinner to eternall punishment: so that every sinne in it selfe, deserveth eternall punishment and is mortall: but yet such is the nature of some sinnes, either in respect of the matter wherein they are conversant, or their not being done with full consent, that they doe not necessarily imply an exclusion of grace, out of the subject in which they are found, and so doe not necessarily put the doers of them, into a state positively making them not veniall, by removing grace the fountaine of remission. So that to conclude, no sinne is positively veniall, as having any thing in it that may claime remission: for no sinne implyeth or hath any thing in it of grace the fountaine of remission: but some sinne either *ex genere* or *ex imperfectione actus*, in respect of the matter wherein a man offendeth, or in that it is not done with full consent, to the exclusion of grace, may be said to be remissible or veniall, *negative, per non ablationem principij remissionis*, in that it doeth not necessarily imply the exclusion of grace the fountaine of remission: and some sinnes either in respect of the matter, or manner, doe imply such exclusion, and are therefore named mortall.

Part. 1. fol.
143.

Richardus de Sancto Victore agreeth with the former, and more clearly confirmeth our opinion then they doe. The circumstances of that wee finde in him touching this point are these: One had written unto him desiring to be resolved in a certaine doubt; the doubt was this; how it could bee true, that hee that learned of his teachers, that veniall sinnes deserve only temporall punishments, and mortall eternall; whereas yet in those that goe to hell, if any of those sinnes that they call veniall bee found, they must bee punished, and every punishment sustained in hell, is eternall, seeing out of hell there is no redemption; whence it will follow, that even those sinnes that are named veniall, deserve eternall punishment: for they are punished eternally in the damned, and it must not bee thought, that the punishment inflicted for them, is more then they deserve. All this concerning the eternity of the punishment of every sinne of the reprobate, hee acknowledgeth to bee true: and therefore sheweth that some sinnes are said to bee veniall, and mortall: but for other considerations then some supposed. His resolution therefore of the doubt proposed is expressed in these words, 'That sinne seemeth unto mee to bee veniall, which found in the regenerate in Christ, of it selfe alone never bringeth upon them eternall punishment, though they repent not particularly of the same: and that is mortall, which though it be alone, bringeth eternall death upon the doers of it, without particular repentance: that therefore is a veniall sinne which of it selfe alone, and if there be nothing else to hinder, is ever sure to be pardoned and remitted in the regenerate, so as never to bring condemnation upon them: and that is mortall, that of it selfe alone, putteth the doer into a state of condemnation and death.

Jacobus Almain in tractatu 3. c. 20. *Refensis in refutatione articuli 32 Lutheri citati à Bellarmino de amissione gratiae l. 1. c. 4.*

Here we see sins are distinguished, some are said to be veniall, & some mortall; but none are said to be veniall, without respect had to a state of regeneration, as *Bellarmino* imagineth. To these we may adde *Almain* and *Fisher* Bishops of *Rochester* and sundry other: but it needeth not; for howsoever our Adversaries make shew to the contrary, they all confesse that to bee true that wee say; for

for every sinne eternally punishable, deserveth eternall punishment; but every the least and lightest sinne, that we can commit without grace, and remission, remaineth eternally in staine and guilt, and is eternally punishable, whence it will follow, that every sinne deserveth eternall punishment, and so is by nature mortal *. So that in this point as in the former, the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, is found to have beene a Protestant Church.

* Bellarmine
c. 11. affirmeth,
that veniall sins
are not against,
but beside the
law; but Duran-
dus, and others

teach, that when men sin venially, they doe that the law forbiddeth; and so doe contrary to the law, not onely besides
it: Dur. l. 2. d. 42. q. 6.

CHAP. 10. Of Free will.

Cardinall Contarenus hath written a most divine and excellent discourse touching Free will; wherein he sheweth the nature of Free will, & how the freedome of will is preserved or lost; In this discourse, first, he sheweth what it is to be free; and then 2^d, what that is, which wee call free will. What it is to be free, he sheweth in this sort; As he is a servant that is not at his own dispose to doe what he will, but is to do what another will have him to doe, so he is said to be free who is at his own dispose, so as to doe nothing presently because another will have him, but what seemeth good unto himselfe, and he hath a liking to do. The more therefore that any thing is moved by, and of it selfe, the more free it is. So that in naturall things we shall find, that accordingly as they are moved by any thing within or without themselves in their motions, they come neerer to liberty, or are farther from it: so that a stone is in a sort free when it goeth downward, because it is carried by something within: but it suffereth violence, and is moved by something from without, when it ascendeth: yet doth it not move it selfe, when it goeth downward, but is moved by an impression of that weight, which it put not into it selfe, but the author of nature, and moveth but one way; so that it is far from freedome and liberty even in this motion also. Living things move themselves; and not one way only, as the former, but every way; as wee see plants, and trees, wherein the first and lowest degree of life is discerned, move themselves downwards, upwards, on the right hand, and on the left: yet discern they not whether, neither doe they move themselves out of any discerning, and so are farre from liberty: Bruite beasts are moved by themselves in a more excellent sort: for, having discerned such things as are fitting to their nature and condition, there is raised in them a desire of the same: so that they may very properly and truly be said to move themselves, because they raise in themselves the desire that moveth them: yet is there no freedome or liberty in them.

For there is no liberty truly so called, but where there is an apprehension, not of things of some certaine kind only, but of all things generally, of the whole variety of things, of the proportion which they have within themselves, and of the different degrees of goodnesse found in them: and answerable hereunto a desire of good in generall, and a greater or lesse desire of each good, according as it appeareth to be more or lesse good, and so a preferring of one before another, and a choosing of what it thinketh best. So that reason is the roote of all liberty: for in that reason discerneth good in generall, the will in generall desireth it, in that it sheweth there is a good, wherein there is all good and no defect, the will if it have any action about the same, cannot but accept it: in that it sheweth that one thing is better than another, the will preferreth or lesse esteemeth it, in that it sheweth some reasons of good, and some defects and evils, the will chooseth, or refuseth: when reason finally resolveth a thing now and in this particular to be best, the will inclineth to it.

This generality of knowledge is not found in any thing below the condition of man: other living creatures have an apprehension of some certaine things onely; they have no knowledge of good in generall, but of certaine good things onely, nor no desire of good in generall, in the extent

tent of it, but of such particular good things as are fitted to them: these therefore have neither free and illimited apprehension nor desire of good, but limited, restrained, and shut up within a certaine compasse: so that they are like to a man shut up in prison, who though he may move himselfe, and walke up and downe, yet cannot goe beyond a certaine limitation and bounds set unto him. But man was made to have an apprehension of all things, to discerne the nature of each, and the different degrees of goodnesse found in them: and accordingly to desire good in generall, to desire each thing more or lesse as it appeareth more or lesse good: never to rest satisfied, till he come to an infinite good: to desire the same for it selfe, as originally good, and as the last end, because above or beyond it there is nothing to be desired: and to desire nothing but in reference unto it, seeing nothing is good but by partaking of it.

And hence it is easie to see, how the liberty of our will is preserved, and how and in what sort it is lost: for, seeing the desire of the chiefe good and last end, is the originall of all particular desires: if God be proposed unto us as our last end, and chiefe good, in whom, from whom, and for whom all things are; then our will without restraint, and without all going aside, and intangling, or intricating it selfe, shall freely love whatsoever is good, and each thing more or lesse, according as it comes neerer to God, and nothing but that which is pleasing to him: thus is our liberty preserved and continued. But if we depart from God, and make any other thing our chiefe good, and last end: then we seeke that which is infinite within the compasse of that which is finite, and so languish, never finding that we seeke, because we seeke it where it is not to be found: and besides, bring our selves into a strait, so as to regard nothing though never so good, farther than in reference to this finite thing, which we esteeme as if it were infinite: neither doe we set up any other thing unto our selves to be our chiefe good, but our selves. For, as *Picus Mirandula* noteth, the ground of the love of friendship is unity: now first, God is more neere to every of us then we are to our selves: then are we nearer to our selves, than any other thing: and in the third place there is a nearenesse and conjunction betweene other things and us. So that in the state of nature instituted, we loved God first, and before, and more than our selves; and our selves no otherwise but in and for him: but falling from that love, we must of necessity decline to love our selves better than any thing else, and seeke our owne greatnesse, our owne glory, and the things that are pleasing to us, more than any thing else: and because the soule (unmindfull of her owne worth and dignity) hath demersed her selfe into the body and senses, and is degenerated into the nature and condition of the body, shee seeketh nothing more than bodily pleasures as fitting to her, and declineth nothing more as contrary to her, than the things that grieve and afflict the outward man.

This is the fountaine of all the evils that are found in our nature: this putteth us into horrible confusions: for, having raised our selves into the throne of God by pride, and fancied unto our selves a peerelesse and incomparable greatnesse, wee are no lesse grieved at the good of other men, than if it were our evill; nay indeede it is become our evill: for, how can our excellencie be peerelesse and incomparable, if any other excell or equall us, or have any thing wherein hee is not subordinate to us: thus doe we runne into envy, and all other evils, and endlessly disquiet and afflict our selves. And secondly, we are hereby deprived of our former liberty; for, neither doe we know all the variety of good things as we did, our knowledge being from sense; nor their different degrees, that so we might have power to desire them, and to preferre each before other, according to the worth of it; neither can wee desire any good but as serving our turne; so that what doth not so, we cannot esteeme.

¶ Touching the will of man since the fall, it is resolved by all Divines, that it hath lost the freedome it formerly had from sinne, and miserie: but some understand this in one sort, and some in another. For some affirme, that men have so farre

forth lost their liberty from sinne by *Adams* fall, that they cannot but sinne, in whatsoever morall act they doe; which thing I shewed to have beene beleev-
 ed by the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died. But they of the Church
 of *Rome* at this day dislike this opinion, for they suppose, that though our will
 be not free from sinne, so as collectively to decline each sinne; and that though
 in the state wherein presently we are we cannot but sinne at one time or other,
 in one thing or other; yet we may decline each particular sinne divisively, and
 doe the true workes of morall vertue. Much contending there is, and hath beene
 touching free-will; wherefore, for the clearing of this point two things are to be
 noted, first from what, and secondly wherein this liberty may be thought to be.
 The things from which the will may be thought to be free are five: first, The
 authority of a superiour commander, and the duty of obedience. Secondly, the
 inspection, care, government, direction, and ordering of a superiour. Thirdly, Ne-
 cessity, and that either from some externe cause enforcing, or from nature in-
 wardly determining, and absolutely moving one way. Fourthly, Sinne, and the
 dominion of it. Fifthly, Misery. Of these five kindes of liberty, the two first agree
 only to God, so that in the highest degree $\pi' \alpha \upsilon \tau \epsilon \xi \epsilon \varsigma \iota \omega \nu$, that is, freedome of
 will, is proper to God only; and in this sense *Calvin* and *Luther* rightly deny,
 that the will of any creature is, or ever was free. The third kinde of liberty, is
 opposite not only to coaction, but naturall necessity also: In opposition to co-
 action, the understanding is free; for, howsoever a man may be forced to thinke
 and beleev, contrary to his inclination, that is, such things as he would not have
 to be true; yet the understanding cannot assent to any thing contrary to her own
 inclination; for the understanding is inclined to thinke of things as they are, and
 as they may be made to appeare unto her to be, whether pleasing to nature or
 not; but the understanding is not free from necessity.

But the will in her action is free, not onely in opposition to coaction, but
 to naturall necessity also. Naturall necessity consisteth herein, that when all
 things required to inable an agent, to produce the proper effect thereof are pre-
 sent, it hath no power not to bring forth such effect, but is put into action by
 them. So the fire having fit fuell in due sort put upon it, and being blowed upon,
 cannot but burne. The libertie of the will therefore appeareth herein, that
 though all those things bee present, that are pre-required to inable it, to bring
 forth the proper action of it, yet it hath power not to bring it forth, and it is
 still indifferent and indeterminate, till it determine and incline it selfe; God in-
 deed worketh the will to determine it selfe; neither is it possible, that he should
 so worke it, and it should not determine it selfe accordingly; yet doth not Gods
 working upon the will take from it the power of dissenting, and doing the
 contrary; but so inclineth it, that having liberty to doe otherwise, yet shee will
 actually determine so.

Here *Luther* and *Calvin* are charged with the deniall of this liberty of the
 will, and many strange absurdities are attributed to them; for first, *Luther* is
 said to have affirmed, that the will of man is meere passivity; that it produceth
 not any act, but receiveth into it such acts, as God alone without any concur-
 rence of it, worketh and produceth in it. But all this is nothing but a meere ca-
 lumniation; for *Luther* knoweth right well, that men produce such actions as
 are externally good and evil, willing, and out of choyce; and confesseth that we
 doe the good things that God commandeth us, when we are made partakers of
 his grace, but that God worketh us to doe them; We beleev, we feare, we love,
 but it is God that worketh us to beleev, feare, and love. *Certum est nos facere*
cum facimus, saith S. *Augustine*, *sed Deus facit ut faciamus*. It is most certaine, *De gratia &*
libero arbit.
 that we doe those things we are said to doe, but it is God that maketh us to doe
 them, not only by perswading, inviting, and inwardly drawing us by morall in-
 ducements, but by a true and reall efficiencie. So that according to *Luthers* opi-
 nion, we move not but as moved; nor are active, but as having first bin passive:

g Alvarez de
auxiliis divinæ
gratiæ, disput.
86. sect. 8.

* Facere ut ve-
limus est ope-
rari in nobis al-
iquid quo dis-
ponamur & ef-
ficaciter incli-
nemur & de-
terminemur ad
volendum. Al-
vi:

h Vide Chem-
nicii examen
decreti de libe-
ro arbitrio.

i Enchirid. cap.
30.

* Al. rectè faci-
endi licentiam.
k Bernard. in
cant. serm. 81.

* Animalia ca-
rentia ratione
carent liberta-
te, sensu agun-
tur, feruntur
impetu, rapiun-
tur appetitu,
neque enim
iudicium ha-
bent quo se di-
judicent sive
regant, sed ne
instrumentum
quidem iudicii
rationem. Hanc
vim à natura
solus homo
non patitur, &
ideò solus inter
animantia li-
ber. & tamen
interveniente
peccato patitur
quandam vim
& ipse, sed à
voluntate non
à natura; ut ne
sic quidem in-
genitâ liber-
tate privetur;
quod enim vo-
luntarium, &
liberum Ber-
nard. ibidem.
Ioan. 8.

nor turne our selves, but as first wrought upon, and made to turne : yet doe wee truly move our selves, and truly, freely, and cheerefully choose that which is good, and turne our selves from that which is evill to that which is good. Divines say, that * *facere ut velimus*, and *facere ipsum velle*, differ very much: that is, they say it is one thing to make us to will, and another to produce the act of willing; God worketh both, but in a different sort, the first *sine nobis facientibus nos velle*: *Secundum autem operatur, nobiscum simul tempore consentientibus & cooperantibus*; that is, God worketh the first of these alone; we make not our selves to will; the second he produceth together with us, willing that he would have us, and producing that wee doe. So that in the former consideration wee are meere passives, in the later active; which neither Luther, nor any of his followers ever denied. Calvin, they say, confesseth, that the will concurrerth actively to the act which God produceth; but without any freedom at all, unlesse we speake of that freedom, which is from coercion. It is true indeede, that Calvin denieth us to be free from necessity, but hee speaketh of the necessity of sinning; but he never denieth us to be free from naturall necessity, that is, from being put into action, so as naturall agents are, that is, without all choyce and liking of that wee incline to doe. It is evident, that Calvin confesseth the will of man to be free to doe evill; and he denieth it not to be free to performe acts civilly good, or morally good *ex genere, & objecto*; yea he thinketh, that the will freely and out of choyce, willeth whatsoever it willeth; as in the state of aversion it freely willeth that it should not; so when God converteth it, he turneth the course of the actions, and desire of it, and maketh it freely and out of choyce to turne to good.

That men have lost the freedom from sinne, and put themselves into a necessity of sinning, Saint Augustine sheweth: *Liberò arbitrio malè utens homo, & se perdidit, & ipsum: sicut enim qui se occidit, utique vivendo se occidit, sed se occidendo non vivit, nec seipsum potest resuscitare cum occiderit: ita cum libero peccaretur arbitrio, victore peccato, amissum est & liberum arbitrium. à quo enim quis devictus est, huic & servus addictus est. Quæ sententia cum vera sit, qualis quæso potest servi addicti esse libertas, nisi quando eum peccare delectat? Liberaliter enim servit, qui sui Domini voluntatem libenter facit. Ac per hoc ad peccandum liber est, qui peccati servus est; unde ad justè faciendum liber non erit, nisi à peccato liberatus; esse justitia caperit servus. Ipsa est vera libertas propter rectè facti * latitiam, simul & pia servitium propter præcepti obedientiam. Sed ista libertas ad bene faciendum, unde erit homini addicto & vendito, nisi redimat ille cuius illa vox est, si vos filius liberaverit, verè liberi eritis? Quod antequam fieri in homine incipiat, quomodo quisquam de libero arbitrio in bono gloriatur opere, qui nondum liber est ad operandum benè, nisi se vanâ superbiâ inflatus extollat, quam cohibet Apostolus, dicens, Gratiâ salvi facti estis per fidem.*

Here wee see necessity of sinning, and freedom from naturall necessity, doe stand together in the corrupted nature of man: *Nescio quo pravo & miro modo ipsa sibi voluntas peccato quidem in deterius mutata, necessitatem facit; ut nec necessitas cum voluntaria sit, excusare valeat voluntatem; nec voluntas, cum sit illecta, excludere necessitatem. Est enim necessitas hæc quodam modo voluntaria: est favorabilis vis quædam, premendo blandiens, & blandiendo premens; voluntas est quæ se cum esset libera servam fecit peccati, peccato assentiendo; voluntas nihilo minus est, quæ se sub peccato tenet voluntariè serviendo. Vide quid dicas, inquit, aliquis mihi: tunc voluntarium dicis, quod jam necessarium esse constat? Verum quidem est quod voluntas seipsam addixerit, sed non ipsa se retinet, magis retinetur & nolens. Benè hoc saltem das, quod retinetur. Sed vigilanter retine voluntatem esse, quam retineri fateris. Itaque voluntatem nolentem dicis? Non utique voluntas retinetur non volens: voluntas enim volentis est, non nolentis. Quod si volens retinetur, ipsa se retinet. Quid ergo dicet, aut quid respondebit ei, cum*

cum ipsa fecerit? Quid fecit? Servum se fecit, unde dicitur, Qui peccatum facit, servus est peccati. Propterea, cum peccavit (peccavit autem, cum peccato obedire decrevit) servam se fecit. Sed fit libera si non adhuc facit. Facit autem in eadem servitute se retinens: neque enim non volens voluntas tenetur: voluntas enim est. Ergo quia volens, servam seipsam fecit: non modo fecit, sed facit. Sed non me, inquit, decedere facies necessitatem quam patior, quam in memetipso experior, contra quam & assidue luctor. Vbinam, quaeso, hanc necessitatem sentis? Nonne in voluntate? Non ergo parum firmiter vis, quod necessario vis. Multum vis quod nolle nequeas, nec multum obluetans. Porro, ubi voluntas, & libertas; quod tamen dico de naturali, non de spirituali, quâ libertate (ut dicit Apostolus) Christus nos liberavit. Nam de illâ idem ipse dicit: Vbi spiritus Domini, ibi libertas. Ita anima miro quodam & malo modo, sub hac voluntaria quadam & malè liberâ necessitate, & ancilla tenetur & libera: ancilla propter necessitatem, libera propter voluntatem: & quod magis mirum, magisque miserum est, eò rea quò libera, eoque ancilla quò rea; ac per hoc eò ancilla, quò libera. And afterward, Non quod volo hoc ago, sed me non alio prohibente: & quod odi illud facio, sed me non alio compellente. Atque utinam hac prohibitio & hac compulsio ita esset violenta, ut non esset voluntaria: forsitan enim sic possem excusari: aut certè ita esset voluntaria, ut non violenta: profectò enim sic possem corrigi.

It is true, that naturall men may doe things that are good ex genere & objecto, and performe such externall actions, as serve to entertaine this present life; but to doe any thing morally good, not onely ex genere & objecto, but ex fine & circumstantiis, there is no power left in corrupted nature. It is excellent to this purpose that wee reade in Saint ¹ Augustine: Per velle malum, rectè ¹ Hypognoſt. lib. 1. August. lib. 1. retract. c. 13. voluntas in tantum libera est, quia in tantum liberata est: alioquin tota cupiditas, quæ voluntas propriè nuncupanda est. Ep. 106. sine gratia nos dicimus ad non peccandum nihil voluntatis arbitrium valere. Prosper contra Collatorem, ca. 19. saith, that man since the fall labitur memoria, errat iudicio, nuncat incessu. And cap. 21. Infidelitas rapuit fidem, captivitas abstulit libertatem, nec potuit illic ulla portio residere virtutum, quò tanta irruerat turba vitiorum. Aug. de spiritu & literâ cap. 3. Liberum arbitrium nihil nisi ad peccandum valet si lateat veritatis via, aut si agnita veritas non delectet & ametur.

divinitus

m Lib. 2. d. 29.
art. 2.

n Hypognost.
lib. 3.

o Lib. 2. d. 28.
q. 1. art. 1.

p Compend.
theol. veritatis,
l. 5. c. 2.

q Compend.
theol. veritatis,
l. 2. c. 56.

Aquin. 1a. 2a.
q. 109. art. 6.

Præparatio ad
fruendum Deo
per donum ha-
bituale: ad sus-
ceptionem hu-
jus doni, per
auxilium Dei
intus moventis
animam & in-
spirantis bo-
num propoli-
tum.

r Compend.
theol. veritatis
l. 3. qui est de
corruptelâ pec-
cati cap. 10.
Sap. 9.

divinitus liberatum, adjutumque non valet. Againe, Epist. 107. ad Vitalem: *Liberum arbitrium ad diligendum Deum primi peccati granditate perdidimus.* m Ariminensis saith, *Voluntas determinata est ad malum actum, scilicet quod si sine speciali Dei auxilio eliciet actum, utique eliciet malum.* And I have shewed that many other concurred with him. It is excellent therefore that n Augustine hath: *Ergo damnas (inquit Pelagianus) opera liberi arbitrii? Audi hæretice stulte, & inimice fidei veritatis: Opera liberi arbitrii bona, quæ ut faciant preparantur per gratiæ præventum, nullo liberi arbitrii merito, & ipso faciente, gubernante, & perficiente, ut abundant in libero arbitrio non damnamus, quia ex his vel hujusmodi homines Dei justificati sunt, justificantur, justificabuntur in Christo. Damnamus verò auctoritate divinâ opera liberi arbitrii quæ gratiæ proponuntur, & ex his tanquam meritis, in Christo justificari extolluntur.* o Ariminensis: *Ex his infero corollarium; quod nemo potest mereri primam gratiam de condigno, nec etiam de congruo, contra aliquorum sententiam modernorum: nomine autem gratia intelligo quodcunque Dei speciale adjutorium ad benè operandum.* p Bonaventura. *Sciendum quod habitatio siue preparatio ad gratiam triplex est; scilicet Efficiens, formalis, materialis; prima est à Deo, secunda à gratiâ gratis datâ; tertia à nobis. Anima namque habet facultatem & instrumenta cognoscendi & diligendi Deum ex Natura; sed non habet cognitionem veritatis, & ordinem dilectionis nisi ex gratia.*

In another place he hath these words, q *Libertas arbitrii triplex est, scilicet à necessitate, à peccato, à miseriâ. Prima libertas est natura; secunda gratia; tertia gloria: item prima est bonorum & malorum, secunda est tantummodo bonorum, tertia est in cælo regnantium. Libertas malorum est velle peccare, & etiam posse peccare. Liberum arbitrium liberius est in bonis, quàm in malis; quia in bonis est tantummodo servitus miseriæ, in malis autem est servitus miseriæ & peccati: sed in patria est liberrimum, quoniam omnis talis servitus destruetur. Nota, quod licet Deus non possit malè facere, & similiter Angelus, & anima beata, tamen est in eis liberum arbitrium: quia bonum eligunt, & malum declinant, non ex infirma necessitate, sed liberâ voluntate. Eodem modo dicendum est de Diabolo, quod habet liberum arbitrium, bonum tamen semper respuit, & malum eligit: sed hoc non facit in eo violenta coactio, sed voluntaria obstinatio. Liberum arbitrium habet se in quibusdam indifferenter ad bonum & ad malum, ut in primis parentibus ante lapsum: in quibusdam plus se habet ad malum, quàm ad bonum, ut in regeneratis per baptismum: in quibusdam plus se habet ad bonum quàm ad malum, ut in sanctificatis in utero: in quibusdam necessario se habet ad malum, ut in infidelibus non regeneratis: in quibusdam necessario se habet ad bonum, ut in confirmatis, sicut fuit beata Virgo post conceptionem filii.*

And in another place: r *Homo pronior ad malum quàm ad bonum; & hoc multis de causis. Primò, quia sic dicitur: corpus quod corrumpitur, aggravat animam, trahens illam ad malum, & non sic erigens ad bonum. Secundo, quia (sicut dicit Augustinus) plus valet malum inolitum, quàm bonum insolitum. Tertiò, quia naturaliter facilius est descendere quàm ascendere: & unus magis trahit deorsum, quàm decem sursum. Quartò, quia incitans ad malum præsens est, sed finis virtutum incitans ad bonum absens est. Delectabile autem apprehensum per sensum, vel imaginationem, quasi de necessitate movet*

movet concupiscentiam. Quinto, quia plures circumstantia requiruntur ad bonum, quam ad malum. Sexto, quia tendimus ad nostrum principium, scilicet ad nihilum. 7^o Quia fomes, qui movet ad malum semper intra nos est: gloria vero quam quarimus extra nos est. 8^o Quia vires anima sunt activa ad diligendum temporalia: sed passiva & materiales ad ea, qua sunt gratia & gloria. Quia non possunt haberi virtutes per modum acquisitionis, sed per modum receptionis. Vnde malum possumus facere per nos, sed bonum non possumus facere sine gratia adiutrice.

Peter Lombard proposing the question, whether all the intentions and actions of them that lack faith be sinne, hath these words; *Si fides intentionem dirigit, & intentio bonum opus facit; ubi non est fides, nec intentio bona, nec opus bonum esse videtur. Quod à quibusdam non irrationabiliter astruitur, qui dicunt omnes actiones & voluntates hominis sine fide malas esse, quæ fide habitæ bonæ existunt, unde Apostolus ait, Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est. Quod exponens Augustinus, ait, Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est, & nihil bonum est sine summo bono: ubi deest agnitio æternæ veritatis, falsa virtus est etiam in optimis moribus. Et Iacobus in epistola canonica ait, Qui offendit in uno, scilicet in charitate, factus est omnium reus. Qui ergo fidem & charitatem non habet, omnis ejus actio peccatum est, quia ad charitatem non refertur. Quod enim ad charitatem non refertur (ut supra meminit Augustinus) non fit quemadmodum fieri oportet, ideoque malum est. Non ergo mandata custodit, qui charitate caret, quia sine charitate nullum mandatorum custoditur. Impossibile est (ut ait Apostolus) sine fide aliquid placere Deo. Quæ ergo sine fide fiunt, bona non sunt: quia omne bonum placet Deo. His autem objicitur quod supra dixit Augustinus, scilicet quod in servili timore, etsi bonum fiat, non tamen bene: nemo invitus bene facit, etiamsi bonum est quod facit. Hic enim dicit bonum fieri sed non bene, ab illo qui charitatem non habet. Qui enim serviliter timet charitate vacuus est: de quo tamen hic dicit, quia bonum facit, sed non bene. Qui etiam super illum locum Psalmi: Turtur invenit sibi nidum ubi reponat pullos suos dicit, quod Iudei, Heretici, & Pagani opera bona faciunt, quia vestiunt nudos, & pascunt pauperes, & hujusmodi, sed non in nido Ecclesia, id est, in fide: & ideo conculcantur pulli eorum. Quibus illi respondent, dicentes bona opera appellari hujusmodi, quæ sine charitate fiunt, non quia bona sint quando sic fiunt, quod evidenter supra Augustinus docuit: sed quia bona essent, si aliter fierent: quæ in suo genere sunt bona, sed ex affectu sunt mala.* But he saith, there are others of another opinion, making the actions of men to be of three sorts, and denying all the actions of infidels to be sinne. Opera cuncta quæ ad naturæ subsidium fiunt, semper bona esse astruunt. Sed quod Augustinus mala esse dicit, si malas habeant causas; non ita accipiendum est, quasi ipsa mala sint: sed quia peccant, & mali sunt, qui ea malo fine agunt.

Thomas Bradwardin in his summe against the Pelagians of his time, cleerely resolveth, that the will of man since the fall, hath no power to bring forth any good action, that may be morally good, ex fine & circumstantiis. And Alvarez, though he thinke that all the actions of Infidels are not sinne, yet saith, that none of them is truly an act of vertue, no not in respect to the last naturall end. CASSANDER saith, that the Article of the

Lib. 2. d. 4.

In Psal. 13.

Lib. 6. d. 30.

Consulte art. 18.

Augustine

Augustane confession touching originall sinne, agreeth with the doctrine of the Church, whenas it teacheth, that the will of man hath some kinde of liberty to bring forth a kinde of civill justice, and to make choyce in things subject to reason: but that without the spirit of God, it hath no power to doe any thing that may bee just before God, or any thing spiritually just. And all orthodoxe Divines agree against the *Pelagians*, that it is the worke of grace, that we are made just of unjust, truly, and before God; that this grace createth not a new will, nor constraineth it against the liking of it, but correcteth the depravation of it, and turneth it from willing ill, to will well; drawing it with a kinde of inward motion, that it may become willing of unwilling, and willingly consent to the divine calling.

The *Pelagians* the enemies of Gods grace, being urged with those texts of Scripture, wherein mention is made of grace, sought to avoyde the evidence of them, affirming, that by grace, the powers, faculties, and perfections of nature, freely given by God the Creator at the beginning, are understood; when this would not serve the turne, they understood by grace the remission of sins past, and imagined, that if that were remitted wherein wee have formerly offended, out of that good that is in nature, wee might hereafter so bethinke our selves, as to doe good and decline evill. Thirdly, When this shift failed likewise, they began to say, that men happily will not bethinke themselves of that duty they are bound to doe, or will not presently and certainly discern what they are to doe, without some instruction or illumination; but that if they have the helpe of instruction and illumination, they may easily out of the strength of nature, decline evill, and doe that they discern to be good. Against this it is excellent that Saint ^d Bernard hath, *Non est ejusdem facilitatis, scire quid faciendum sit, & facere: Quoniam & diversa sunt, caco ducatum, ac fesso prabere vehiculum. Non quicunque ostendit viam, prabet etiam viaticum itineranti: aliud illi exhibet qui facit ne deviet, & aliud qui prastat ne deficiat in via. Ita nec quivis doctor statim & dator erit boni, quodcunque docuerit. Porro, duo mihi sunt necessaria, doceri, ac juvari; tu quidem homo recte consulis ignorantia, sed si verum sentit Apostolus, Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram. Immo vero qui mihi per os tuum ministrat consilium, ipse mihi necesse est ministret per Spiritum suum adiutorium, quo valeam implere quod consulis.*

d De gratia & libero arbitrio in initio.

e Camaracensis. 1. sent. d. 1. qu. 2. art. 2. ait multos doctores asserere hominem extra gratiam per sola naturalia posse diligere Deum super omnia.

f De justifi- lib. 2. cap. 4. Respectu primæ gratiæ, meritum ex congruo jam pridem explosum est. Stapleton ibid.

g Bellarm. de gratia & libero arbitrio, l. 5. c. 5. & cap. 9.

h De gratia & libero arbitrio, l. 6. c. 7.

When they were driven from this device also, they betooke themselves unto another; to vvit, that the helpe of grace is necessary to make us more easily, more constantly, and universally to doe good, than in the present state of nature vve can; and to make us so to doe good, as to attaine eternall happinesse in heaven. And this is, and vvas the opinion of many in the *Roman Church*, both anciently, and in our time. For many taught, that men in the present state of nature as now it is, since *Adams* fall, may decline each particular sinne, doe vvorkes truly vertuous and good, fulfill the severall precepts of Gods law, according to the substance of the vvorke commanded, though not according to the intention of the Law-giver; that they may love God above all, as the author and end of nature. So that to these purposes there vvas no necessity of the gift of grace, but that grace is added to make us more easily, constantly, and universally to doe good, and to merit heaven. And therefore ⁱ *Stapleton* confesseth, that many wrote unadvisedly, as well amongst the Schoole-men heretofore, as in our time, in the beginnings of the differences in religion, but that now men are become wiser. I would to God it were so, but it will bee found, that howsoever they are in a sort ashamed of that they doe, yet they persist to doe as others did before them: for they teach still that men may decline each particular sinne, doe the true workes of morall vertue, doe things the Law requireth, according to the substance of the things commanded, though not so as to merit heaven, or never to breake any of them. ^h *Bellarmin* indeede denieth, that we can love God above all in any sort, without the helpe

helpe of grace. But Cardinall *Cajetan* saith, that though wee cannot so love God above all, as to doe nothing but that which may be referred to God as the last end, yet so as to doe many good things in reference to him as the last end. And *Bellarmino* if he deny not his owne principles must say so; for first he defendeth, that man may doe a worke morally good without grace, and doe it to obey God the author of nature: And elsewhere he proveth, that man cannot perpetually doe well in the state of nature without grace, because it is so turned away from God the creature by *Adams* sinne, & specially to himselfe, that actually or habitually, or in propension, hee placeth his last end in the creature, & not in God. and so cannot but offend, if he bee not watchfull against this propension. Whence it followeth, that seeing a man must place his chief good in God, if he doe good, & that naturally he can doe good, he can naturally place the same in God. That which he some-where hath, that it is enough to intend the next end *explicitè*, & that it will of it selfe be directed to GOD the last end, seeing every good end moveth *virtute finis ultimi*, is idle: for it moveth not but *virtute finis ultimi amati: nam finis non movet nisi amatus, ergo amat finem ultimum.*

In primam c.
cunda quest.
109. art. 3.

Ubi supra, l. 5.
c. 9.
L. 5. c. 5.

ubi supra l. 5.
c. 9.

So that many formerly, and almost all presently in the Church of Rome, are more then *Semipelagians*, not acknowledging the necessitie of grace to make us decline evill. & doe good, but to doe so constantly, universally, and so as to merite heaven: But *Augustine*, *Prosper*, *Fulgentius*, *Gregory*, *Beda*, *Bernard*, *Anselme*, *Hugo*, many worthy Divines mentioned by the *Master of Sentences*, yea the *Master* himselfe, *Grossthead*, *Bradwardine*, *Ariminensis*, the Catholique Divine that *Stapleton* speaketh of, those that *Andradin* noteth, *Alvarez*, and other, agree with us, that there is no power left in nature to avoide sin, & to doe any one good action, that may be truely an action of vertue, & therefore they say, grace must change us, and make us become new men.

Cardinall *Contarenus* noteth, that the Philosophers perceiving a great inclination to evill to be found in the nature of mankind, thinking it might bee altered & put right, by inuring them to good actions, gave many good precepts & directions, but to no purpose: for this evill being in the very first spring of humane actions, that is, the last end chiefly desired, which they sought not in God, but in the creature, no helpe of Nature or Art was able to remedie it: as those diseases of the body are incurable, which have infected the fountaine of life, the radicall humiditie. GOD onely therefore who searcheth the secret and most retired turnings of our soule & spirit, by the inward motion of his holy spirit, changeth the propension & inclination of our will, and turneth it unto himselfe. And in another place, he hath these words. 'Wee must observe that at this present, the Church of God by the craft of the divell, is divided into two sects, which rather doing their owne busines then that of Christ, and seeking their owne glory, more then the glory of GOD and the profite of their neighbours, by stiffe and pertinacious defence of contrary opinions, bring them that are not wary and wise to a fearefull downefall. For some vaunting themselves to be professors of the Catholique Religion, and enemies to the *Lutherans*, while they goe about too much to maintaine the libertie of mans will, out of too much desire of opposing the *Lutherans*, oppose themselves against the greatest lights of the Christian Church, and the first and principall teachers of Catholique verity, declining more then they should unto the heresie of *Pelagius*. Others when they have beene a little conversant in the writings of S. *Augustine*, though they have neither that modestie of minde, nor love towards God, that he had, out of the pulpit propose intricate things, and such as are indeede meere paradoxes to the people. So that touching the weaknes of nature, and the necessitie of grace, we have the consent of all the best and worthiest in the Church, wherein our Fathers lived and died.

De liber. arb.

De predest.

In 1. sent. q. 6
prolog. art. 3. &
2. sent. d. 28. q. 5

The next thing to be considered is, the power of freewill in disposing it selfe to the receipt of grace. *Durandus* is of opinion, that a man by the power of freewill, may dispose and fitte him selfe for the receipt of grace, by such a kind of disposition, to which grace is to be given by act, and divine ordinance, not of debt. Amongst the latter divines there are that thinke, that as one sinne is permitted that it may bee a punishment of another, soe God in respect of almes, and other morall good workes done by a man in the state of sinne, useth the more speedily and effectually to helpe the sinner, that hee may rise from sinne; and that God infallibly and as according to a certaine lawe, giveth the helpes of preventing grace, to them that doe what they can out of the strength of nature: and this is the merit of congruence, they are wont to speake of in the Roman Schooles.

Lib. 7 d. 55.
Aug. l. 1. quæ-
stionum ad
Simplicianum
Quare tamen
& huic ita, &
huic non ita?
Homotu quis
es? debitum si
non reddis ha-
bes quod gratu-
leris: si reddis
non habes
quod queraris.
ubi supra.

But as I noted before, *Gregorius Ariminensis* resolutely rejects the concept of merit of congruence. *Stapleton* saith it is exploded out of the Church. And *Alvarez*, that *S. Augustine*, & *Prosper*, whom *Aquinas* & the *Thomists* follow, reject the same. *August. l. 2. contra duas epistolas Pelagij c. 8. Si sine Dei gratia per nos incipit cupiditas bona, ipsum captum erit meritum, cui tanquam ex debito, gratia veniat adiutorium, ac sic gratia Dei non gratis donabitur, sed meritum nostrum dabitur. & c. 6. lib. 4. & lib. de predest. sanctorum: & de dono perseverantie. Et Prosper lib. de gratia & libero arbitrio ad Rufinum, ait; Quis ambigat tunc liberum arbitrium cohortationi vocantis obedire, cum in illo gratia Dei affectum credendi, obediendique generaverit? Alioquin sufficeret moneri hominem, non etiam in ipso novam fieri voluntatem, sicut scriptum est, Preparatur voluntas a domino. Neque obstat (saith *Alvarez*) quod idem Salomon Proverb. cap. 16. inquit, hominis est preparare animam. Intelligit enim hominis esse, quia libere producit consensum, quo preparatur ad gratiam: sed tamen id efficit supposito auxilio speciali Dei inspirantis bonum & interius moventis, sic explicat istum locum *August. lib. 2. contra duas epistolas Pelag. cap. 8.* And so those words are to be understood, If any one open the doore I will enter in, *Rouela. 3.* and *Isai 30. The Lord expecteth that he may have mercy on you: for he expecteth not our consent, as comming out of the power of nature, or as if any such consent were a disposition to grace, but that consent hee causeth in us. Fulgentius lib. de incarnatione cap. 19. Sicut in natiuitate carnali omnem nascentis hominis voluntatem, precedit operis divini formatio: sic in spiritali natiuitate, qua veterem hominem deponere incipimus. Bernard, de gratia & libero arbitrio, in initio: Ab ipsa gratia me in bono preventum agnosco, & provehi sentio, & spero perficiendum. Neque currentis, neque volentis, sed dei miserantis est. Quid igitur agit ais liberum arbitrium? breviter respondeo: salvatur; tolle liberum arbitrium, non erit quod salvetur, tolle gratiam non erit unde salvetur, opus hoc sine duobus effici non potest: uno a quo fit, altero, cui vel in quo fit, Deus author est salutis, liberum arbitrium tantum capax; nec dare illam nisi Deus, nec capere valet nisi liberum arbitrium: quod ergo a solo Deo, & soli datur libero arbitrio tam absq; consensu esse non potest accipientis, quam absque gratia dantis, & ita gratia operanti salutem cooperari dicitur liberum arbitrium, dum consentit, hoc est, dum salvatur: consentire enim salvari est.**

Yet must we not thinke that God moveth us and then expecteth to see whether wee will consent: *Concilium Arausicanum Can. 4. Si quis ut a peccato purgemur voluntatem nostram Deum expectare contendit, non autem ut etiam purgari velimus, per sancti spiritus infusionem, & operationem in nos, fieri constitatur: resistit ipsi spiritui sancto, per Salomonem dicenti, preparatur voluntas a domino, & Apostolo salubriter predicanti: Deus est qui operatur in nobis, & velle & perficere pro bona voluntate.* So that God doth not stirre and move the will, and soe stay to see whether it will consent or not, but worketh, moveth, and inclineth us to consent.

Alvarez l. 9.
disp. 97.

The good use of grace proceedeth, not from the meere liberty of our will, but

but from God working by the effectuall helpe of preoperating grace, and causing a man freely to consent and cooperate. If not, God were not the totall cause, which as the first roote bringeth forth all that, which discerneth the righteous from the sinner. *Quis te discernit?* Our consent, an effect of predestination. The will doth not first begin her determination and consent: The influx of free will into a good action, or the good use of grace exciting, is supernaturall: as being about a supernaturall object, therefore it must proceede from a supernaturall cause, &c. God is a cause, and the first cause: in that a cause, he hath reference to the effect, in that the first to the second; when therefore by his helping grace hee worketh together with us, to will and performe, his operation hath a double respect: first to our will, which it effectually moveth to worke this; and secondly to our act of willing which it produceth together with our will: for our will hath no operation but in one respect onely, that is, of the act it bringeth forth; but it hath no influence upon it selfe, antecedently to the production of the act. So then God is the first determiner of our will; for if the created will originally begin her owne determination, it will follow, that it is the first free, the first roote, and the first cause of her owne determination: which must not bee granted: for, seeing a created thing that is free, is free by participation, it must of necessity be reduced to a first free, as to a former cause: otherwise *duo prima principia*. So that God by his effectuall grace, not onely morally, but truly efficiently moveth and inclineth the will to the love and liking of what hee will, in such sort that it cannot but turne, nor cannot dissent *in sensu composito*, though it may *in sensu diviso*: The meaning of this is, that the effectuall motion of Gods grace, and an actuall dissenting, resisting, or not yeelding, cannot stand together: but the efficacie of Gods grace, and a power of dissenting doe stand together. For, the efficacie of grace doth not take away the power, but so directeth the will, as infallibly in such liberty to bring forth that hee pleaseth. * *Est simultas potentia ad opposita, non autem potentia simultatis ad opposita simul habenda*: there is in some created thing at the same time, a possibility of having or doing things opposite, as to sit or walke, but there is no possibility of having these together. So there is in free will, moved by effectuall grace, a power to doe, or not to doe *in sensu diviso*, because the efficacie of grace and power of dissenting may stand together, but not *in sensu composito*, that is, that the motion of grace and actuall dissenting should stand together. This is the opinion of *Alvarez* and many other opposing the Jesuites: neither had *Calvin* or *Luther* any other apprehension of these things. So that the necessity, efficacie, power, and working of Gods grace, is rightly delivered by sundry in the *Roman Church* even till this day. It is not to be marvelled therefore if it be said, that the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, beleevd and taught as we now doe.

* Capreolus:

Lib 9. d. 94.

Aloisius Lippomannus, in *catena*, ad lectorem hath these words. *Illud te admonitum esse volumus, ut si in toto hoc opere Chrysostomum aliquando legeris dicentem, homini quoties is sua attulerit, & conatum omnem fecerit, abunde postea à Deo gratiam suppeditari, cautè & prudenter pium doctorem legas, ne in errorem illum decidas, ut credas gratiam Dei dari propter merita nostra: nam si ex meritis, non est gratia: cum nec istud ipsum sua afferre, & conatum omnem facere, sine praeveniente Dei gratia possit esse, juxta illud Psalmi: & misericordia ejus praeveniet me; itemque, & misericordia ejus subsequetur me in omnibus diebus vita mea, ac illud sancta Ecclesia: tua nos quaesumus Domine gratia semper praeveniat & sequatur: cui nos quoque scrupulo providè occurrentes, in duobus fortassis aut tribus locis paucula quadam in Chrysostomum apposuimus.*

Gocchianus de libertate Christiana, l. 2. c. 23. *Maria salutatur gratia plena, ut quicquid in ea & per eam divina dispositione fieri conspicitur, totum ex dono Dei nullis precedentibus meritis, designetur, &c. habes qualiter in exordio humane reparationis presumptio humana facultatis dejicitur. In eo, quod Maria plena*

plena gratiâ nunciatur, pradicatur in ea plenitudo gratia, ut nihil proprii meriti, sed totum quod in ea est gratia esse designetur. August. in enchirid. Quid humana natura in homine Christo meruit, ut in unitate persona unici filii Dei, singulariter esset? Qua bona voluntas? cujus boni propositi studium? qua bona praecesserunt, quibus mereretur iste homo, ut una fieret persona cum Deo? nempe ex quo homo esse capit, non aliud capit esse quam Dei filius, idemque hominis filius, &c. Magna hic & sola Dei gratia ostenditur, ut intelligant homines, per eandem gratiam ejus se justificari à peccatis, per quam factum est ut homo Christus nullum habere posset peccatum. Ecce habes in Mediatore Christo gratiam commendatam, qui cum esset unicus Dei filius, non gratiâ, sed naturâ, & ob hoc plenus veritatis, factus est hominis filius; ut esset etiam gratia plenus, verbum caro factum est. Cum in Christo in quo omnia instauranda, tanquam in fonte unde totius humani generis derivatur salvatio, nihil aliud invenitur, quam gratia; unde alicui aliquid aliud de proprio potest provenire, per quod potest salvari? Miranda quidem, imò potius miseranda humana praesumptio facultatis, qua cum per humilitatem gratis salvari possit, propriâ impediente superbiâ salvari non velit; Omnes, inquit Esaias, sitientes venite ad aquas; & qui non habetis argentum & aurum, properate, emite, & comedite, emite absq; ullâ commutatione vinum & lac. Idem Spiritus movet hominis voluntatem, ut bonum velit quod prius noluit, & bonam voluntatem adjuvat ut bonum volitum ad effectum perducatur, nullâ cooperatione propria voluntatis facultatis, sed sanata & renovata. Aug. de patientia; Gratia non solum adjuvat justum, verum etiam justificat impium; & ideo etiam cum adjuvat justum, & videtur ejus meritis reddi; nec sic desinit esse gratia, quoniam id adjuvat, quod ipsa est largita. Hugo de Sancto Victore: Benefaciendi tres sunt gratia; praeveniens, cooperans, & subsequens; prima dat voluntatem; secunda facultatem; tertia perseverantiam. So that in the matter of free will and grace, the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, is found to have beene a Protestant Church.

^a Gocch. ibid.
l. 2 c. 23.

^x Cap. 20.

^y Miscel. 2. l. 2.
tit. 137. i

CHAP. II.

Of Justification.

THey of the Church of Rome doe teach, that there is a three-fold justification. The first, when a man borne in sinne, and the childe of wrath, is first reconciled to God, and translated into a state of righteousness and grace. The second, when of righteous hee becometh more righteous: And the third, when having fallen from grace, hee is restored againe.

The first Justification implieth in it three things; remission of sinnes past, acceptation and receiving into that favour, that righteous men are wont to find with God; and the grant of the gift of the holy Spirit, and of that sanctifying and renewing grace, whereby we may be framed to the declining of sinne, and the doing of the workes of righteousness. These being the things implied in the first justification of a sinner, it is agreed by all, that when in sorrowfull dislike of former misse-doings we turne unto God, all our sinnes past are freely remitted thorough the benefit of Christs satisfaction imputed unto us; as also that for the merit of Christs active righteousness, consisting in the fulfilling of the Law, wee are accepted, and finde favour with God, as if wee had alwayes walked in the wayes of God, and pleased him. And both these are necessary; for, if a man cease to be an enemy, hee doth not presently become a friend; and though hee pardon him that offended him, so as not to seeke revenge of the offence; yet doth it not follow, that presently hee receiveth him into favour; but it is possible, hee should neither respect him as an enemy, nor

^a Scotus l. 1.
d. 17. q. 2. art. 2.
& l. 4. d. 1. q. 6.

not as a friend ; and neither will evill unto him as to an enemy, nor good as to a friend. So likewise it sufficeth not, that God remitte our finnes, and seeke not our evill, for Christs passion, but it is necessary also, that he be so reconciled, as to embrace us as friends, and to doe good unto us: this wee have by the merit of Christs active righteousness, who having a two-fold right to heaven, the one of inheritance, because borne the sonne of God; the other of merit, because he had done things worthy the reward of heaven; made use onely of the one, and communicateth the other unto us. Neither is this all, that the sinner when hee is to bee justified, seeketh after; for hee never resteth satisfied, till hee have not onely obtained remission of finnes past, and acceptation with God, but the grant of the gift of the promise also, and of that grace that may keepe him from offending God so as formerly, and incline him to doe the things that are pleasing unto him. And therefore in the conference at ^b Ratibon, the Divines of both sides agreed, that no man obtaineth remission of finnes, nisi etiam simul infundatur charitas sanans voluntatem; ut voluntas sanata, quemadmodum ait Augustinus, incipiat implere Legem. Fides ergo viva est, quæ, & apprehendit misericordiam Dei in Christo, & credit justitiam quæ est in Christo sibi gratis imputari, & quæ simul pollicitationem Spiritus Sancti, & charitatem accipit.

^b Anno 1541.

So that it is evident, that to bee justified, hath a three-fold signification: For first, it importeth as much as to be absolved from sinne, that is, to bee freed from the wofull consequents of that disfavour and dislike, that unrighteousnesse and sinne subjecteth us unto. Secondly, to be accepted and respected so as righteous men are wont to be: And thirdly, to bee framed to the love and desire of doing righteously. And in this sort doth Dominicus à Soto explicate this point: and with him doe all they agree, who say, that grace doth justify formaliter, charitas operativè, and opera declarativè, that is, that grace doth justify formally, charitie as that which maketh men doe the workes of righteous men, and that good workes by way of declaration make it manifest, that they are righteous that doe them. For, they understand by grace, a state of acceptation, that is, such a condition, wherein men are not disfavoured as having done ill, but respected as if they had done all righteousness: which is in truth a relation, as the Protestants teach: For, what is it but a relation, in reference to another, to bee respected by him, and accepted to him? And in this sense a man may bee justified, that is, accepted as if he had never done ill, or failed in any good, for the righteousness of another *. Nay, they all confesse, that all they that are justified, are so accepted for the obedience, merit, and satisfactory sufferings of Christ, when they are first reconciled to God. So that it is strange, that they should urge as sometimes they doe, that a man can no more be justified, that is, accepted as if righteous, for the righteousness of another, then a line can bee, or bee accounted straight, for the straightnesse of another: For, as Durandus rightly noteth, though one mans merit and well doing, cannot bee imputed to another, as to bee, or be accounted his merit, and hee esteemed to have merited and done well; yet it may be so communicated, as that the fruit, benefit, and good of it, shall redound to him, and hee bee accounted worthy respect, for the others sake, as if hee had done well. Neither doe they nor can they make any question hereof; if they will but understand what they say; For whereas three things are required of a man, if hee will be subject to no evill, and enjoy good: viz. not to have done evill; to have done good, and to doe good in the present and time to come: though wee be framed to the doing of good hereafter, yet wee can neither bee freed from the punishment our former evill doings deserved, but by

* And to this purpose it is, that the Protestant Divines doe urge, that the word of justifying is verbum forense, and that it signifieth as much as to pronounce for one in judgment; which may bee conceived two wayes; first, so as to cleave him from the imputation of having sinned, that hath sinned, and so pronounce that he hath done righteously that hath not; and in this sense if God should justify the sinner, his judgment were not right; and so attribute this to him were

absurd, as our Adversaries rightly tell us: or else, to cleave and free one from punishment, as if he had never offended, and to adjudge such freedome to him, as righteous men are wont to enjoy, such as he might look for, if righteous; and so grant him the gift of renovation, making him decline ill, and doe good.

the benefit of his sufferings, that suffered what he deserved not, to free us : nor be accepted having done nothing worthy acceptation, but for his merit : who did all good in our nature to procure us acceptation.

c Lib. 15. c. 5.

Andreas Vega confesseth, that men may be absolved from their sins, that is, freed from the punishment of them, by the imputation of Christs righteousness : and that they may become acceptable and deare unto God, in such sort as just men are, formally, by being beloved of him : but that if we speake Philosophically of justice, it is in the predicament of quality, and not of relation,

d Lib. 15. c. 2.

e Epistol. 109.

which wee willingly yeeld unto. And though he say, "no man ever in expresse words affirmed before *Bernards* time, that Christs righteousness is imputed to us; yet he thinketh it may rightly be said to be imputed, both for satisfaction and merit: that is, so as to free us from punishment, and bring good upon us, as if we had merited it : and that to these purposes it is imputed to us, as if it were ours.

f Cap. 3.

And farther he addeth, that as God doth nothing in nature, but by his Sonne as God; so he will doe nothing pertaining to our justification and restauration, but for him, as hee is man : and that there is no benefit bestowed on us, or good done unto us, but it presupposeth a new application, and imputation of the merits of Christ. So that every one is newly made partaker of Christs merits, and oweth new thanks to him, so often as new gifts and benefits are conferred and bestowed upon him : and he feareth not to pronounce, that the righteousness of Christ is imputed unto us, not onely when we are baptized, (as he saith a man excellently learned unadvisedly affirmeth) but in other Sacraments, and as often as men receive any new gift from God : yea^e that a new imputation of Christs righteousness is necessarily required, for the remission of those veniall sinnes, into which the justified fall, and the freeing of us from temporall punishments.

g Cap. 10.

h Sermo. in
cenâ Domini

i Li. 83. q. 9. 68

Bernard. Nemo levia peccata contemnat, impossibile est enim cum in salvari, impossibile est ea dilui, nisi per Christum, & à Christo : & August. tam de eo qui levioribus peccatis obnoxius est, quàm de eo qui gravioribus, pronunciat : quod si sibi relinquerentur interirent.

All therefore acknowledge, as he thinketh, that the righteousness of Christ is imputed ; but there are, as he telleth us, two opinions in the Church of Rome touching this point; the one, that Christs righteousness is no otherwise communicated or imputed to us, but in that for the merit of it, wee are accepted, all things necessary to fit us for justification are given unto us, righteousness making us formally just, that is, inclining us to decline evill and doe good, is infused into us, and whatsoever is profitable to set us forward, and to make us continue in the same, is bestowed on us.

Others, renowned for learning and piety doe thinke, that for the attaining of heavens happinesse, not onely a two-fold righteousness is necessary, the one inherent, the other imputed, as to the former ; but that this imputed righteousness of Christ, is twice offered and presented by Christ to God the Father; First, that we may be justified, that is, that our sinnes may be remitted, we accepted, and renewing grace may be given unto us. And secondly, that wee may avoyd and decline the extremity and severity of Gods judgment, that he may accept our weake endeavours, and admit us to heaven, notwithstanding the imperfection and defects thereof : that for his sake the imperfection and impurity of our righteousness may be covered.

k De justificatione.

This opinion is clearely delivered by Cardinall^k *Contarenius*, and he telleth us it was allowed in the conference at *Ratisbon*, by the Divines of both sides: his words are these. Seeing we have affirmed, that we attaine a two-fold righteousness by faith : a righteousness inherent in us, as charity, and that grace whereby we are made partakers of the divine nature, and the justice of Christ given and imputed unto us, as being graft into Christ, and having put on Christ : it remaineth that wee enquire, upon which of these wee must stay and relye, and by which wee must thinke our selves justified before GOD, that

is,

is, to be accepted as holy and iust, having that iustice which it becometh the
 sonnes of God to have. I truly thinke, that a man very piously and Christi-
 anly may say, that wee ought to stay, to stay I say, as upon a firme and stable
 thing, able undoubtedly to sustaine us, upon the iustice of Christ given and im-
 puted to us, and not upon the holinesse and grace that is inherent in us. For, this
 our righteousness is imperfect, and such as cannot defend us, seeing in many
 things we offend all, &c. But the iustice of Christ which is given unto us, is
 true and perfect iustice, which altogether pleaseth the eyes of God, and in
 which there is nothing that offendeth God. Upon this therefore as most cer-
 taine and stable, we must stay our selves, and beleve that we are iustified by it,
 as the cause of our acceptation with God: this is that precious treasure of Chri-
 stians, which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it.

Ruard Tapper followeth the other opinion, and saith, That whereas ac- / Art. 8. pag. 28.
 cording to *Bernard*; our righteousness is impure, though sincere and true, 29, 30.
 wee must not conceive that this impurity defileth our righteousness, as if it
 selfe were stained, or any thing were wanting in it, for so it should not be true
 and right; but that it is said to bee impure, because there are certaine stains
 and blemishes together with it, in the operations of the soule; for God onely
 is absolutely free from sinne, and in many things we sinne all: our righteouf-
 nesse therefore according to his opinion, is imperfect in vertue and efficacie, be-
 cause it cannot expell and keepe out all sinne out of the soule wherein it is, by
 reason of the infirmity of the flesh; but the good workes of the iust, doe abide
 the severity of Gods judgement, neither can they be blamed, though tried most
 exactly, and discussed in all their circumstances, yea though the Devill should
 bee permitted to say what hee can against them, for they have no fault nor de-
 formitie.

Here for the better clearing of this point, it is to bee observed, that it is con-
 fessed by all, that the most righteous live not without sinne, and consequently
 that they have neede continually of remission of sinnes.

It is resolved amongst all Catholicks, saith *Andreas Vega*, that there was ^{Lib. 14. c. 17.}
 never any found amongst the Saints, the blessed Virgin onely excepted, that
 in the whole course of their lives, avoided all veniall sinnes. ^{Iob asketh, Iob. 14.}
 'Who shall be cleane from filthinesse? and answereth himselfe, according to
 the translation which the ancient Doctors followed, and namely *Cyprian*, *Am-
 brose*, *Augustine*, *Gregory* and others No one though he live but one day upon
 earth. And *David* saith generally, No man living shall be iustified in thy ^{Psal. 143.}
 sight: And in another place, For this impiety of sinne shall every holy one pray ^{Psal. 32.}
 unto thee: hee saith not every sinner, but every holy one (saith Saint *Augustine*) ^{An- p. 2 de peccat. merit. cap. 7.}
 for it is the voyce of the Saints; If wee say we have no sinne, we de-
 ceive our selves, and there is no truth in us: And *Salomon* saith, There is no
 man righteous on earth, that doth good, and sinneth not; and those sayings of
 the Apostles are well knowne; In many things wee sinne all: If wee say we
 have no sinne, wee deceive our selves, &c. And who is hee that never
 needed in his whole life to say that part of the Lords Prayer, Forgive us our
 trespasses?

And all this is strongly proved, in that if wee looke on the lives of all the
 Saints, which are marvellously commended in Scripture, wee shall finde none
 of them that had not some blemish, as in the most beautifull body. Let us begin
 with the more ancient, for we intend not to accuse the iust, but to shew the
 infirmities of man, and the mercie of GOD, upon, and towards all. *E-
 noch*, as *Ecclesiasticus* testifieth, pleased GOD, and was translated into
 Paradise: but in that it is written in *Genesis*, hee pleased GOD, af-
 ter hee begat *Methusalem*, *Basil* doth not without cause collect, that hee ^{Homil. 57.}
 formerly did not so please GOD; and the same *Basil* saith, that that great
 Father of the Faithfull, is found to have beene some-where unfaithfull:

'and not without cause, for when God first promised *Isaak* unto him, though he
 'fell on his face, yet he laughed in his heart, saying, Thinkest thou that a sonne
 'shall bee borne to him that is an hundred yeares old, and that *Sarah* who is
 'ninety yeares old shall bring forth? Whereupon *Hierome* speaketh of *Sarah*
 'and him in this sort; they are reprov'd for laughing, and the very cogitation
 'and thought is reprehended, as a part of infidelity; yet are they not condem-
 'ned of infidelity in that they laughed, but they received the garland of righte-
 'ousnesse, in that afterwards they beleev'd. Besides these, the Scripture giveth
 'ample testimony to *Noah*, *Daniel*, and *Job*, who onely in *Ezechiel* it saith, may
 'escape the anger of God ready to come on men; and yet *Noah* fell into drunken-
 'nesse, which is a sinne; and *Daniel* professeth, he prayed unto the Lord, and con-
 'fessed his owne sinne, and the sin of the people: *Job* also is commended in the
 'Scripture, and of God himselfe, as being a sincere man, righteous, fearing God,
 'and departing from evill; and that not in an ordinary sort, but so as that none
 'of the most righteous then in the world, might be compared unto him, as Saint
 '*Augustine* rightly collecteth out of the words of God unto Satan: This man
 'though he were a singular example, of innocencie, patience, and all holinesse,
 'and though hee indured, with admirable patience, horrible tribulations and
 'trials, not for his sinnes, but for the manifestation of the righteousness of God;
 'yet as *Augustine* and *Gregorie* (who as loud sounding trumpets set forth his
 'praises) freely confesse, hee was not without veniall sinne. Which thing is
 'strongly confirmed, in that the same most sincere lover of righteousness, con-
 'fesseth of himselfe, saying, 'I have sinned, what shall I doe unto thee, O thou
 'keeper of men? And being reprov'd by the Lord, and in a most milde sort wil-
 'led to say what hee could for himselfe, hee answered without any circuition,
 'that hee had spoken foolishly: and therefore the Scripture, as it were, care-
 'fully declining, the giving occasion to any one to attribute so great innocen-
 'cie to *Job*, as to make him sinlesse, said not that he sinned not, but that hee sin-
 'ned not in all those things that he suffered before that time, when he answer-
 'ed his wife, If wee have received good things of the hand of the Lord, why
 'should we not patiently suffer the evils he bringeth upon us? ' *Moses*, beloved
 'of God and men, and the most meeke of all the inhabitants of the earth,
 'doubted something of the promise of the Lord, when hee strooke the rock
 'twice with the rod, to bring out water for the people, being distressed for
 'want of water: and that his doubting displeased the Lord God, and hee let
 'him know so much, both by reprov'ing him and punishing him; and therefore
 'presently he said to him and *Aaron*, Because yee beleev'd mee not, to sanctifie
 'mee before the children of *Israel*, you shall not bring in this people into the
 'Land which I will give them. The Scripture also highly commendeth *Sam-
 'uel*, but as ' *Augustine* noteth, that neither he, nor *Moses*, nor *Aaron*, were
 'without sinne, *David* sufficiently declared, when he said; 'Thou wast mercifull
 'unto them, and didst punish all their inventions; for as *August.* noteth, hee pu-
 'nisheth them that are appointed to condemnation in his wrath, the children
 'of grace in mercy; but there is no punishment, no correction, nor no rod of
 'God due, but to sinne. *Zecharie* and *Elizabeth* are renowned for eminent
 'righteousnesse, for they are both said to have beene just before God, walking
 'in all his commandements without reproofe; but that *Zacharie* himselfe was
 'not without fault and sinne, *Gabriel* sheweth when he said unto him, Behold
 'thou shalt be silent, and not able to speake. And the same may be proved out
 'of *Paul* who saith, that Christ onely needed not daily as the Priests of the
 'Law, to offer sacrifice first for their owne sinnes, and then for the sinnes of the
 'people. And it is one thing (as the Fathers of the Councell of *Milevis* have
 'well noted, in their Epistle to *Innocentius*) to walke without sin, and another
 'thing to walke without reproofe; for he that walketh so, that no man can justly
 'complaint of him, or reprehend him, may bee said to walke without re-
 'proofe,

r Job 7.

f Numer. 20.

s Aug. de utili-
tate poenit.s Aug. 2. de
peccatorum
meritis & re-
missio.
s Psal. 98.

‘prooffe, though sometimes thorough humane frailty, some lighter finnes doe
 ‘leize upon him; because men doe not reprove nor complaine, but onely of the
 ‘more grievous finnes. And to what end should wee runne thorough other
 ‘examples of the Saints? Whereas the lights of the world, and salt of the earth,
 ‘the Apostles of Christ, that received the first fruits of the Spirit, confessed of
 ‘themselves, that in many things they offended and sinned.

And therefore the Church taught this ever with great consent. ^a *Tertulian*: ^a 2 contra
Quis hominum sine delicto? ^b *Cyprian* proveth by *Job*, *David*, and *John*, that no ^b Li. 3. ad *Qui-*
 ‘man is without sinne, and defiling: ^c *Hilarie* upon those words, thou hast de- ^c *In Psal. 118.*
 ‘spised all them that depart from thy righteousness; If God should despise sin- ^d *In Iohann.*
 ‘ners he should despise all; for there is none without sinne, ^e *Hierome* shewing
 ‘that the *Ninivites* upon good ground and for good cause, commanded all to
 ‘fast, both old and young, writeth thus; The elder age beginneth, but the youn-
 ‘ger also followeth in the same course, for there is none without sinne, whether
 ‘he live but one day or many yeares; for, if the starres be not cleare in the sight
 ‘of God, how much lesse a worme, rottenesse, and they that are holden guilty
 ‘of the sinne of *Adam*, that offended against God. And in another place,
 ‘wee follow the authority of the Scripture, that no man is without sinne. ^e *Qu. 8. ad*
 ‘And ^f *Saint Augustine*; Whosoever are commended in Scripture, as having a ^f *Algal.*
 ‘good heart, and doing righteously, and whosoever such after them, either now ^f *Lib. 2. de pec-*
 ‘are, or shall be hereafter, they are all truely great, just, and praise-worthy, but ^f *cat. meritis &*
 ‘they are not without some sinne, nor no one of them is so arrogantly mad, as ^f *remi: cap. 14.*
 ‘to thinke he hath no need to say the Lords prayer, and to aske forgiveness of
 ‘his finnes. And in his 31. sermon *de verbis Apostoli*, he hath these words: *Ha-*
retici Pelagiani & Cælestiani dicunt justos in hac vita nullum habere peccatum,
redi haretice ad orationem si obsordiuisti contra veram fidei rationem, Dimitte no-
bis debita nostra dicis an non dicis? Si non dicis, etsi præsens fueris corpore, foris
tamen es ab Ecclesia. Ecclesia enim oratio est, vox est de magisterio Domini veni-
ens. Ipse dixit, sic orate, Discipulis dixit, Apostolis dixit, & nobis qualescunque
agniculi sumus dixit, arietibus gregis dixit, sic orate. Videte quis dixerit & qui-
bis dixerit, Veritas Discipulis, pastor pastorum arietibus dixit, sic orate, Dimitte
nobis debita nostra, &c. Rex militibus, Dominus servis, Christus Apostolis, veri-
tas hominibus loquebatur, sublimitas humilibus loquebatur. Scio quid in vobis a-
gatur: Ego vos appendo, ego de trutina mea renancio, prorsus dico quid in vobis a-
gatur. Hoc enim ego plus quàm vos scio, dicite, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut,
&c. Oratio ista regeneratorum est, id est, baptizatorum: Postremò, quod totum su-
perat filiorum est. Nam si non est filiorum, quàm fronte dicitur Pater noster, &c.
 And in his ^g retractations he saith expressly, ^g *Cap. 13.*
 ‘dates of righteousness, as that it should not be needfull for him in praying to
 ‘say, Forgive us our debts. And ^h else where; that amongst those three articles, ^h *De bono per-*
 which the Church defendeth against the *Pelagians*, one is, *In quantacunq; iusti-* ^h *severantiz.*
ria sine qualibuscunq; peccatis, in hoc corruptibili corpore neminem vivere. ⁱ *Basil. i Homil. 58.*
 ‘No speech is so profitable unto me as that touching repentance, because there
 ‘is no man without sinne. ^k *Gennadius*: There is no holy nor just man that is ^k *De ecclesiast.*
 ‘without sinne; yet doth hee not therefore cease to be holy. ^l *Gregory* inqui- ^l *dogmat. c. 49.*
 ‘reth, how that may be understood that *Job* saith, his heart reproveth him not; ^l *Moral. 18.*
 ‘whereas before he had accused himselfe, saying, I have sinned: and he profes- ^m *cap. 4.*
 ‘seth, that if he shall goe about to justifie himselfe, his owne heart will con-
 ‘demne him: and he answereth himselfe in this sort; that there are finnes that
 ‘may be avoyded by the just, and that there are some that even the righteous
 ‘cannot decline; of the first kinde he saith, it is to thinke evill, ⁿ of the second to
 ‘consent to evill thoughts. Rightly therefore, hee that confesseth himselfe a
 ‘sinner, saith, his heart reproveth him not, because though sometimes happily hee
 ‘were wanting in rectitude, in that hee thought evill, yet by a strong fight of ⁿ *De præcept.*
 ‘the minde he resisted the same. ^o *Bernard. Ipsi de se fatentur Apostoli in mul-* ^o *& dispens.*

• De perfect.
justit. resp. 17.

• Moral. 21. c. 9

• Vega lib. 14.

cap. 20.

• Psal. 118.

ris offendimus omnes, & si dixerimus, quia peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus; that is, the Apostles confesse of themselves, In many things wee sinne all, and if wee say, wee have no sinne, we deceive our selves. • August. treating of those words, that we may be holy and undefiled: *Hoc agitur, inquit, ut hoc simus, si immaculati intelligendi sunt, qui omnino sine peccato sunt; si autem immaculati sunt, qui sunt sine crimine, etiam in hac vita fuisse atque esse, negare non possumus: legitur homo sine crimine, legitur sine querela, at non legitur sine peccato, nisi filius hominis, unus idemque filius Dei unicus.* And P. Gregoris: *In hac vita multi sine crimine, nullus vero esse sine peccatis valet.*

• Yea the Fathers teach, not onely that no man doth, but also that no man can live without veniall sinne. • Hilary in illa verba, *amputa à me opprobrium, &c.* Propheta in corpore positus loquitur, & neminem viventium scit sine peccato esse posse. Augustin, Homil. 2. in Apocalyps. *Non Angeli indigent pœnitentiâ sed homines, qui sine peccato esse non possunt, & subjungit. Non dicam Laici, sed etiam Sacerdotes, unâ die esse non debent sine pœnitentiâ, quia quomodo nullus dies est in quo homo possit esse sine peccato, sic nullo die debet esse sine satisfactionis remedio. Et de bono perseverantia cap. 12. citat ex Ambrosio, & approbat, Cavere difficile; exuere autem impossibile surreptiones, in quibus dubium non est, quandoque nos peccare venialiter. In libr. de fide ad Retrum, cap. 41. ut firmissimè tenendum traditur, neminem ex adultis sine peccato esse posse. Gregorius homil. 17. in Evangel. Humana vita sine culpa transiri non potest. Et alibi. Etiam à justis peccata hac minuta asserit inevitabilia, 18. Moral. cap. 4. Beda in illa verba, Ecce agnus Dei. Quamdiu sunt Sancti in hoc corpore, peccato carere nequeunt. Et Bernard. in lib. de praecepto & dispens. Fateor sanè impossibile cuivis mortalium, vel venialiter interdum non delinquere. And the Councell of Trent anathematizeth all those that shall say, that the justified man may so avoyd and decline all veniall sinne, as not to commit any in the whole course of his life, unlesse it be by speciall priviledge, as in the blessed Virgin.*

• Lib. 14. c. 21.

But yet Andreas • Vega thinketh, that the just by the assistance of Gods grace, may decline all veniall sinne, so as in the whole course of their life to fall into none; which his saying he confesseth, will seeme hard to most men, even as it seemed formerly to himselfe. But hee saith, if it be not granted that the Commandements of God may be kept collectively, as well as divisively, then that hee requireth is impossible, for hee requireth the fulfilling of all collectively, so as not to doe any of them is sinne. If a man command his servant to carry so much of something, out of the field into his house every houre, though hee have power to carry so much any houre, yet if hee have not power to carry it every houre, it seemeth he requireth that which is impossible, and his mandate is unjust. And besides, if we have power to doe the things the Law requireth divisively onely, and not collectively, then we cannot fulfill the Law, *ex toto, sed ex parte tantum*, which is the opinion of the Protestants, whom the Councell condemneth.

It is true that he noteth touching this point, that they cannot avoid, but that God hath commanded things impossible, who say, that men may divisively doe each thing the Law requireth, but not collectively all the things it requireth, seeing God commandeth us to doe all these things collectively; and yet this is the opinion of most Divines in the Roman Church. So that they are forced by the evidence of truth, to confesse together with us, that God hath commanded such things, as in the present state, by reason of the infirmity of our sinfull nature, cannot be fulfilled by us.

Neither can Vega avoyde the evidence of the testimonies of the Fathers, and the Decree of the Councell of Trent, so that hee must be forced to confesse, that no man can so collectively fulfill the Law as not to sinne, and consequently, that no man can performe that the Law requireth. For his distinction of

Logicall

logicall or metaphysicall, and morall impossibility will not helpe the matter ; for howsoever it be true, that God may give grace, freeing the will, and inabling it to doe good, in such sort as to decline all ill, (and in his opinion every justified man might have such grace, if he were not wanting to himselfe) yet according to the course which generally he hath, doth, and will ever hold for reasons better knowne to himselfe, hee giveth not that superexcellent grace, and mans condition is still such, as that continuing in it, hee cannot avoyde all sinne.

* Stapleton treating of the fulfilling of the Law, layeth downe these propositions: 1. They that are renewed in Christ Jesus receive the grace of the holy Spirit, whereby they may fulfill the Law: ^a *Lex, saith S. Augustine, data est ut gratia quæreretur, gratia data est ut lex impleretur, & voluntas ostenditur infirma per legem, ut sanet gratia voluntatem, & voluntas sanata impleat legem, non constituta sub lege, nec indigens lege. Item, Lex non evacuatur per fidem, sed statuitur, quia fides impetrat gratiam, quâ lex impleatur. Ad precepta facienda adjuvat per gratiam, sicut promissa implenda curat per veritatem. Impletur lex cum vel sunt quæ ibi præscripta sunt, vel cum exhibentur quæ ibi prophetata sunt, gratia pertinet ad charitatis plenitudinem, veritas ad Prophetiarum impletionem, & quia utrunque per Christum, ideo non venit solvere legem aut Prophetas, sed adimplere.* ^a Iustificat. l. 6. cap. 2. ^b De Spiritu & litera, c. 19. ^c Cap. 9. ^d Cap. 30. ^e Contra Faustum l. 19. c. 31. ^f Lib. 17. c. 6.

* This first proposition hee qualifieth by a second, in this sort. *Hæc impletio legis non intelligitur, necessario & precise in omnibus mandatis legis, toto tempore & cursu iustitiæ humanæ, sed ille censetur implere, qui voluntatem & affectum habens implendi, universa legis eatenus implet, quatenus humana fragilitas, in reliquiis naturæ corruptæ, per gratiam adjuncta implere in hac vita vel potest, vel solet.* And this Proposition hee saith is clearely proved, and strongly confirmed, by the knowne doctrine of the Church, long since clearely delivered against the *Pelagians*, that none of the just doe live without sinne. Whereas therefore, it is said of *Zacharie* and *Elizabeth*, that they were both just before God, walking in all the commandements, and justifications of the Lord without blame; and of *David*, that he was a man after Gods owne heart, doing all his will; and of *Asa*, that hee did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, as *David* his Father did; and that his heart was perfect before the Lord all his dayes; as likewise it is said of *Jehosaphat*, *Ezechias*, *Josias*; It is not to be understood, that they were so just, as to bee without sinne, for the sinnes of them all are recounted in Scripture. *Zachary* was incredulous, and therefore became dumbe; the adultery and murder of *David* are well known; *Jehosaphat* is reprehended by the Prophet for helping wicked *Ahab*; *Ezechias* fell through the pride of his heart; *Josias* sinned grievously, in not resting in the words of *Necho*, 2 Chron. 35. But they are said to have beene just, because they had a desire to fulfill all, though through frailty they offended in many things. ¹ *Hierome* sheweth, that men are so just in this life, as that yet they are not without sinne, *Positum, inquit, est in nostra potestate non peccare, sed hoc pro modo, & tempore, & conditione humanæ fragilitatis, perpetuitas autem impeccantiæ, soli Deo reservatur, nec quia ad breve tempus abstinere possum, coges me ut possim jugiter, & dicimus hominem posse non peccare si velit, sed hoc pro tempore, pro loco, pro imbecillitate corporis, quamdiu intentus est animus, quamdiu chorda nullo vitio laxatur in cithara.* And Saint ^m *Augustine*; *Nullus sanctus & justus caret peccato, nec tamen ex hoc desinit esse justus, cum affectu teneat sanctitatem.* ^h Concil. Milevita. Can. 6. 7. & 8. Concil. Africæ. c. 81. & sequen. Aug. l. 2. de peccato: meritis & remissi. De Spiritu & lit. lib. 4. contra ep. Pelagiani de perfect. iustitiæ. ^g Cap. 30. ⁱ 2 Chron. 19. ^k 2 Chron. 32. ^l Contra Pelag. lib. 30. ^m Lib. de Ecclesiast. dogmatibus, c. 86.

* Thirdly, to this proposition hee addeth in the same place, That the just though they be not without sinne, yet decline those that are mortall, or if at any time they fall into them, they rise againe by repentance.

* Fourthly, though the righteousness of the just be not perfect in this world, so as to bee free from all mixture of sinne, yet it is perfect *suo modo*, in that it

p Leo de qua-
drages. ser. 2.
9 August. in
Psal. 69.

Cap. 8.

it continually endeavoureth to bee free from sinne, going on from day to day.

Hec est perfectorum vera justitia, ut nunquam presumant se esse perfectos: ne ab itineris nondum finiti intentione cessantes, ibi incidant in deficiendi periculum, ubi proficiendi deposuerint appetitum. ⁹ Quantumcunq; hic profecerimus, nemo dicat sufficit mihi, justus sum, qui sic dixit remansit in via, non novit pervenire. Vbi dixit sufficit ibi haesit.

Fifthly, *Justitia bonorum operum in fide, est vera coram Deo justitia, utcumq; mixta peccatis & imperfecta, tum quoad universa mandata implenda, tum quoad modum implendi, vereq; & plenè legi Dei satisfacit, non solum quia quam proximè arcedit ad plenam & perfectam justitiam, aut quia gravioribus saltem criminibus caret, aut etiam quia id agit proficiendo de die in diem, ut omni prorsus peccato careat, & plenè satisfaciatur, sed adhuc praterea, quia quicquid deest ad plenam, & perfectam adimpletionem, mandata pratermittendo, & frequenter venialiter peccando, sive propter imperfectionem, in modo & ratione implendi, id totum Christi misericordia & gratia indulget, atq; ignoscit, facitq; indulgendo, ut perinde simus coram Deo justì, ac si universa ad amissim omnia mandata, eademque perfectissimè fecissemus.*

This doctrine of Stapleton thus delivered, is such as no Protestant can dislike, neither can hee dissent from them, if he constantly persist in the same, but that hee may make shew of some difference betweene him and them, hee saith, that a three-fold fraud of the Protestants touching remission of sinnes, is to bee avoyded. First, in that they make our justification, so consist in the sole remission of sinnes by faith, that the Sacraments conferre nothing to our justification. But this is untrue, for they teach no such thing, but that Baptisme and repentance are necessarily required in them that are to bee first justified. The second supposed fraud is, that actions of vertue, and the carefull endeavour to walke in the Commandements of God, are not necessary to our second justification, or the augmentation, progresse, and daily perfecting of the same more and more. But this is a calumnation as the former; for they make the second justification to consist of two parts: The daily progresse in well doing, whereby the righteousness inherent is more and more perfected: And the daily remission of such sinfull defects, as are found in their actions. Neither doe they say, that mortall sinnes, and such as doe *vastare conscientiam*, stand with justification; and therefore the daily remission which the justified man seeketh, is not of those. The third fraud, to wit, that this remission of sinnes is obtained by faith onely, without all those meanes that are necessary to attaine the same, is but his owne imagination; for, howsoever faith onely apprehend this remission, yet other things necessarily concur, as fitting to the receiving of the same.

Hitherto wee have strongly proved, that no man can live in this world without veniall sinne, and consequently, that no man fulfilleth the Law exactly. We have likewise shewed, that the best learned in the *Roman* Church doe thinke, that the justified doe so fulfill the Law, as that they have neede of continuall remission of sinnes. Only one thing may be alleadged against this that we have hitherto insisted upon, * that veniall sinnes are not against, but besides the Law, that they are improperly sinnes, and that they doe not offend nor displease God, and that therefore the committing of those no way hindereth, but that the fulfilling of the Law may bee accounted perfect. But ¹ *Andreas Vega* learnedly refuteth this fancie, and sheweth at large, that they are properly and absolutely sin, for that they are *actus mali simpliciter, quippe qui voluntariè & circa*

* Chemnitius
(saith Bellar-
mine de justifi-
fic. l. 4. c. 14.)
urgeth, that
hee that fulfill-
leth the whole
Law hath no
sinne, that in

many things wee sinne all, and that therefore none fulfilleth the whole Law. This argument they doe not well answer, that thinke veniall sinnes to bee properly sinnes, and against the Law; for they must say, it is possible to fulfill, not because it may wholly bee kept, but in the greater part. Thomas 1. 2. quest. 88. art. 1. asserit, peccata venialia non esse peccata simpliciter, sed imperfectè, & secundum quid, neque esse contra legem, sed prater legem. f Lib. 14. cap. 23.

materiam

materiam indebitam, & à recta ratione deviant, ac dissentiunt, & pœnâ, ac reprehensione digni jure apud omnes censentur. And sundry others agree with him in the same. So that it is cleere, that though the gift of righteoutnesse be given to the justified, and they inclined to doe the things the Law requireth, yet it doth not make them to decline all evill, or to doe all good that the Law requireth, but so to decline evill, as not to suffer it to bee predominant, and so to doe good, as principally to delight in well doing, and above all things to desire to please God.

Onely one thing remaineth that is questionable, whether the good workes of the justified be sinne or not. That they are, wee have the testimony of *Gre- 19 Moral.c.1. gorie; Sanctus vir omne meritum virtutis nostra vitium esse conspiciat, si ab interno arbitro distriktè judicetur, ideò rectè subjungit, si voluerit contendere cum eo, non poterit ei respondere unum pro mille: & 9. Moral.c.28. Quamvis lamentis superna compunctionis infundat: quamvis per studia recte operationis exerceat, in tuâ tamen munditiâ, video quia mundus non sum. Intentam quippe in Deum animam, ipsam adhuc corruptibilis caro diverberat, ejusq; amoris pulchritudinem, obscenis & illicitis cogitationum motibus fadat. Et 9. Moral.c.14. Omnis humana justitia injustitia convincitur si distriktè judicetur: prece ergò post justitiam indiget, ut qua succumbere discussa poterat, ex sola judicis pietate convalescat.*

And *Vega* confesseth, that not onely the life of all the holiest in this world, *Lib 11.c.40.* is stained with many veniall finnes, but also that the good workes of the most perfect, come short of that goodnesse, with which it were fit, wee should worship, praise, and honour God, they are not so pure, so holy, so fervent, as the greatnesse of God and of his benefits bestowed on us, might justly require and exact of us.

x Stapleton saith, *Non est tanta eorum justitia, ut vel sine peccato semper sit, vel nihil illi addi queat. y August. contra Cœlestium, In illa plenitudine charitatis preceptum illud implebitur, Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, & ex tota anima tua, &c. Nam, cum est adhuc aliquid carnalis concupiscentia, quod vel continendo franetur, non omnimodo ex tota anima diligitur Deus. z Propter concupiscentiam minuitur, distrahitur, & impeditur illa dilectio. Non amatur Deus perfectè ex tota anima in hac vita: non quia avertitur à Deo, sed quia avocatur; non quia à Deo abstrahitur, sed quia distrahitur. Deinde, non quia charitas Dei per hunc conflictum tollitur, sed quia usus ipsius charitatis impeditur, ut scitè distinguit Thomas 2.2. q.44.ar.4.ad. 2. Fit autem hac avocatio, hac distractio, hac diminutio delectationis sancta in ipsa anima, quia sine anima caro non concupiscit, quamvis caro concupiscere dicatur, quia carnaliter anima concupiscit. a Concupiscentia in quantum inest, nocet, non quidem ad perdendum de sorte sanctorum, nisi ei consentitur, tamen ad minuendam spiritualem delectationem sanctarum mentium, illam scilicet de qua dicit Apostolus, Condelector legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem.* There is an imperfection in our love of God, and wee come short of that which the Law requireth of us; for wee should love him so, as to love or desire nothing more, nothing so much, nothing but for him, nothing that he would not have loved, nothing otherwise than he would have us: but this we doe not, therefore we breake this law. Their *b* answer is, that these *b* *Stapleton* doe onely teach us what wee are to desire, and what we are hereafter to attaine, but doe not binde us under the paine of sinne. If wee aske them why, they answer, because our nature is so corrupted, that wee cannot fulfill them; and thus doth *Stapleton* answer this question; but himselfe presently sheweth the insufficiencie of this answer, for he telleth us out of *August.* that the righteoutnesse of the first man was such, as to obey God, and to have no law of

a De Iustific. lib.6.c.21.

y De perfect. justitiæ.

z Stapl. ib.c.10.

a August. l.4.c. 2. contra Julian

b Stapl. l.6.c.11

of concupiscence, *De peccat. merit. & remission. lib. 2. cap. 23.* And out of the same *August. De Civitate Dei, lib. 14. cap. 10.* *Erat amor ejus imperturbatus in Deum:* that is, he was wholly carried unto God without distraction or perturbation. And addeth, that this primitive righteousnesse, (which the law of nature bound man to have) the Law was to prescribe and require, *quia ideo data est, ut extinctam propemodum natura legem in hominibus restauraret; August. qu. in vetus testament. q. 4.* And that the rule of the Law, which is a perpetuall and immutable law of justice in God, was not to be altered, or any way bowed and inclined in respect of the depravation of our nature; he saith therefore, that the rule without any change remaineth the same, and commandeth all manner of perfection: and that not to have the perfection it requireth, is a transgression of the law, in all them that by *Adams* sinne are so corrupted, unlesse this corruption be remitted. So then this law bindeth the unregenerate; and doe the regenerate owe lesse to God? It remaineth therefore a cleare truth, that the most just doe not performe the workes of vertue, with that purity and fervencie of affection that the Law requireth, according to that of *Saint Paul*, who confesseth, that what he would doe, that he did not; and what hee would not, that hee did; that to will was present with him, but that he found no ability to performe.

Ambrosius de fugâ saculi citatus ab August. contra duas epist. Pelag. ad Bonifacium lib. 4. cap. 11. hath these words, *Frequenter irrepit terrenarum illecebra cupiditatum, & vanitatum offusio mentem occupat, ut quod studeas vitare, hoc cogites animoque volvas. Quod cavere difficile est homini, exuere autem impossibile. Non in potestate nostra est cor nostrum, & nostra cogitationes, quæ improviso offusæ, mentem animumque confundunt, atque alio trahunt quam tu proposueris, ad secularia revocant, mundana inserunt: voluptaria ingerunt, illecebrosa intexunt, ipsoque in tempore quo elevare mentem paramus, insertis inanibus cogitationibus, ad terrena plerumque dejicimur.*

c Contra Lucif-
erianos.

And c *Hierome, Fiat tibi, inquit Deus, secundum fidem tuam, hanc ego vocem audire nolo, si enim secundum fidem meam fiat mihi, peribo. Et certe credo in Deum Patrem, credo in Deum Filium, & credo in Deum Spiritum Sanctum, credo in unum Deum: & tamen secundum meam fidem nolo mihi fieri. Sapè quippe venit inimicus homo & inter dominicam messem Zizania interserit. Neque hoc dico, quod majus quicquam sit quam sacramenti fides, quam puritas anima: sed indubitata ad Deum fides arduè reperitur. Verbi gratiâ dictum sit, ut quod volumus perspicuum fiat, ad orationem assisto, non orarem si non crederem, sed si verè crederem, illud cor quo Deus videtur mundarem, manibus tunderem pectus, genas lacrimis rigarem, corpore inhorrescerem, ore pallerem, jacerem ad Domini mei pedes eosque fletu perfunderem, crine tergerem, haberem certè trunco crucis, nec prius amitterem, quàm misericordiam impetrarem. Nunc verò creberrimè in oratione meâ aut per porticus deambulo, aut de fenore computo, aut abductus turpi cogitatione, etiam quæ dicta erubescenda sunt gero. Vbi est fides? sicine putamus orâsse Ionam? sic tres pueros? sic Danielelem inter leones? sic certè latronem in cruce?*

And this is confirmed by the Author of the booke called *Scala cali*, written in English long since, a manuscript whereof I have seene: 'When thou wouldst have the mind of thy heart upward to God in thy prayer, thou feelest so many thoughts in vaine, and of thine owne deedes before done, or what thou shalt doe

doe, that it cannot be so : yet doe we rightly require it should bee so. Thou shalt love God with all thy heart, and all thy soule, and thy might, it is impossible to any man, to fulfill this bidding so fully as it is said, living in earth, and yet nevertheless our Lord bade us to love so, for this intent as S. Bernard saith, that we should know thereby our feebleness, and then meekly crie mercie, and we shall have it.

Saint Bernard making two constructions of that precept, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, &c.* The one, that it requireth that we should first taste the sweetness of the Lord, and love him as the first thing that is deare unto us, and our selves in and for God, no otherwise, as finding nothing in our selves worth regarding, but for him, without whom we are nothing. The other, that it requireth us to love nothing so much as God, to bee affected towards him as most worthy to be beloved, and to desire that we might so taste of his goodness, as to love him first, and nothing but for him. The former of these two hee saith, is impossible to be had in this life. *Quis enim sibi arrogare id audeat quod se Paulus ipse fatetur non comprehendisse? Nec latuit praeceptorem praecepti pondus hominum excedere vires, sed judicavit utile, ex hoc ipso sua illos insufficientia admoneri: & ut scirent sanè ad quem iustitia finem niti pro viribus oporteret. Ergò mandando impossibilia, non praevaricatores homines fecit, sed humiles, ut omne os obstruatur, & subditus fiat omnis mundus Deo. Quia ex operibus Legis non iustificabitur omnis caro coram illo. Accipientes quippe mandatum, & sentientes defectum, clamabimus in cœlum, & miserebitur nostri Deus, & sciemus in illa die, quia non ex operibus iustitia qua fecimus nos, sed secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit.*

*d In Cantica
serm. 50.*

And that all our best workes are defective, and that it is not safe to truit to them, the same Bernard sheweth in his Sermon *De verbis Apostoli*, * *Perfecta & segura gloriatio est, cum veremur omnia opera nostra, sicut testatur beatus Iob de seipso, & cum Esaia Propheta, omnes iustitias nostras, non aliud quam pan-* * *Qui gloria-*
num menstruata reputandas esse cognoscimus; nihilominus tamen confidimus etiam, & gloriamur in Domino, cujus misericordia tanta est super nos, ut à gravioribus quidem, qua ad mortem peccata sunt, custodiat nos, & tam benigne imperfectionis nostrae delicta, & conversationis impuritatem nobis manifestare, cognitam condonare dignetur, quatenus in humilitate & solitudine, & gratiarum actione firmiter radicati, jam non in nobis, sed in Domino gloriemur. *tur in domino
glorietur.*

* Ruard Tapper saith, Our righteousness is imperfect in vertue and efficacy, in that it cannot expell, and keepe all sinne out of the soule : whence it will follow, that it is sinfully defective in it selfe. For, righteousness keepeth out sinne by way of contrariety; and each contrary, if it bee in such degree as it should, keepeth out the contrary: if therefore it bee in such degree as it should be, it will suffer no sinne. For, God requireth of us an intire obedience; and as he that will leave a sinne in such sort as he should, must leave all; so hee that will have any one vertue so as he should, must have all, and consequently can have no sinne. *Bellarmino de iustificat. lib. 4. cap. 14.* saith, Hee that keepeth the whole Law, and offendeth in any one, is guilty of all, and that therefore if those sinnes which wee call veniall, (as many the best in the Roman Church defend) be simply and absolutely sinnes, and violations of the Law, whosoever committeth any one of them and breaketh the Law in so doing, is in a sort guilty of the breach of all, and keepeth no one of them as hee should.

*e De iustificat.
art. 8. p. 19.*

Wherefore, by the cleare confession of many the worthiest in the Church in former times, and by necessary consequence from that all taught, it is evident, that our righteousness is imperfect, not onely by reason of the mixture of sinnes, but of the sinfull defect and imperfection, found in the good workes which wee doe. Which thing *Augustine* long since excellently delivered, *ad Bonifacium lib. 3. cap. 7. Virtus qua nunc est in*

*lib. 1. in O 2
et abbas*

homine iusto, hæcenus perfecta nominatur, ut ad ejus perfectionem pertineat etiam ipsius imperfectionis, & in veritate agnitio, & in humilitate confessio. Tunc enim est secundum hanc infirmitatem, pro suo modulo perfecta, ista parva justitia, quando etiam quid sibi desit, intelligit. & 1. Retract. c. 19. Omnia mandata facta deputantur, quando quicquid non fit, ignoscitur: & in Confess. Va hominum vita quantumvis laudabili si remota misericordia inducetur.

Wherefore seeing it is clearly confessed, that the righteousness of the just is impure, as Bernard speaketh, not onely in respect of the mixture of sinne, but of sinfull imperfection, found in the best workes of vertue, done by them. I thinke wee may safely follow their opinion, who say, that for the attaining of heavens happinesse, not onely a twofold righteousness is necessary, the one inherent, the other imputed, but that this imputed righteousness of Christ, is twice offered and presented by Christ to God the Father; first, that our sinnes may be remitted, we accepted, and renewing grace may bee given unto us: and secondly, that for his sake the imperfections and defects of our inherent righteousness found in us, by renewing grace may be covered, that we may avoyde the extremitie and severity of Gods righteous judgement, and that he may accept our weake endeavours, and admit us into heaven, notwithstanding all our failings.

f Possid. de vita
Aug. c. 27.

f Possidonius writeth of Ambrose, that when he was ready to die, hee used these words, *Non sic vixi ut me pudeat inter vos vivere; sed nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum habemus*: And he saith, that S. August. when he was now aged, was wont much to admire and praise this saying of S. Ambrose, *Ideo enim cum dixisse nec mori timeo, quia bonum Dominum habemus; ne crederetur præsicens de suis purgatissimis moribus præsumpsisse, Non sic vixi ut me pudeat inter vos vivere: Hoc dixerat ad illud quod homines de homine nosse poterant. Nam sciens examen aequitatis divina, de bono Domino se dicit magis, quam de meritis suis considerare: cui etiam in oratione quotidianâ Dominicâ dicebat: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, &c.* And Cuthbertus that writeth the life of Beda saith, that he also was wont often to repeat this saying of S. Ambrose.

S. Aug. cont. Crescon. l. 3. c. 80 speaketh thus, *Ad existimationem hominum magna testium qui me noverunt suppetit copia, ad Dei verò conspectum sola conscientia, quam contra vestras criminationes, cum intrepidam geram, non me tamen sub oculis omnipotentis justificare audeo, magisque ab illo effluentem misericordia largitatem, quam judicii summum examen expecto, cogitans quod scriptum est, Cum Rex justus sederit in throno, quis gloriabitur castum se habere cor, aut quis gloriabitur mundum se esse à peccato?* Which thing Gerson also sheweth *De verbis Christi, Venite ad me omnes. Hac & his similia Diabolo tentanti, & peccatum sua diffidentia vel desperationis ingerere volenti soleo respondere: ne quando prævaleat inimicus meus super me. At si quando me cogitatio in conspectu divina majestatis rapuerit, ibi certè longè aliter procedo, quia tunc me pulverem cineremque esse recognosco. Tunc me peccatorem miserrimum, & supplicio dignissimum profiteor, & cum omni reverentiâ veniam deprecor. Tunc quasi super terram sto, & alas submitto, quas in altercatione Diaboli quasi in calo volans extensas teneo: ut semper & coram Diabolo erectus inveniar, & humilis coram Deo.*

g Guil. in vita
Bernard. c. 12.

g Of S. Bernard it is reported, *cum extremum jam spiritum trahere videretur, in excessu mentis suæ, ante tribunal Domini sibi visus est presentari, affuit*

affuit autem & Satan ex aduerso, improbis eum accusationibus pulsans; ubi verò ille omnia fuerat prosecutus, & viro Dei pro sua fuit parte dicendum, nihil territus aut turbatus, ait, Fateor non sum dignus ego, nec propriis possum meritis obtinere regnum cælorum; ceterum duplici jure illud obtinens Dominus meus, hereditate scilicet Patris, & merito passionis; altero ipse contentus, alterum mihi donat, ex ejus dono jure illud mihi vindicans non confundor. In hoc verbo confusus inimicus, conuentus ille solutus, & homo Dei in se reuersus est. ^h Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury bringeth in a godly man ^h De simil. c. 6. thus speaking to the Angels, Quòd in regno Dei vestrà quarimus aequalitate beari, dono & gratia Iesu Christi Domini nostri id ascribimus: qui ad hoc dignatus est homo fieri, pati, mori, ut nos ob omni delicto, in sanguine suo iustificatos, ipsius regni consortes efficeret.

And the same Anselme is ⁱ said to have prescribed certaine interrogatories to be proposed to such as were ready to die, Inter quas extrema est, Credis te non posse nisi per mortem Christi saluari? respondet infirmus, etiam. Tum illi dicitur; age igitur dum superest in te anima, in hac sola morte fiduciam tuam constitue; in nulla re alia fiduciam habe, huic morti te totum committe, hanc solà te totum contege, totum te immisce in hac morte, totum confige, in hac morte totum involve; & si Dominus Deus voluerit te judicare, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi obicio inter me & iudicium tuum; aliter tecum non contendo: & si tibi dixerit quia peccator es, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi pono inter te & peccata mea: si dixerit tibi, quòd meruisti damnationem, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi obtendo inter te & mala merita mea, ipsiusque mortem offero pro merito, quòd ego debuissim habere, nec habeo; si dixerit, quòd tibi est iratus, dic: Domine, mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi oppono inter me & iram tuam. ⁱ Hosius Tom. 1. pag. 291. confessionis Cathol. c. 73.

And ^h Hosius saith, The Booke called Hortulus anime hath the same interrogatories; and that the Franciscan Friars observant had the same in the Frierie at Trent, translated into Italian, and that he had scene Sacerdotale Romanum, in which this interrogation is found, Credis non propriis meritis, sed passionis Domini nostri Iesu Christi virtute & merito, ad gloriam pervenire? Respondet infirmus, credo: Iterum Sacerdos, Credis quòd Dominus noster Iesus Christus pro nostra salute mortuus sit, & quòd ex propriis meritis, vel alio modo, nullus possit salvari, nisi in merito passionis ejus? Respondet infirmus, credo: Et in fine dicit Sacerdos, si Dominus Deus voluerit te secundum peccata tua judicare, dicas: Domine Deus, ego pono mortem Domini nostri Iesu Christi inter me & iudicium tuum: & quamvis meruerim æternam mortem propter peccata mea, interpono tamen meritum passionis ejusdem, loco meriti, quòd ego miser habere deberem, & non habeo. Item, Domine pono eandem passionem & mortem Domini mei Iesu Christi inter me & iram tuam, & in manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum. ⁱ There is extant a certaine forme of confession attributed to S. Bernard, in which he speaketh to God in this sort, Recordare Domine Iesu, quia tuum non est perdere quicquam eorum, quæ Pater tuus dedit tibi: quin tibi proprium est misereri semper & parcere, neminem perdere sed salvare; nam Pater tuus misit te in mundum, non ut judices mundum, sed ut vitam habeamus per te; ut sis propitiatio nostra, & advocatus noster non contra nos: quòd enim debuimus, tu solvisti; quòd peccavimus, tu luvisti; quòd negleximus, tu supplesti; proficiat ergò nunc Domine, & in extremis meis plenaria, imò superflua satisfactio, amarissima mors tua, & pretium inestimabile fusi sanguinis tui, commemoratio satisfactionis tue, &c. ⁱ Ante annos 200, quidā Dominicanus Colonia, quomodo forent egroti consolandi, ⁱ Hosius ibid. docuit

docuit his verbis, *Morti jam vicinus, prorsus nihil suis bonis operibus confidere debet, nec propter mala diffidere: sed omnem spem in merita Christi, & ejus immensam misericordiam collocare; hac est fides Catholica, & Christiana, qua neminem fallere potest.* So that hetherto we finde, the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, was a Protestant Church, and that they were taught to die in the same faith that we now are.

2 Efa. 38.

But some man will say, howsoever these disclaimed all merit, and confidence in workes, as living in bad times, wherein iniquity abounded, and charity was waxen cold, yet others of a more excellent quality, pleaded their owne righteousness and innocencie, desiring to be judged according to the same. So *David Ps. 26.* and else-where. And so when the Lord had said to *Ezechias*, *Set thy house in order, for thou must die*; hee turned his face to the wall, and prayed unto the Lord, and said. *I beseech thee Lord remember, how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight.* And *Paul. 2 Tim. 4.* with more confidence, when his dissolution was at hand, and he was ready to be offered up, *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, and henceforth there is laid up for me a Crowne of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me in that day.* Of *Hilarion Hierome* reporteth, that when hee was ready to die, hee used these words, *Egredere, quid times, egredere anima mea, quid dubitas, sexaginta annis serviviſti Christo, & mortem times? & in hac verba spiritum exhalavit.*

But the answer hereunto is easie, for the Divines doe note, that there is *justitia causa, facti, persone*, a righteousness of some particular cause, of some particular fact, and of the person. *Cause*, and so *David* oftentimes desired of God, to be judged in the differences between him and his adversaries that wronged him, according to his righteousness and innocencie in those quarrels. Of fact, so it is said that *Phinees* stood up and wrought vengeance, and it was imputed to him for righteousness, that is, he was judged to have done a righteous act in so doing. The righteousness of the person is twofold, for there is a righteousness that is sincere, true, and pure; and there is a righteousness that is true and sincere, but not pure. None of the Saints ever pleaded the former kind of righteousness, nor desired to be judged according to the same. For *David* in that respect declineth judgement, saying. *Enter not into judgement with thy servant, for no flesh is righteous in thy sight*; and againe, *If thou Lord shouldest be extreame to marke what is done amisse, who should be able to abide it?* But in the latter sort, they doe plead the truth, and simplicity of their hearts, and the sincerity of the righteousness that is found in them. And this for two reasons; first, in that hereby they are assured, that they pertain to God, that hath thus begun to do good unto them, and so confirm themselves in the hope and expectation of that they desire, by the consideration of the good he hath already done unto them. And besides also, for that they know this is the condition, wherewith all the promises of God made unto them for their good are limited; and therefore if they found not this, they could expect nothing of God; and finding this, they need not to doubt to obtaine any thing that is necessary for them. And in this sort do *Cardinall Contarenus*, and *Albertus Pighius*, men of no small esteem in the *Roman Church*, cleere these objections. So that it remaineth firme which I have delivered, that the righteousness which is inherent in the just, is impure & imperfect, and that it is not safe to relie upon it.

o De verbis Esaiæ, Vidi Dominum sedentem, &c. serm. 31.

But because this is a matter of great consequence, I will demonstrate, that the same was taught before, at, and after *Luthers* time, by men of best place and quality, in the Church wherein our Fathers lived. ° *Bernard* distinguisheth foure kindes of righteousness. Our righteousness, he saith, is *Recta, sed non pura*: of which our Fathers said no lesse truly than humbly, *All our righteousness is as the polluted ragges of a menstruous woman.* For, how can our righteousness be pure, wherein it cannot be but there should be sinne? The righteousness of the first man was both right, and pure, but because it was not firme and constant, it

it lost purity, and retained not so much as the rectitude it had. In the Angels there is righteousness right, pure, and firme, of an high and excellent nature, but much inferiour to that of God. *Non enim innata est eis, sed à Deo collata, ut natura ipsa, quod ex se est, non modo justitia, sed etiam injustitia capax inveniatur.* Nunquid non ista est pravitas quadam quam in Angelis suis vera illa justitia legitur invenisse? That is, The righteousness that is found in the Angels, is not in-borne, but given to them, and bestowed on them: so that their nature, as of it selfe, is capable not only of righteousness, but of unrighteousness also. And is not this a kinde of pravity and iniquity, which that true and perfect justice is said to have found in his Angels? For, he that was not ignorant of the justice of God saith, no one living shall be justified in thy sight. Hee saith not, No man, but no one living, happily that thou maist know, that he excepteth not the Angelicall Spirits. For they live, and so much more truly than men, as they are nearer to him, in whom is the fountaine of life. Yet these are just, *sed ex eo non coram eo; munere ejus, non in ejus comparatione*, that is, from him, not before him; by his gift, but not in comparison with him.

For the clearing of this point, *Pet. Pomponatius* noteth, that there is *Defectus in specie, defectus in genere, and defectus in latitudine entis*, that is, Things doe faile and come short of perfection three wayes; for there are some things that want that perfection that pertaineth to things of their particular kinde: some things that want not that perfection, and yet come short of that, which some other of the same generall kinde have: and some things that have all perfection that any thing of their kind any way can have, and yet come short of that which is found in the latitude and extent of perfection and being. Examples of the first, ignorance, error, blindness, &c. in men. Of the second, the want of reason in bruite beasts, which are living creatures as well as men, and yet come short of that perfection that is found in men; and likewise the sonnes of men come short of that perfection of intellectuall light that is found in the Angels. Of the third in all the most perfect creatures, which come short of that which is found in God, who is being it selfe: they are this, and not that; they have being after not being, and would have not being after being, if they were left to themselves: they are good, but not connaturally, they are no lesse capable of evill than of good; they are good, but mutably good, and so in respect of God, imperfectly good. In this sense *Iob* saith, God found folly in his servants, and vanity in his Angels. This kinde of defect or evill is without all fault, sinne, or blame of things wherein it is found, and is incident to the nature and condition of all created things, which are compounded of being and not being, perfection and want: and consequently have some thing of good, and some thing of evill. That defect that is in respect of perfections, that other things of the same generall kind have, is likewise a naturall consequent of the different degrees of things, and nothing is blamed for being thus defective. So the righteousness that was in *Adam*, was inferiour to that of the Angels confirmed in grace, yet was it not sinfull.

But the righteousness of the just commeth short of that which pertaineth to men. And though it be right, true, sincere, and not dissembled, yet hath it such defects, that it is impure. What may all our righteousness be before God? will it not be found and esteemed as the Prophet saith, to be like the ragges of a menstruous woman, and if it be strictly examined, will not all our righteousness be found to be unrighteous and defective? What therefore will become of our sins, when our righteousness is not able to answer for it selfe? Therefore crying out earnestly with the Prophet, Lord enter not into judgement with thy servant, let us with all humility flie to mercy, which only is able to save our soules. *Bernardus super Cantica serm. 61. Vbi tanta firmaque infirmis securitas & requies, nisi in vulneribus salvatoris: tanto illic securior habito, quanto ille potentior est ad salvandum; fremit mundus, premit corpus, Diabolus in-*

p. Psal. 22.

sidiat, nec cado: fundatus enim sum super firmam petram. Peccavi peccatum grande, turbatur conscientia, sed non perturbabitur, quoniam vulnere Domini recordabor. Ego vero fidenter quod ex me mihi deest, usurpo mihi ex visceribus Domini, quoniam misericordia effluit, nec desunt foramina per quae effluat. P. Foderunt manus ejus, &c. & per has rimas licet mihi sugere mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo. Cogitabat cogitationes pacis, & ego nesciebam. Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis conciliarius ejus fuit? At clavis reserans, clavus penetrans factus est mihi, ut videam voluntatem Domini. Meum meritum, miseratione Domini: non plane sum meriti inops, quamdiu ille miserationum non fuerit. Nunquid justitias meas cantabo? Domine, memorabor justitiae tuae solius, ipsa est enim & mea, nempe factus es tu justitia mihi à Deo. Nunquid mihi verendum ne una ambobus non sufficiat? non est pallium breve, quod (secundum Prophetam) non possit operire duos. But because happily some exception may be taken to Saint Bernard, as if hee had some singular opinion, I will shew, that all the glorious lights of the Church ever beleeved as hee did, and as we doe. Theodoret in Psal. 23. Quae existimantur remunerationes, propter solam divinam benignitatem hominibus praebeantur. Omnes enim hominum justitiae nihil sunt ad dona, quae à Deo nobis suppeditata sunt, nedum ad futura munera, quae omnem humanam cogitationem transcendunt. Chrysost. in Psal. 4. Etiam si innumerabilia recte fecerimus à miserationibus & clementia audimur. Etiam si ad ipsum virtutis fastigium pervenerimus, servamur à misericordia. Et in Psal. 6. super illa verba, Miserere mei Domine, quoniam infirmus sum. Hac voce omnes egemus, etiam si innumerabilia recte & ex virtute fecerimus, & vel ad summam pervenerimus justitiam.

August. in Ps. 142. Omnes dereliquisti me dicit Dominus: quid vultis mecum in iudicium intrare, & vestras justitias commemorare? Commemorate justitias vestras, ego novi facinora vestra. Nolo tecum habere causam, ut ego proponam justitiam meam, tu convincas iniquitatem meam. Ne intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, Quare hoc? Quare times? Quoniam non justificabitur coram te omnis vivens. Omnis itaque vivens justificare forte potest se coram se, non coram te. Quomodo coram se? sibi placens, tibi displicens; coram te autem non justificabitur omnis vivens. Quantumlibet rectus mihi videar, producis tu de thesauro tuo regulam, coaptas me ad eam & pravus invenior.

Gregor. moral. ult. Si autem de his divinitus distincte discutimur: quis inter ista remanet salutis locus, quando & mala nostra pura mala sunt; & bona quae nos habere credimus, pura bona esse nequaquam possunt? Beda in explicatione Psalm. 24. Ne memineris delicto, sed potius memento mei Domine, ut miserearis secundum misericordiam tuam, id est, te condignam, non secundum iram me condignam; tu, dico, ad quem pertinet, qui solus misereris, solus mederis, solus peccata dimittis; & hoc non facias propter merita mea, sed propter bonitatem, id est, suavitatem tuam. Et in Psal. 31. Beati quorum remissa sunt iniquitates, &c. Instruit, videlicet, ut nemo vel libertatem arbitrii vel merita sua sufficere sibi ad beatitudinem credat, sed solâ gratiâ Dei se salvum posse intelligat. Alcuinus in Psal. 50. Sordidare me potui, sed mundare nequeo, nisi tu Domine Iesu sancti sanguinis tui aspersione, mundum me facias. Et in Ps. 142. Ad meum cum respi-

cio nihil aliud in me nisi peccatum invenio, tota liberatio mea tua est iustitia, item, Dei miseratione in nomine Salvatoris, non nostris meritis vivificati sumus.

Radulphus Ardens, homil. super Evangelium Dominicæ quartæ Adventus. *Quid ergo dicemus, Fratres, nisi vel quantumcunque bonum fecerimus, semper nos indignos dicamus? Nec hoc dicamus solo ore, quasi mentiendo ex humilitate, sed mente credamus, ore confiteamur. Iuxta quod ipsa veritas admonet, dicens; Cum omnia feceritis quæ præcepta sunt vobis, dicite, servi inutiles sumus, quod debuimus facere non fecimus. Et Homil. super Evang. Dominicæ Septuagesimæ. Sicut Deus est liber ad promittendum, ita est liber ad reddendum, præsertim cum tam merita quam præmia sine gratia sua. Nihil enim aliud quam gratiam suam coronat in nobis Deus, qui si vellet in nobis agere districtè, non justificaretur in conspectu ejus omnis vivens. Vnde Apostolus, qui plus omnibus laboravit, dicit; Existimo, quod non sunt condignæ passionibus hujus temporis, &c.*

Gerson de consolat. theolog. l. 4. prof. 1. *Quis gloriabitur se mundum cor habere? &c. Quis non constitutus sub judicio Dei terribilis in conciliis suis super filios hominum trepidaverit? Hinc afflictus Iob, verebar omnia opera mea, &c. Et iterum, Si voluerit mecum contendere, non posero unum respondere pro mille; cui conformis est oratio Prophetica, Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo Domine, quia non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens; & rursus, Si iniquitates observaveris Domine, Domine quis sustinebit. Porro, quid Esaias se cum cæteris involvens sibi que vilescens protulerit legimus, Omnes iustitiæ nostræ tanquam pannus menstruatus. Quis igitur iustitias suas velut gloriabundus ostentaverit Deo, plus quam pannum confusionis suæ mulier viro?*

Gabriel Biel, writing upon the Canon of the Masse, fol. 209. lect. 28. Alleadgeth and approveth this saying of Bernard, Serm. 5. De Dedicatione Ecclesiæ; *Nonnunquam de anima mea cogitans, videor mihi in ea fateor velut duo contraria invenire; si ipsam prout in se est, & se intueor, nihil de ea verius sentire possum, quam ad nihilum esse redactam, cum sit onerata peccatis, obfusa tenebris, irretita illecebris, pruriens concupiscentiis, obnoxia passionibus, & impleta illusionibus, prona semper ad malum, & in vitium omne proclivis, &c. nimirum si ipsa quoque iustitia nostræ omnes ad lumen veritatis inspectæ, velut pannus menstruatus inveniuntur, iniustitiæ quales deinceps reputabuntur? si lumen quod in nobis est tenebra sunt, ipsa tenebra quanta erunt? Facile cuique est si sua plenius universa, & sine dissimulatione vestiget, & judicet sine acceptione personæ, attestari per omnia Apostolica veritati, & liberè proclamare, qui se putat aliquid esse cum nihil sit, ipse se seducit. Quid est homo quia magnificas eum, ait fidelis & devota confessio; aut quid apponis erga eum cor tuum? Quid? sine dubio vanitati similis factus est homo; ad nihilum redactus est homo; nihil est homo; Quomodo tamē penitus nihil est, quem magnificat Deus? Quomodo nihil erga quem appositum est cor divinum. Tanquam nihil reputatur homo in iudicio veritatis tuæ, sed non sic in affectu pietatis tuæ; nimirum vocas ea quæ non sunt, sicut ea quæ sunt: & non sunt, ergo quia vocas ea quæ non sunt: & sunt, quia vocas: licet enim non sunt quantum apud se, apud te sunt utique juxta Apostolum, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante. Sic nimirum consolari in tua pietate,*

Gal. 6.
Iob. 7.

rate, quem in veritate tuâ humiliasti; ut magnificè dilateretur in tuis qui merito angustiatur in suis: siquidem universa via domini misericordia & veritas requirentibus testamentum tuum, & testimonia tua. Puperus Gocchianus de libertate Christ. part. 3. cap. 12. Christus sic operatur justificationem in sanctis suis, quamdiu sunt in hac vita, ut tamen semper in eis sit aliquid adjiciendum, quod petentibus benignè adjiciat, & confidentibus misericorditer ignoscat. And the same Gocchianus hath many things against the merit of workes, as I will farther shew, when I come to speake of merit.

But to leave particular men, it is evident that the Church of God taught so as we now doe, by those questions whereof I spake before, which were wont to be proposed to men that were ready to dye. Casper Vlenbergius saith, Our Fathers thoroughout the Christian world, even till our time, by those questions by them used, and the answers which they taught men to make to them, led, as it were, by the hand the simpler sort to the knowledge of Christ, and the attaining of eternall salvation. And because those questions and answers, containe and comprise in a brieve sort, the whole summe of the doctrine of salvation, and the very marrow and kernell of Christianity, as the same Vlenbergius rightly noteth, I will set them downe together, as they are found in the Booke intituled *De arte bene moriendi*. 'Primò quærat' sic, frater l'xtaris 'quod in fide Christi morieris?' respondeat etiam: Frater pœnitet te non tam 'benè vixisse sicut debuisses?' respondeat etiam: Frater habes emendandi animi 'si spatium vivendi haberes?' respondeat etiam. Frater credis te non posse 'nisi per mortem Christi salvari?' respondeat etiam. Agis ei gratias ex toto 'corde de hoc?' respondeat etiam: Age ergò dum est in te anima tua ei semper 'per gratias, & in hac ejus morte te totum contege, in hac sola morte fiduciam tuam constitue, in nulla alia re fiduciam habe, huic morti te totum committe, hâc solâ te totum contege, totum immisce te in hac morte, totum confige, in hac morte te totum involve, & si Dominus Deus te voluerit judicare, dic, Domine, mortem Domini mei Jesu Christi objicio inter te & me, & judicium tuum, aliter tecum non contendo; si dixerit quòd mereris damnationem, dic, Mortem Domini mei Jesu Christi objicio inter te & me, & mala merita mea, ipsumque dignissimæ passionis meritum offero, pro merito quod ego habere debuissem, & heu non habeo; dicatur iterum, Domine, mortem Domini mei JESU CHRISTI pono inter me & iram tuam: deinde dicat ter, In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum.

• In 4. sent. de
sacram. Euchar.
fol. 61.

And as this was the doctrine of the Church even till our dayes, so in *Luthers* time, and after, many that joyned not with him in the thorough reformation of the Church, yet concurred with him in this point. Pope ¹ Adrian the sixth: 'Non sine magna temeritate, & damnabili elatione animi, quis innititur propriis meritis, aut præparationi per confessionem oris, cordis compunctionem, aut aliâs tanquam ex iis dignus sit, venerabile Sacramentum Eucharistiæ sumere; sunt enim merita nostra & præparatio, velut baculus arundineus, cui dum quis innixus fuerit confringitur, & perforat manum innitentis, & quasi pannus menstruatus sunt omnes justitiæ nostræ, ut habetur *Esa. 64*. Iugiter enim supra pannum bonæ vitæ, quem justitiæ operibus teximus, stillamus saniem diversorum criminum. Quæ igitur ex iis poterit esse fiducia ad Deum, qui neminem diligit, nisi ex toto corde conversum? Rectè igitur suavit Salvator, cum feceritis omnia quæ præcepta sunt vobis, dicite, servi inutiles sumus, quæ debuimus facere fecimus, *Luc. 16*. &c. Restat igitur, ut nemo confidat in se homine, quia sic recedit cor ejus à Deo. *Hierem. 17*. Maledictus qui confidit in homine, & ponit carnem brachium suum, &c. sed pro digna

dignâ præparatione, diffidat de omni sua industria, & cum Daniele non in suis justificationibus proferat preces suas, sed in miserationibus Domini multis & magnis nimis Dan. 9. sic habitabit in adjutorio altissimi, & in protectione Dei cœli commorabitur: quia ad neminem Deus aspicit, nisi ad pauperculum, id est, humilem spiritu, qui se non effert in cogitatione velut taurus, sed parva de se sentiens, totum projicit in Deum: *Esa. ult.* Ad quem aspiciam nisi ad pauperculum?

The *Enchiridion* of Christian institution, published in the provinciall Council of *Colen*, hath these words. 'Scimus quandam esse plenam & absolutam justitiam, seu charitatem, quam in hac vita nemo assequitur, sed tantum in futura, quando videbimus facie ad faciem, & cognoscemus sicuti cogniti sumus: sed alia minor est huic vitæ competens, quâ ex fide vivimus & ambulamus. Hæc etsi omnes motus terrenæ cupiditatis, nondum omnino absorbeat atque consumat, consensum tamen prohibet ac extinguit, ac insuper facit, ut magis ac magis in bono proficere pergamus: quæ etsi à perfectione justitiæ longè adhuc absit, ea tamen imperfectio justificationem nostram non remoratur, nec accusationi seu damnationi legis subjacet, saltem in iis qui sunt in Christo Jesu. Nam qui Christo (in quo Lex quod accusaret, nihil invenit) per fidem concorporales facti sunt, Legis imperium beneficio Christi evaserunt: adeo ut, si Lex imperfectionem eorum accusare pergat, respondere possint. Quid nobis tecum est Lex? non tui sed alterius sumus. Tu quæ es quæ judicas servos alienos? Domino nostro stamus aut cadimus, huic sic visum est ex gratuita misericordia nos indignos assumere, & quicquid in nobis imperfectionis est condonare, quid ad te? Quid nobis alienum invides beneficium? Recepit nos ille in membra sua, scuto suæ bonæ voluntatis protexit nos, suâ justitiâ nos induit. Quamobrem si nos impetere pergamus, cum tibi opponemus, cui per fidem inhærescimus, in eo certè non habes quicquam, proinde nec in nobis, qui de corpore ejus per gratuitam misericordiam facti sumus.' *Et ibid. paulò ante.* Per fidem donum justificationis tunc Fol. 138.
demum accipis, cum perterrefactus ac conessus in pœnitentia, rursus erigeris per fidem, credens tibi remissa esse peccata propter meritum Christi, qui in se credentibus remissionem peccatorum pollicitus est: & cum simul sentis te jam alio affectu quam priùs rapi, hoc est, eo affectu quo peccata quæ priùs delectabant, jam ex animo odis, & ad faciendum bonum, carnis infirmitati fortiter repugnans, intus accenderis, tametsi is affectus nondum sit in bono perfectus & absolutus. Hanc enim imperfectionem quam viribus tuis supplere non potes, supplebis ex fide in Christum, credens justitiam Christi (cujus membrum factus es) tuum imperfectum suppleturam, si tamen perpetuò pro viribus quas tibi Dominus suppeditaverit, coneris eam quam accepisti gratiam promovere, & præteritorum oblitus, non respiciens iterum retrò, in anteriora te extendere annitaris.

Martinus Eifengreinus, alleadgeth and alloweth this of the Councell of *Colen*, and sundry other passages of learned and renowned men, in the later ages of the Church before our time, tending to the same purpose, as namely those things I formerly cited out of *Anselme* and *Hortulus anime*: to these he addeth *Thaulerus* a famous Preacher amongst the *Dominicans* at *Colen* more than two hundred yeares since, who prescribing how the Pastors should comfort the sick, hath these words, *Morti jam vicinus, prorsus nihil suis bonis operibus considerare debet, firmâ fiduciâ in meritum Christi Salvatoris, & in abyssum maris ejus misericordie, in cruenta vulnera ejus, cum omnibus suis peccatis se totum immergat: minutissima Christi vulnera omne peccatum mortalium obnubilare ac tegere possunt.* De certitudine salutis.

And with him he joyneth *Ludovicus Berus*, who in his Booke *de mortis periculo* writeth thus. The Devill is wont to tempt men that are ready to die, but let the sick man reject all those temptations, and let him invoke God and say thus: *Averte faciem tuam à peccatis meis, & respice in faciem Christi tui Jesu Salvatoris* Pag. 500.
Pag. 461.

‘Salvatoris nostri. Tentator; Scelera tua superant arenam maris: Ægrotus;
 ‘Copiosior est Domini misericordia. Tentator, Quomodo speras iustitia
 ‘præmium, tu totus injustus? Ægrotus; Iustitia mea Christus est. Tentator,
 ‘Tu sceleribus opertus, quomodo migrabis in requiem? Ægrotus; Cum La-
 ‘trone qui audivit in cruce, Hodie eris mecum in Paradiso. Tentator, Unde
 ‘ista fiducia qui nihil boni feceris? Ægrotus; Quia bonum habeo Dominum,
 ‘exorabilem judicem, gratiosum advocatum, Christum Jesum omnipoten-
 ‘tem Salvatorem. Tentator, Detraheris in tartara. Ægrotus, Caput meum in
 ‘cælo est.

b In confuta-
 tione Prole-
 gomenon
 Brentii. 5. in
 fine

Hofius hath these words, ‘Non gloriamur de meritis nostris, non habe-
 ‘mus in illis fiduciam nostram collocatam, de hoc solo gloriamur, in hoc solo
 ‘confidimus, quod membra sumus illius corporis tui, quod pro nobis passum,
 ‘crucifixum, & mortuum, abundè pro peccatis totius mundi satisfecit. Quam-
 ‘obrem si merita requiris, ecce proferimus tibi merita corporis tui, quod cum
 ‘de nostro sit, nostra sunt & illius merita: proferimus tibi meritum passionis
 ‘tuæ, meritum crucis tuæ, meritum mortis tuæ: hæc sunt merita nostra, quæ
 ‘tu clementissime Domine nobiscum pro immensa benignitate tua communi-
 ‘care dignatus es: Secundum hæc merita abs te judicari postulamus, his meri-
 ‘tis freti coram tribunali tuo nos intrepidi sistimus: nostra sunt quia nostri sunt
 ‘capitis; nostra sunt quia nostri sunt corporis, à quo nos nefario schismate
 ‘nunquam præcidimus: hæc merita interponimus inter nos & iudicium tuum,
 ‘aliter tecum iudicio contendere nolumus: de quo solenniter protestamur.
 These words of *Hofius*, *Eisengreinus* saith are worthy to be written in letters
 of gold.

c pag. 475.

d In fide & Ju-
 stific. fol. 45.

Albertus Pighius writeth thus, ‘In hominibus duplex considerari potest
 ‘iustitia, sicut duplex invenitur regula cui conformari debeant: altera quæ
 ‘justi sunt coram hominibus, aut inter homines; nempe respondentes Legibus
 ‘quibus constat justum inter homines; ut neminem afficientes injuriâ, imò
 ‘benevolentia, humilitatis, charitatisque officiis prosequentes proximos, om-
 ‘nibus in omni ordine, reddentes quod suum est. Altera est iustitia, quæ iusti
 ‘sunt coram Deo. Quod tamen trifariam fere intelligere possumus. Vel
 ‘quod nostra iustitia cum divina conferatur. Sic non justificatur in conspe-
 ‘ctu ejus ulla creatura; ut ejus puritate, merito inquinantur omnia. Vel in-
 ‘telligitur homo justificari coram Deo, hoc est, coram tribunali divini iudicii,
 ‘dum regulæ divinæ iustitiæ, quæ parte ipsum respicit, exactè respondet. Re-
 ‘gula est Lex: illam dupliciter intelligere possumus, vel in sua illa absoluta per-
 ‘fectione; ut cum præcipitur ut diligamus Deum, ex totâ animâ, totâ mente,
 ‘totis viribus; vel prout illa ipsa divinæ iustitiæ lex & regula nos respici-
 ‘ens, nostræ infirmitati aptata condescendit & convenit. Si hoc modo intel-
 ‘ligas, ex voluntatis humanæ inconstantia, & inclinatione quâdam ad carnis
 ‘sui hospitis amica & desideria, quæ ab illa lege divinæ iustitiæ nos deflectere,
 ‘& ad se attrahere, ac sollicitare nunquam cessat, adhuc invenire non est ju-
 ‘stum quenquam coram Deo inter filios Adæ, sed verum reperietur etiam de
 ‘hâc ipsâ quamvis imperfectâ iustitiâ, quod non justificabitur in conspectu
 ‘Dei omnis vivens; Siquidem iustitia hæc est ad suam regulam, etiam nostræ
 ‘infirmitati attemperatam exacta correspondentia, & commensuratio in acti-
 ‘onibus nostris omnibus. Totum enim universumque hominem denomi-
 ‘nans iustitia hæc, secundum omnes ejus partes, & omnes singularum parti-
 ‘um actiones, ut illi regulæ suæ correspondeat, & in officio suo constet necesse
 ‘est, cuicumque hæc iustitia convenit. Neque enim qui partem unam aliquam
 ‘legis servaverit, prævaricator in cæteris, hic justus est. Imò: Quicumque
 ‘(inquit Jacobus) totam legem servaverit, offendit autem in uno, factus est
 ‘omnium reus. Si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus, &c. Christus
 ‘omnes nos neminem quantumvis justum excipiens docuit orare, Dimitte
 ‘nobis debita, &c. Aversatur Deus omnem injustitiam. Constat ergo quæ de
 nobis

e Pag. 46.

‘nobis omnibus foret sententia, si Deus voluisset districto nobiscum iudicio
 ‘agere: si non misericordissime nobis succurrisset in filio: & nostrā iustitiā va-
 ‘cuos, ejus involvisset iustitiā. Quod verissime intellexit ille, qui ait: Si ini-
 ‘quitates observaveris Domine, Domine quis sustinebit? Ne intres in iudi-
 ‘cium, &c. In Christi autem obedientiā, quod nostra collocatur iustitia: in- f Fol. 47.
 ‘de est, quod nobis illi incorporatis, ac si nostra esset accepta ea fertur: ita ut eā
 ‘ipsā, etiam nos iusti habeamur. Et velut ille quondam *Jacob*, cum natiuitate
 ‘primogenitus non esset, sub habitu fratris occultatus, atque ejus veste indutus,
 ‘quæ odorem optimum spirabat, seipsum insinuavit Patri, ut sub aliena persona
 ‘benedictionem primogenituræ acciperet. Ita & nos, sub Christi primogeniti
 ‘fratris nostri preciosā puritate delitescere, bono ejus odore fragrare, ejus per-
 ‘fectione, vitia nostra sepeliri, & obtegi, atque ita nos piissimo patri ingerere, ut
 ‘iustitiæ benedictionem, ab eodem assequamur necesse est. This of *Pighius*
 is acknowledged by our Adversaries, and they are wont to alleadge his ex-
 ample, to shew how dangerous it is to reade the writings of Protestants,
 seeing a man so well grounded as he was; was drawne into this opinion by rea-
 ding of *Calvin*.

The most reverend Canons of the Metropolitall Church of *Colein*, in their
antididagma, opposed against the Booke of reformation of Religion, intended
 by their Archbishop *Hermannus*, follow the same opinion that *Pighius* doth,
 ‘their words are these. ^s Justificamur à Deo iustitiā duplici, tanquam per cau- g Fol. 30.
 ‘sas formales & essentielles. Quarum una & prior est consummata Christi iusti-
 ‘tia: non quidem quomodo extra nos in ipso est, sed sicut & quando eadem
 ‘nobis (dum tamen fide apprehenditur) ad iustitiam imputatur. Aliter verò
 ‘justificamur formaliter per iustitiam inhærentem. Cui tamen inhærenti iustitiæ
 ‘(quod sit imperfecta) non innitimur principaliter: sed eā tanquam interiori
 ‘quodam experimento, certificamur, nobis (qui talem renovationem spiritus
 ‘nostri, in nobis sentimus & experimur) remissionem peccatorum factam, &
 ‘Christi consummatam iustitiam nobis imputari, atque ita Christum per fidem
 ‘in nobis habitare. Non ignoramus nos nulli alii meritò præterquam solius
 ‘Christi, neque item ulli alii iustitiæ, quàm iustitiæ Christi, sine qua omnino
 ‘nulla est iustitia, tanquam fundamento fidei nostræ inniti debere. Quanquam
 ‘oporteat nos interim, internæ illius renovationis, quæ fit per charitatem, quam
 ‘Spiritus Sanctus in corda nostra diffundit, tanquam arrabonis, aut certè experi-
 ‘entiæ impetratæ remissionis peccatorum, & imputationis iustitiæ Christi,
 ‘rationem habere.

^h The Booke commended to *Charles* the fifth, as opening a way for the com- h Apud Gol-
 posing of the controversies in Religion then moved, and by him offered and re- dast. constit.
 commended to the Divines, appointed of both sides in the assembly at *Ratisbon*, imper. tom. 1.
 for to conferre about the composing of the differences in Religion, clearly
 containeth the same doctrine that the most reverend Canon of *Colein* delive-
 red before. For in the 5 Article of the same Booke, the Authors and compo-
 sers of it, amongst other good things communicated to us in our Iustification,
 reckon the imputation of Christs righteousness, and say, that we are said to be
 justified by faith, that is, accepted and reconciled unto God, in that it appre-
 hendeth mercie, and the righteousness that is imputed to us for Christs sake
 and his merit, and not for the dignity and perfection of the righteousness
 which is communicated unto us in Christ: And farther they say, that the faith-
 full soule doth not relie upon that righteousness that is inherent in it, but upon
 the onely righteousness of Christ given unto us, without which there neither
 is, nor can be any righteousness. And they adde hereunto, that they that truly
 repent of their sinnes, should most firmly, and with great assurance of faith
 resolve, that they please God for Christs sake, who is a Mediatour betweene
 God and them, because he is a worker of propitiation, a High Priest, and an In-
 tercessour for us, whom the Father hath given unto us, and all good things to-
 gether

Lib. 7. c. 21.

gether with him. And therefore though they say not, as the Canons of *Colen*, that Christs righteousness is the formall cause of our justification; yet *Vega* thinketh, they followed the same opinion, because besides inherent righteousness, they affirme that another righteousness, namely that of Christ, is communicated to us, by which especially we are made righteous, and upon which only we must relie.

The *Interim* published by *Charles* the 5th. with the assent of the Imperiall States, delivereth the same touching justification, that the former Authors have done. And the Divines of both sides in the conference at *Ratisbon*, agreed in the same explication of the article of justification, that we have hitherto delivered.

Lib. 7. c. 23.

A great contention there is and hath beene, whether the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, bee the formall cause of our justification, and whether wee be formally justified by his imputed righteousness or not. But *Andreas Vega* supposeth, that it is a meere *logomachie*, and verball contention; which his conjecture, I thinke, will be found more than probable. For, as I have already shewed, in the justification of a sinner three things are implied. 1. To be free from dislike, disfavour, and punishment, as if he had never offended. Secondly, to be respected, favoured, and endeared unto God, in such sort as righteous men are wont to be, as if he had done all righteousness. And thirdly, To have the grant of the gift of righteousness, to keepe from evill, and incline him to good in the time to come. All these denominations are respective, and a man may be so denominated from something without. For, one man is reconciled to another, in that he no longer intendeth evill unto him: and one man is deare unto another, and we are deare unto God formally, by that love whereby wee are beloved of him. And because that which giveth satisfaction to God, and that which maketh him well pleased towards us, is that for which formally, or in respect whereof, God willet our good and not evill; by both these we may be said, though in a different sort, to be formally justified. Wherefore, having sufficiently cleared the point of controversie, touching the first justifying, and reconciling of a sinner to God; and made it appeare, that the Church ever beleevd as we now doe; it remaineth, that we speake of the second justification.

* 1 Ioh. 1. If we say we have no sinne, we deceive ourselves, &c. but if we confesse our sins, God is faithfull and just to remit unto us our sins, and to cleanse us from all iniquity; this perpetuall washing away of sinnes Christ signified lotione pedum.

The second justification consisteth in the * remission of such sinnes, as the justified man daily, through infirmity, falleth into, and the progresse and going on in well doing, and the daily prevailing against sinne, whereby the kingdome of sinne is weakened, and the kingdome of grace and righteousness is confirmed, and more strongly established in us. Touching the second justification, there is no difference between us & them that so delivered the doctrine of the first justification as I have before exprest, but between the *Romanists* and us there are sundry things controverted. For 1. many of the deny the veniall sins into which the regenerate do fall, to be properly sins, & therefore think not aright of the remission of them 2. They imagine, that sundry externall observations *ex opere operato* give grace, & remit those sins, whereas in truth, and in the opinion of others, they avails no otherwise than they stir up devotion, and raise in us good motions and desires, to purge out the remaines of sin, and to seeke the remission of it. 3. They make the good workes of men justified, to deserve increase of grace, and the reward of eternall life, of condignity. But I will shew in that which followeth, that the doctrine of merit was never admitted in the Church, neither before nor after *Luthers* time. In this justification, men are justified meere by faith as in the first, so farre forth as it importeth remission of sins: but in that it importeth an increase, confirmation, and growth in that good that is begun in us: our working of vertue and good endeavours causing the same, may be said to justify, that is, to make us more just inherently than before, and more strongly inclined to good; in which sense *S. John* saith, *Qui justus est, justificetur adhuc*.

The third kinde of justification, which is said to be the restoring of men once justified, and afterwards fallen from grace, to the state of grace againe,

is

is meere imaginarie. For they that are called according to purpose and so justified, doe never totally nor finally fall from God.

The sins which men run into, I have else-where shewed to be of two sorts: Inhabiting onely, or Reigning: the former, in the judgement of our Adversaries themselves, doe stand with grace, and the state of Justification. Sins regnant are (as, *Theodore* writing upon the sixth to the *Romans*, and after him others doe rightly note) of two sorts: for either they reigne as a Tyrant, or as a King: a King reigneth with the love and liking of his subjects, who wish nothing more than to live under him, and think there is no happines but in his slavery: a tyrant with dislike. They that are justified and called according to purpose, never have sinne reigning in them as a King, but somtimes as a tyrant they have. * For though *David* and *Peter* were strangely transported with the violent passions of feare and lust, yet who will ever thinke, that these lost all their former good affections towards God, and thought it their happinesse to be subject to his enemies? Nay it is cleerly delivered concerning *Peter*, by *Theophylact*, and sundry others. that though the leaves were shaken off, yet the roote remained unmarred.

Justification likewise, as I have shewed in the same place, importeth 2 things, An interest, right, and title to the kingdome of heaven, and a claime to it by vertue and force of the same right and title: the one of these may cease and be suspended, when the other remaineth. If a man that hath much due unto him upon good assurances, doe some act for which he is excommunicated, or outlawed, hee loseth not the title and right hee had to the things due unto him upon those assurances; but if the same things be detained, all prosecution of his right is suspended, and all actuall claime ceaseth, during the time he continueth in that estate. So in like manner, if a man called according to purpose and justified, who can never finally fall from God, fall into grievous sin, and such as is in some sort regnant, as *David* did, he loseth not the right and title he formerly had: but the actuall claime to that whereto hee hath title is suspended. So that he falleth not totally from justification, but so only as for the present to have no actuall claime to any thing by vertue of it. The remission of his originall sin, the right to heaven obtained in baptisme, the force and vertue of repentance of former sinnes, and the right to the rewards of actions of vertue formerly done, remaine still: neither needeth hee newly to seeke remission of sins formerly remitted, but of this only, and the remission of the other will be revived again, and he may make claime to all those things hee had formerly right unto, by vertue of the former right. This is cleerly delivered by *Alexander of Hales* p. 4. q. 12. memb. 4. art 6. ¹ *Scotus*, ² *Durandus*; and the rest of the School-men. So that the elect and chosen of God once justified, never falling totally from justification, are never to be newly justified againe: but the daily and lighter sins they run into, stand with the right they have to the favours of God, and eternall happines, and the actuall claime to the same by that right. The more grievous deprive them of the claime only, and not of the right; and when they are justified and acquitted from these by particular repentance, they are restored to their former claime onely, having never lost their right; so that they cannot properly be said to be newly justified, but only to be justified from such particular sins, as they newly run into.

Having spoken of justification and the nature of it, as it is considered in it selfe; it remaineth, that wee come to speake of the things required in men, for the disposing and fitting of them, that they may bee capable of this grace. There were amongst the Schoole-men, as ¹ *Stapleton* telleth us. and after them in the beginning of these controversies in religion, who extenuating the corruption of nature, taught unadvisedly, that men without and before the motions of grace, may doe certaine morall good workes, in such sort, as thereby to fitte themselves, for the receipt of the grace of justification, and to merit it *ex congruo*; Who to expresse this their false conceipt, were wont to say, *facienti quod in se est, Deum non denegare gratiam*,
Dd that

* *Hugo de sancto victore de Sacramentis fidei*, l. 2. part. 13 c. 12. sed dicunt, Si David peccando charitatem amisit: quomodo ergo verum est, quod scriptum est de spiritu Domini non recedebat a David, ab eo die & deinceps: Si enim charitas recessit: quomodo Spiritus Domini remansit? Quali vero Spiritus Domini secundum multa alia remanere non poterit, etiam si secundum donum charitatis recesserit. Nonne & in illis sive cum illis remanet, quos cadentes custodit ne peccent: quos tamen stantes non custodit ne cadant? Iustus cum ceciderit non collidetur: quia Dominus supponit manum suam.

¹ In 4. sent. dist.

² 22. q. 1. art. 2.

³ In 4. senten.

d. 22. q. 1.

⁴ St. de justifica.

l. 2. c. 4.

that is, that God will not faile to give grace to such as doe the uttermost that lyeth in them. But the same *Stapleton* telleth us, that the more sound and judicious ever taught, that there is no power nor will in man to dispose and fit himselfe for the receipt of this grace, unlesse hee be moved by preventing grace, stirring, inciting, and inclining him to turne to God; and that the merit of congruence, hath beene long since hissed out of all Schooles.

Touching these preparations wrought in men by preventing grace. First, it is agreed betweene those of the Church of *Rome*, and those of the reformed Religion, that faith to beleve in generall the truth of things revealed and contained in Scripture, is necessary in the first place, and before all other things. Secondly, that in particular there must be a viewing of the things there found; that the consideration of mans originall state there described, the fall, corruption of nature, and manifold sinfull evils into which each man is plunged, together with the apprehension of Gods displeasure against the same, is necessarily required. Thirdly, a feare and sorrow, growing out of the discerning of this unhappy condition wherein we are. Fourthly, an enquire by what meanes we may escape out of these evils. Fifthly, faith to beleve, that God most inclinable to releve us, rather than man should utterly perish, sent his own Son into the world, to suffer the punishment of sin, to satisfie his justice, to bring grace, and dissolve the works of the Devill; that so all that in sense of former evils, flie to him for mercie and deliverance, may escape and be saved. Sixtly, having found so happie meanes of escape, a flying unto God, in earnest desire to be received to mercie for Christs sake, to be freed from the guilt of sin, to be reconciled to God, and to have grace to decline evill, & do good in the time to come. All these things in the judgment of the Divines of both sides are necessarily required in thē that are to be justified.

The most reverend Canons of the Metropolitall Church of *Colen*, in the Booke called *Antididagma Colonienſe*, make the things required in them, on whom the benefit of justification is bestowed to be of two sorts. For there are some that only dispose and prepare us, other by which we receive the same. Of the former sort is the generall perswasion of faith, touching the trueth of things in Scripture; the particular consideration of things concerning the knowledge of God, and our selves; sorrow, feare, dislike of our present estate, desire to be delivered out of it, to be reconciled to God, and to have grace to decline evill and doe good. Of the later sort is the perswasion of faith, whereby wee assure our selves without doubting, that God will not impute our sins unto us, that thus penitently turne unto him, but that the course of his mercies now and ever, shall be turned towards us for his Sonne Christs sake.

This is that speciall faith they of the reformed Religion speake of, and the *Romanists* seeme so much to dislike: whereas yet the best and most judicious amongst them ever did, and still doe admit the same. *Andreas Vega*, l. 9. ca. 7. faith, that there hath beene a great controversie about this matter, not onely betweene Catholicks, and such as they esteemed Hereticks, but even amongst the most learned Catholicks of this age, at *Rome*, at *Trent*, at *Ratisbone*, and in sundry other places: many affirming, that a man without speciall revelation, may undoubtedly beleve, and certainly assure himselfe, that he is in grace, and hath obtained remission of all his sinnes. This perswasion rising as a conclusion out of * two propositions, the one of faith, the other evident unto us in our owne experience, is a perswasion of faith; because whensoever a conclusion is consequent upon two propositions, the one of faith, the other evident in the light of reason and experience, it is to bee beleaved by faith, or as *John Bacon*, certitudine consequente fidem. This opinion, as * *Vega* telleth us, *Claudius Belliicensis* followed, in his Commentaries upon *Timothee*: And the most reverend Canons of the Metropolitall Church of *Colen*, together with the Authors of the *Enchiridion* of Christian Religion, published in the Provinciaall Councell of *Colen* under *Hermannus*, so much esteemed (as

: *Cassander*

* In that God hath promised remission to all that truly turn, and he findeth his heart to be so turned.

^a Lib. 9. cap. 36
^b Considerat. ult. cap. 2. ad Tim.

Cassander telleth us) in *Italy* and *France*: The Authors of the booke offered by *Charles* the 5. to the Divines of both sides; and as some say, *Hieron. Angelus*. art. 4.

But for the better clearing of this point, first I will produce the testimonies of such as lived before *Luthers* time: Secondly, I will make it appeare, that the same trueth was defended after *Luthers* time, till the Councell and after. *Origen* writing upon those words, *Rom. 8.* 'Ipse Spiritus testimonium perhibet spiritui nostro, &c. writeth thus; Ipse spiritus adoptionis per quem in filium quis adoptatur, reddit testimonium & confirmat spiritum nostrum; quod sumus filii Dei, posteaquam à spiritu servitutis in adoptionis spiritum venerimus, cum jam nihil inest timoris, id est, nihil propter poenam gerimus, sed propter amorem Patris cuncta perficimus.

'*Cyprianus* ad *Demetrianum* hath these words, 'Viget apud nos spei robur & firmitas fidei. & inter ipsas sæculi labentis ruinas erecta mens est, & immobilis virtus, & de Deo suo semper anima secura. De cœna Domini; Anima se fanatam & sanctificatam agnoscens, fletibus se abluuit, & lacrymis se baptizat. De mortalitate; Quis hic anxietatis & sollicitudinis locus est? Quis inter hæc trepidus & moestus est, nisi cui spes & fides deest? Ejus enim est mortem timere, qui ad Christum nolit ire: ejus est ad Christum nolle ire, qui se non credat cum Christo incipere regnare. Scriptum est enim, iustum fide videre, si iustus es & fide vivis, si verè in Deum credis, cur non cum Christo futurus, & de Domini pollicitatione securus, quod ad Christum voceris amplecteris? And againe in the same place; Deus de hoc mundo recedenti tibi immortalitatem atque æternitatem pollicetur, & tu dubitas? Hoc est Deum omnino non nosse; hoc est Christum credentium Dominum & magistrum, peccato incredulitatis offendere; hoc est in Ecclesiâ constitutum, fidem in domo fidei non habere

'*Ambrose* serm. 5. writeth thus; 'Quisquis illi fermento Christi adhærescit, efficitur & ipse fermentum, tam sibi utilis, quàm idoneus universis, & de suâ certus salute, & de aliorum acquisitione securus. And *S. Chrysostome* writing upon those words, *Rom. 8.* Ipse spiritus, &c. affirmeth, that from the testimony of the spirit we have such certainty, as leaveth no place for doubting.

'*Augustine* serm. 28. de verbis Domini; O homo faciem tuam non audebas ad cœlum attollere, oculos tuos in terram dirigebas, & subito accepisti gratiam Christi. Omnia tibi peccata dimissa sunt. Ex malo servo factus es bonus filius. Ideo præsume non de operatione tuâ sed de Christi gratiâ. Non ergo hæc arrogantia est sed fides: prædicare quod acceperis non est superbia sed devotio. Ergo attolle oculos ad patrem, qui te per lavacrum genuit, ad patrem qui per filium te redemit, & dic, Pater noster, &c. And in his 22. tract. upon *John*; 'Credo promittenti, salvator loquitur, veritas pollicetur, ipse dixit mihi, Qui audit verba mea, & credit ei qui misit me, habet vitam æternam, & transitum facit de morte in vitam, & in iudicium non veniet: ego audivi verba Domini mei, credidi. Jam infidelis cum essem, factus sum fidelis, sicut ipse monuit, transi à morte ad vitam, ad iudicium non venio, non præsumptione meâ, sed ipsius promissione. In *Psal. 149.* Est quidam modus in conscientia gloriandi, ut noveris fidem tuam esse sinceram, noveris esse spem tuam certam, noveris charitatem tuam esse sine simulatione. Ser. 6. de verbis Apostoli; Ex ipsa dilectione iustitiæ, integrâ fide, catholicâ fide, Spiritum Dei nobis inesse cognoscimus. Tract. 75. in *Joan.* In illo die, inquit, vos cognoscetis, quia ego in patre, & vos in me, & ego in vobis. In quo die; nisi de quo ait, & vos vivetis? Tunc enim erit, ut possimus videre quod credimus, nam & nunc est in nobis, & nos in illo: sed hoc nunc credimus, tunc etiam cognoscemus, quamvis & nunc credendo noverimus, sed tunc contemplando noscimus. De Trinitate l. 13. c. 1. Non sic videtur fides in corde in quo est, ab eo cujus est, sed eam tenet certissima scientia, clamatque conscientia. Cum itaque propterea credere jubeamur, quia id quod credere jubemur videre non possumus, ipsam tamen fidem quando inest in nobis videmus in nobis: quia & rerum absentium præsens est fides, & rerum quæ foris sunt intus

intus est fides, & rerum quæ non videntur, videtur fides, Lib. 8. cap. 8. Qui diligit fratrem, magis novit dilectionem quàm diligit quam fratrem quem diligit. Tractat. 5. in epist. Joannis; nemo interroget hominem: redeat unusquisque ad cor suum, si ibi invenerit charitatem fraternam, securus sit quia transit à morte ad vitam. Tractat. in Psal. 85. Dicat unusquisque; fidelium, Sanctus sum. Non est ista superbia elati, sed confessio non ingrati. De bono perseverantiæ cap. 2. Sicut ergo sanctus cum Deum rogat ut sanctus sit, id utique rogat ut sanctus esse permaneat; ita utique & castus, cum rogat ut castus sit: continens, ut continens sit: justus, ut justus sit: pius, ut pius sit: & cætera quæ contra Pelagianos dona Dei esse defendimus, hoc sine dubio petunt, ut in eis perseverent bonis, quæ se accepisse noverunt.

Leo in his 8. sermon on the *Epiphanie* saith; Ipsam matrem virtutum omnium charitatem, in secretis suæ mentis inquirat: & si in ea dilectionem Dei & proximi toto corde intentè repperit, ita ut etiam inimicis suis eadem velit tribui, quæ sibi optat impendi, quisquis hujusmodi est, Deum & rectorem & habitatorem sui esse non dubitet. *Gregorie moral. l. 9. c. 17.* upon these words of *Iob*, Etiam si simplex fuero hoc ipsum ignorabit anima mea: writeth thus: Plurimumque si scimus bona quæ agimus, ad elationem ducimur: si nescimus minimè servamus. Quis enim aut de virtutis suæ conscientiam non quantulumcunque superbiat? Aut quis rursus bonum in se custodiat quod ignorat? Sed contra utraque quid superest, nisi ut recta quæ agimus, sciendo nesciamus: ut hæc & recta æstimemus & minima: quatenus & ad custodiam sensificet animum scientia rectitudinis, & in tumorem non eleve æstimatio minorationis. And cap. 27. he saith: Sciendum verò est, quod viri sancti ita incerti sunt ut confidant, atque ita confidunt, ut tamen ex securitate non torpeant.

Anselme, writing upon the 8. chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, saith: Ipse spiritus divinus testimonium reddit spiritui nostro, id est, recognoscere & intelligere facit spiritum nostrum, quia sumus filii Dei. Et per hoc quod ipse Spiritus Sanctus charitatem nobis infundit, quæ nos facit imitatores esse divinæ bonitatis, ut diligamus inimicos nostros, & beneficiamus his qui oderunt nos, sicut Pater cœlestis solem suum oriri facit super bonos & malos, atque pluit super justos & injustos, evidenti testimonio declarat menti nostræ, nos esse filios Dei, cujus bonitatem pro modulo nostro sequimur. In 2 *Cor.* 13. Qui fidei sensum in corde habet, hic scit Christum Jesum in se esse, & vos ita scitis eum in vobis esse, nisi fortè reprobis estis, hoc est enim reprobum esse, nescire fidem professionis suæ. Et vos cognoscitis, quia per sensum fidei, & per affectum dilectionis, ac strenuitatem rectæ actionis, est Christus in vobis nisi fortè reprobis estis, id est, ab eo quod prius capistis, retrò conversi, & à Deo rejecti.

Bernardus epist. 107. Justus autem quis est, nisi qui amanti se Deo, vicem rependit amoris? Quod non fit nisi revelante spiritu per fidem homini æternum Dei propositum super suam salutem futuram. Quæ sanè revelatio non est aliud quàm infusio gratiæ spiritualis: per quam dum facta carnis mortificantur, homo ad regnum præparatur quod caro & sanguis non possident, simul accipiens in uno spiritu & unde se præsumat amatum, & unde redamet ne gratis amatus sit. In *Cantica serm.* 69. Prorsus habet Ecclesia Dei spirituales suos, qui non modò fideliter, sed & fiducialiter agant in eo, cum Deo quasi cum amico loquentes, testimonium illis perhibente conscientiam gloriæ ejus. Da mihi animam nihil amantem præter Deum, & quod propter Deum amandum est: cui vivere Christus non tantum sit, sed & diu jam fuerit: cui studiū & otii sit providere Deum in conspectu suo semper: cui sollicitè ambulare cum Domino Deo suo, non dico magna, sed una voluntas sit, & facultas non desit: da mihi, inquam, talem animam, & ego non nego dignam sponsi curam, majestatis respectu, dominantis favore, sollicitudine gubernantis: & si voluerit gloriari non erit insipiens, tantum ut qui gloriatur in Domino gloriatur. And afterwards

afterwards, *Ex propriis quæ sunt penes Deum, agnoscit nec dubitat se amari quæ amat. And a litle afterwards, Vides quomodo non solum de amore suo certum te reddat, siquidem tu ames illum : sed etiam de sollicitudine sua quàm pro te gerit, si te senserit sollicitum sui. In Octava Pasche, Serm. 2. Sanè novum supervenisse spiritum, certissimè conversatio nova testatur.*

Idem Epist. 107. Ponamus hominem in seculo seculi adhuc & suæ carnis amore retentum : & cum terrestris hominis imaginem portet, incubantem terrenis, nil de cœlestibus cogitantem : quis hunc non videat horrendis circumfusus tenebris, nisi qui in eadem mortis umbra sedet : quippe cui nullum adhuc suæ salutis signum eluxerit, cui necdum in aliquo interna testetur inspiratio an boni de se quippiam æterna teneat prædestinatio ? At verò si superna eum miseratio dignanter quandoque respexerit, immiseritque spiritum compunctionis, quatenus ingemiscat & resipiscat, mutet vitam, domet carnem, amet proximum, clames ad Deum, proponatq; de cætero vivere Deo, non seculo : ex qua deinde superni luminis gratuita visitatione, & subitâ mutatione dextera excelsi, agnoscat se meritò quidem non jam ira sed gratia filium, quippe qui paternum erga se divinæ bonitatis experitur affectum, quod se utique hæcenus in tantum latuerat, ut non solum nesciret utrumnam dignus foret amore, an odio, verumetiam odium magis & non amorem propria conversatio testaretur, erant enim tenebra adhuc super faciem abyssi : nonne is tibi videtur quasi de abyssu profundissimâ, & tenebrosissimâ horrenda ignorantia, in aliam quandam quoque trahi abyssum, è regione amœnam & lucidam claritatis æternæ ? & tunc demum quasi dividit Deus lucem à tenebris, cum peccator sole illucescente justitiæ, abjectis operibus tenebrarum induitur arma lucis : & is quem prior vita ac propria conscientia tanquam reverâ filium gehennæ deputaverat ardoribus sempiternis, ad tantam visitantis se orientis ex alto dignationem respirans, gloriari etiam incipit, præter spem in spe gloria filiorum Dei, quam jam nimirum è vicino revelatâ facie exultans novo in lumine speculatur, & dicit : Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui Domine : dedisti latitiam in corde meo. O Domine, quid est homo quia innotuisti ei : aut filius hominis quia reputas eum ? jam se O bone Pater, vermis vilissimus, & odio dignissimus sempiterno, tamen confidit amari, quoniam se sentit amare : imò quia se amari præsentit, non redamare confunditur. Jam apparet in lumine tuo O inaccessible lux, quid boni penes te, etiam cum malus esset, miserum maneret homunculum. Amat proinde non immeritò, quia amatus est sine merito. Amat sine fine, quia sine principio se cognoscit amatum. Prodit in lucem ad miseri consolationem, magnum consilium quod ab æterno latuerat in sinu Æternitatis : quod nolit videlicet Deus mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur & vivat. Habes homo hujus arcani indicem spiritum justificantem : eoque ipso testificantem spiritui tuo quod filius Dei & ipse sis. Agnosce consilium Dei in justificatione tui. Confitere & dic : Consilium meum justificationes tuæ. Præsens namque justificatio tui, & divini est consilii revelatio, & quadam ad futuram gloriam præparatio.

Idem de quatuor modis orandi. Surge, tolle lectum tuum, &c. Et tu ergò si jam surgis desiderio supernorum, si grabatum tollis, corpus scilicet à terrenis elevans voluptatibus, ut jam non feratur anima à concupiscentiis

centiis ejus, sed magis ipsa ut dignum est, regat illud, & ferat quo non vult, si demum ambulas qua retro sunt obliviscens, & ad ea qua ante sunt, te ex-
tendens desiderio, & proposito proficiendi, curatum te esse non dubites. Item
serm. 1. in annunciatione beata Maria. Si credis peccata tua non posse deleri
nisi ab eo cui soli peccasti, & in quem peccatum non cadit, benè facis: sed adde ad-
huc, ut & hoc credas, quia per ipsum tibi peccata donantur. Hoc est testimonium
quod perhibet in corde nostro Spiritus Sanctus, dicens; Dimissa sunt tibi pec-
cata tua. Sic enim arbitratur Apostolus, gratis justificari hominem per fidem.

Gulielmus Altsiodorensis in sent. lib. 3. tract. 6. Quidam dicunt, quod
quidam sciunt se non habere charitatem, scilicet qui sunt in actu vel proposito
peccandi. Alii dubitant se habere charitatem, cum habent aequè fortes ra-
tiones ad utramque partem contradictionis. Alii putant se habere charita-
tem. Alii sciunt se habere charitatem, scilicet qui gustaverunt dulcedinem
Dei, & in quibus ferè extinctus est fomes, ut Maria Magdalena & Egyp-
tiaca post multos fletus. And a little after, distinguishing two kinds of
knowledge properly so named, he saith, by the one we know we are in
grace, and not by the other.

d Part 1.

The Booke called ^d regimen animarum agreeth with Altsiodorensis,
making five sorts; Some that know they have not; some that doubt;
some that thinke they have; quidam qui experiuntur se habere charitatem,
ut illi qui gustant divinam dulcedinem, in quibus fomes ferè extinctus est, &
qui semper vel bona faciunt vel affectant; quidam certi sunt se habere chari-
tatem, ut sunt illi quibus Deus revelavit secreta cælestia, sic fuit Paulus.

e Part. 1. de
gratia, c. 10.

* Pantheologia likewise saith: Quidam dicunt, quod aliqui sciunt se esse in
gratia experimentaliter, sicut illi qui sentiunt dulcedinem divine bonitatis, &
in oratione gustant quàm suavis est Dominus. Alios scire se esse in gratia Dei
supernaturaliter sicut sunt illi qui ita dotati sunt à Deo & perfecti quòd jam
non habent rebellionem fomitis, sed habent plenam pacem Spiritus, & senti-
unt se elevatos in contemplatione divina, sicut fuerunt Baulus & Maria Mag-
dalena.

Alexander of Hales, 3. part. q. 61. memb. 7. art. 3. first reckoneth the opinion
of five sorts of men formerly mentioned, to wit, of men knowing they are not
in grace; of men doubting; of men thinking they are; of men experimentally
knowing it, as doe they, qui sentiunt dulcedinem divine bonitatis in oratione, &
gustant quàm suavis est Dominus. And lastly, of men who have knowledge
that they are in grace; qui ita sunt dicati Deo & perfecti, quòd jam non habent
rebellionem fomitis, sed habent plenam pacem Spiritus, & sentiunt concupiscentias
carnis in se confopitas, & sentiunt se omninò elevatos in divinam contemplationem,
sicut fuit beata Magdalena, & Paulus qui ait ad Rom. 8. Quis separabit, &c.
And then he distinguisheth contemplative and affective knowledge, that some
make a knowledge by science, and a knowledge by experiment, the one an in-
fallible, the other a fallible medium; and thinketh, that we may know by cer-
taine experiments that we are in grace; which experiments are charitas apud
vim rationalem, pax apud irascibilem, latitia apud concupiscibilem. That a man
may have certaine knowledge that hee is in grace, hee proveth out of Revel. 2.
To him that overcometh I will give the hidden Manna, &c. which no man know-
eth but hee that receiveth it, therefore hee that receiveth it doth know it; but
that hidden Manna, &c. is not understood onely, of the enjoying of divine
sweetnesse in glory in heaven, but by grace in this world; but hee that receiveth
it knoweth it, therefore he that receiveth the divine sweetnesse by grace, know-
eth it, therefore hee knoweth hee hath grace by it, as by a certaine experi-
ment. Besides, the taste that is well affected, cannot but discern the sweet-
nesse

nesse that is put unto it, therefore if the soule bee rightly affected, it cannot but discern the divine sweetnesse put to it; but the discerning of divine sweetnesse is by grace, therefore a soule rightly affected, cannot but know that it hath grace, therefore grace is experimentally knowne, as by the sense of divine sweetnesse. 2. *Corinth. ult.* Doe yee not know your selves, that Christ Jesus is in you except you bee reprobates? This the Apostle speaketh to the *Corinthians*, therefore there is some man who if hee be not a reprobate, knoweth that Christ is in him, and if he know this, he knoweth he hath grace, because Christ is not in us but by grace; whence it followeth, that hee knoweth experimentally that he hath grace.

John Bachon, lib. 3. dist. 30. q. 1. faith expressly, that men may be certaine they are in grace by a certainty following faith, or flowing out of faith. In our age *Cardinall Cajetan, Commentar. in Joan. 14. Dat Deus etiam hoc, ut sciamus que à Deo nobis donata sunt, &c. Cuilibet diligenti ipsum promittit, non quod se manifestabit, sed quod se insinuabit; dictio enim Gracia significat velut tacite & clam indicare, quoniam Iesus cuilibet diligenti se, indicat seipsum intus, internâ illustratione & inspiratione, diversimodè, prout electi experiuntur, accipientes manna absconditum, quod nemo novit nisi qui accepit.* And writing upon those words, 1. *Iob. 2. In hoc scimus quoniam cognovimus eum*, hee faith: *Intendit Iohannes ad literam monstrare, signum infallibile interna lucis divina in nobis esse, si mandata eius servaverimus.* *Roffensis* faith, *Sacramenta ideò potissimum sunt instituta, ut per usum illorum citra ullam dubitationem confidamus, gratiam nos esse consecutos.* *de Sacr. Eucharist. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

The Authors of the Booke offered by *Charles* the fifth to the Divines appointed for the conference at *Ratisbon*, in the fifth Article plainly affirme, *Operentur verè penitentes fide certissimâ statuunt, se propter Mediatorem Christum Deo placere.* The same was agreed unto by the Divines of both sides. *Cardinall Contarenus* President of the meeting and conference approved it; and as the same *Vega* faith, many *Catholicks* in the Councell at *Trent*, before the publishing of the decree, followed the same opinion as most probable, and sought to confirme it by many arguments. ^a And hee reporteth, that amongst others, there was one learned man, that professed, hee held the denying of the certainty of grace, to bee a worse error than that imputed to *Luther*; for, whereas the *Lutherans* attribute too much to faith, this opinion derogateth from faith, the Sacraments, and the merits, and workes of vertue.

Yet in the end there was a * decree passed for the uncertainty of grace, but in such sort, that who would, held their former opinion still, and made such constructions of the Decree as they pleased: as it appeareth by *Ambrosius Catharinus*, in his Apologie against *Dominicus à Soto*, wherein he defendeth an absolute certainty of grace, and a certainty of faith, and yet will not be thought to be touched, by the censure of the Councell.

Martinus Eisingreinus, a man of no small account, hath a whole Booke in explication and defence of this one decree of the Councell, and telleth us, the Councell never meant simply to condemne the certainty of grace, but onely that kinde of certainty that Hereticks imagine, which is without all examination of themselves, their estate, the truth of their profession, their dislike of sinfull evils, and desire of reconciliation, and grace to decline evill and to doe good, to perswade themselves they are justified. And whereas most men conceive the meaning of the Councell to bee, that hee is accursed, that thinketh it necessary for the attaining of the remission of sinnes, that every man should perswade himselfe, without any doubting in respect of his owne indisposition, that his sinnes are remitted, and that thus to perswade himselfe procureth remission: hee maketh the meaning of it to be, that whosoever without

confide-

^a Vega l. 9. c. 7.

^b Vega l. 9. c. 46

* Sessio 6. can. 13. Si quis dixerit, omni homini ad remissionem peccatorum aliquendam necessarium esse, ut credat certò & absque ulla hesitatione propriæ infirmitatis & indispositionis peccata sibi esse remissa, anathema sit.

r Pag. 162.

d 1. parte iusti-
tiz quadrupar-
tiz, l. 2 fol.
222.

consideration of his estate whether he be rightly disposed or otherwise, presumeth of Gods grace and favour, is worthily anathematized, but if a man having examined himselfe, finde a disposition in dislike of former evils, to returne unto God, to seeke remission and grace not to offend in like sort any more, he may notwithstanding the decree of the Councell, may he ought to assure himselfe of remission and grace. And thereupon bringeth forth a cloud of witnesses for confirmation of the certainty of grace. But whatsoever wee thinke of the construction hee maketh of the words of the decree, he resolveth, that a man may be as certaine that his sinnes are remitted, and he received to grace, as that twice two are foure, twice foure eight, and that every whole is greater than his part. or as a man is resolved touching the things hee seeth with his eyes, and handleth with his hands.

Gaspar Casalius a Bishop of Portugall, that was present in the Councell of Trent, writeth largely against that kinde of imagined certainty, which *Eisengreinus* saith the Councell meant to condemne. And then goeth forward; *An non licet homini unquam credere firmiter se esse justum à peccatis, saltem à mortalibus? Quidem in ea forma nunquam licet ut ex dictis patet, quia est illa fides sive confidentia, & superba & imprudentissima. An licet in alia forma? Utique licet. In qua forma licet? habendo respectum ad divinas promissiones conditionales, & ad conditiones quas requirunt. Etenim omnes tenemur firmiter credere, fide divinâ cui non potest subesse falsum, tam de nobis ipsis quam de aliis, omnes Ade filios de facto justos esse. aut justificari, quotquot habent eas conditiones, quas divina promissio, sive divina lex conditionalis, ad id requirit in nobis. Hoc constat, quia omnes tenemur tali fide credere, Deum veracem in omnibus dictis suis, pertinentibus ad doctrinam, promissiones, & cunctis aliis: adhibito autem diligenti in nobis de nobis examine, dum quis seipsum probat, & ad iudicium rationis ac legis trahit, licet unicuique judicare de se, prudenter tamen procedendo cum examine & discretione, quod eas conditiones requisitas habet, vel non habet. Si enim hoc non liceret nobis, non diceret Paulus 1 Cor. 11. Probet autem seipsum homo, & sic de pane illo edat, & de calice bibat. Nec diceret Apostolus Joannes, 1 Joh. 4. Nolite omni spiritui credere, sed probate spiritus si ex Deo sint, quoniam multi Pseudopropheta exierunt in mundum. Ecce committitur nobis probatio adhibitis his que ad rem ipsam adhiberi debent tum nostri tum spirituum. Licet ergo nobis judicare de nobis benè vel malè, prout in nobis invenerimus: dummodo prudenter agamus, cum prudentiâ intuentes, discurrentes, & concludentes. Mox verò prout quis cum prudentiâ de se judicaverit, quod conditiones à Deo requisitas habeat, potest etiam judicare de seipso quod justus sit, si certò, certò, si cum formidine, cum formidine, firma enim præstant divina promissiones juxta suas conditiones, & ex parte illarum nullus est defectus nec esse potest.*

So that according to this opinion, a man certainly finding in him the performance of the condition required, may assure himselfe of his justification and acceptation with God: and this assurance is an act of faith. No man living, faith *Vega*, should ever draw mee to doubt, neither indeede could I doubt if I would, of my being in the state of grace, if I might inferre it out of two propositions, the one beleaved, and the other some other way evident unto me. For there are many propositions *de fide*, which can no otherwise bee proved to bee *de fide*, but because they cleerely follow upon things beleaved, and some proposition evident in the light of Nature; as *Scotus* sheweth, that this proposition, the Father differeth really from the Sonne, is a proposition of faith, because it is inferred out of these two; the Father begat, and the sonne was begotten, and this other evident in the light of nature, *Omnis generans realiter differt à genito. Qui pertinaciter dubitaret de propositione illatâ evidenter ex unâ creditâ, & alia evidenti, esset hereticus; hic enim cum non posset dubitare de consequentiâ, nec de evidenti, dubitaret de credita.*

¶ It will bee said, that granting such a proposition to bee *de fide*, as followeth

eth out of two propositions, whereof one is beleev'd, and the other some other way evident unto us: yet it will not follow that wee may be certaine, that wee are in the state of grace. Because that cannot bee inferred out of two such propositions, seeing one of them must depend on experience, and the knowledge of our inward actions, which as some thinke cannot bee certainly knowne by us. Let us see therefore whether a man may certainly discern, the quality and condition of his soule, and the motions, actions, and desires of the same. There are that thinke, that our inward actions are unknowne unto us, and that the nature of the heart is such, as is knowne onely to God: But Saint Paul saith, 1 Cor. 2. that the spirit of a man knoweth the things that are in him. And besides, if wee could not know our inward actions, we should not be commanded or forbidden to doe such actions, neither should wee bee required to confesse our inward sinnes, if wee could not know them. All which things are absurd and hereticall. It is cleere therefore, that wee may know and discern our inward actions, that wee may know what we doe, what we will, and in what sort, and to what end wee will it. Wee may know therefore, whether we sorrow for sinnes, because we have thereby displeased God, or for some other reason; whether wee esteeme the losse of Gods favour the greatest evill; whether wee would rather regaine it, then have all things without it; whether we would not be willing to leave any thing, though never so deare unto us, if wee should understand, that we must either leave it, or not come into favour with God.

It is true, saith * Vega, that wee may know all these things; but because there may bee some sinne, that wee thinke not of, thorough forgetfulness, ignorance, or want of consideration, from which if we depart not, we cannot obtaine the favour of God; therefore we cannot certainly know, whether wee bee so disposed, as is required for the receipt of grace. But this is a silly allegation, for *Roffensis adversus Lutherum, artic. 14.* saith: *Ignoratio peccatorum nihil obstat, quò minus quisquam verè conteri posset, nisi velis cavillum ex vocabulo querere; neque enim dubito quin Maria Magdalena verè contrita fuerat, quam si Christus interrogasset an verè fuisset contrita, potuit respondisse, se verè contritam esse, verèq; doluisse pro peccatis, nec tamen est credibile, quòd singula peccata quæ prius in tot vanitatibus suis admisit, integrè venerint in ejus memoriam. Sed omittamus hanc quæ singulare pœnitudinis exemplar fuerat: de communibus loquamur peccatoribus. Num aliquot ex his opinari, ad Sacramentum absolutionis accedere cum vero dolore? Num eos usq; adeò stupidos arbitrari, ut non sentiant an verè & non fictè doleant? Quòd si conscientia fuerit iis iudex quòd verè doleant, cur (te quaeso) respondere non licet se verè dolere? Quid huic rei peccatorum obsistit ignoratio? cum pro cunctis dolere possint tam ignoratis quàm cognitis. Nam qui damni perpendit immensitatem, quod ex peccato acquisivit, is odiet faciliè peccatum, & detestabitur tam in aliis quàm in seipso, neque minus id quod occultum est quàm quod est agnatum.* So that we may reason thus, If a man sorrow, or sorrow not for sinne, or not for the true causes, or not so much as hee should; either he may know when he doth right, and when he faileth, or not: If he may, then a man may know when hee is in such a disposition, as is required in him that is to be justified. If he may not, then he hath no power to sorrow, or to sorrow in this or that sort. For, no man hath power to doe that act, that hee knoweth not how to doe: neither doth any man know how to doe a thing, but he knoweth likewise when he doth the same thing, whether he doe so or not. If hee have no power to sorrow for sinne, or to sorrow so and in such sort as he should, then God hath commanded things impossible to be done; impossible, I say, in respect both of Nature and Grace.

They will say, a man knoweth when he sorroweth rightly for each particular sinne, but not when for all in generall: But against this as before, if he know how

* Vega l. 9 cap. 47. Dispositio non unum aliquem actum comprehendit, sed observationem omnium mandatorum divinarum, & dolorem de omnibus peccatis, & in nullo peccato perseverare, neque per ignorantiam, neque per negligentiam, neque per oblivionem aut inconsiderationem.

* If a man may know that hee sorroweth rightly for one sinne, he is sure he sorroweth for all as much as is necessarily required to justification.

g Lib 9. ca. 46.

h Ibid. apud Veg.

i lb. apud Veg.

k Ibidem.

l Cap. 47.

how rightly to sorrow for all, then he knoweth when he doth so, but he knoweth how rightly to sorrow for all. If hee know not rightly how to sorrow for all, then hee cannot rightly sorrow for all; If hee cannot rightly sorrow for all, then either God hath not commanded so to doe, or hee hath commanded impossibilities: if hee have not commanded us in this sort to sorrow for all, then for none, for wee * cannot rightly sorrow for one, unlesse wee sorrow for all: for if we might, we might have remission of one, and not of another, then we might be in the state of salvation and damnation together.

* Vega having debated the matter, alleading the objections and answers of both sides, for and against the certainty of grace, in the end concludeth, that having maturely considered all that is said on either side, hee thinketh it more probable, that some spirituall men, may so farre profit in spirituall exercise and in divine familiarity, that without all rashnesse, they may beleve certainly, and without all doubting, that they have found grace and remission of sinnes with God; and bringeth many excellent proofes of that his saying; as, That the law of friendship requireth so much; for it cannot bee, that one friend should not powre forth his very soule to another. And that familiarity and exceeding love, that the *Canticles* shew that God beareth towards his Church, & sometimes sheweth to it, make it evident, there are alwayes some to whom God speaketh so familiarly, that they are certaine, and no way doubt of his love. Besides, the resolution and security with which many of the Saints of God goe out of this world, that ardent desire, *quò charitas cùm perfecta fuerit, clamat, Cupio dissolvi & esse cum Christo; illa letitia, quâ permulti exultant, dum intelligentes sibi propinquum esse diem mortis, dicunt cum Davide; Latatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus. Alacritas etiam & admiranda constantia Martyrum, & despicientia omnium tormentorum*, are a sufficient proofe of this; they would never doe so that doubted of their estate. ^h Ambrose in *Psal. 118. Videmus in saculo innocentes latos ad iudicium festinare, odisse moras, celeritatem affectare iudicii. Beatus itaque ille qui cœleste iudicium latus expectat: scit enim sibi regnum cœlorum, Angelorum consortium, coronam quoque bonorum repositam esse meritum.* And ⁱ Catharinus in his purgation of himselfe, sheweth the same in the examples of many Saints; Such confidence Ezechias may bee thought to have had, 2 *Reg. 12.* when hee prayed thus; *Remember Lord how I have walked before thee, &c.* where this his prayer is approved by Gods answer, *I have heard thy prayer, &c.* ^k The testimonie of the Spirit seemeth to require, *ut aliquibus saltem viris perfectis, & spiritualibus, hoc ipsum de adoptione in particulari semper contestetur interius: ut quilibet iustorum ex eo testimonio verè possit audacter clamare, Abba, pater; Et verbum istud spiritui nostro, huc videtur nos vocare & inflectere. Cumq; illud testimonium, quicquid sit de intelligentia Pauli, dubium non sit, ut & sancti doctores sæpè tradiderunt, persæpè interius exhiberi à Spiritu Sancto, loquente interius familiarissimè cum his, qui ei toto corde famulantur, consentaneum non est, neque verisimile, quin aliquando ita sese illis aperiat, ut omnem abigat formidinem de ipsorum pœnitentia, & eorum justificatione, præsertim cum teste Paulo, ad hoc detur nobis, ut sciamus, quæ nobis à Deo sunt donata.*

This certainty hee calleth morall, distinguisheth it from the certainty of faith, that hee may avoyde the decree of the Councell of Trent: and yet faith it excludeth all doubt and feare, of the being otherwise of that he is thus certaine of: and faith, if any man will name this a certainty of faith, he will not strive. ^l The difference hee maketh betweene them is this, that in the one men are sure and know, they neither are nor can bee deceived: in the other they know and are certaine that they are not, not that they cannot bee deceived. But this difference cannot stand, for if a man know and be certaine that hee is not deceived,

deceived, he must certainly know, that no such thing doth now fall out, as doth fall out when men are deceived in apprehensions of this kind, and consequently, that now, and things so standing, hee cannot be deceived. For example, a man dreaming, thinketh he is waking, and undoubtedly perswadeth himselfe, hee seeth or doth something, wherein he is deceived, because it is but representation in a dreame; but he that is waking knoweth that he waketh, that he seeth that which he thinketh hee seeth, that in this perswasion hee is not, nor cannot be deceived, things so standing.

Amongst the Articles agreed upon in the^m conference at *Ratisbon*, 1541, this ^{m Apud Bucet. pag. 45.} is one: 'Docendum est ut qui verè pœnitent, semper fide certissimâ statuunt, se
'propter Mediatorem Christum Deo placere: quia Christus est propitiator,
'Pontifex, & interpellator pro nobis, quem pater donavit nobis, & omnia bona
'cum illo. Quoniam autem perfecta rectitudo in hac imbecillitate non est, suntq;
'multæ infirmæ & pavidæ conscientiæ, quæ cum gravi sæpè dubitatione luctan-
'tur, nemo est à gratia Christi, propter ejusmodi infirmitatem excludendus: sed
'convenit tales diligenter adhortari, ut iis dubitationibus promissiones Christi
'fortiter opponant, & augeri sibi fidem sedulis precibus orent: juxta illud,
'Aduerge nobis Domine fidem. So that touching this point it is evident, that the Church of God ever taught that which we now teach.

Neither have wee departed from the doctrine of the Church, in that wee teach, that faith onely justifieth. For many of the ancient have used this forme of words; as *Origen ad Rom. 7.* Dicit Apostolus sufficere solius fidei justificatio-
'nem, ita ut credens quis tantummodò justificetur, etiamsi nihil ab eo operis
'fuerit expletum. *Hilar. can. 8. in Math.* Fides sola justificat. *Basil. homil. de hu-
'militate.* Hæc est perfecta & integra gloriatio in Deo, quando neque ob justi-
'tiam suam quis se jactat, sed novit quidem seipsum veræ justitiæ indigum,
'solâ autem fide in Christum justificatum. *Ambros. ad Rom. 3.* Justificati sunt
'gratis, quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes, solâ fide justificati sunt
'dono Dei. *Chrysost. Homil. de fide & lege natura:* Eum qui operatur opera ju-
'stitiæ sine fide non potes probare vivum esse, fidem absque operibus possum
'monstrare, & vixisse, & regnum cœlorum assecutam, nullus sine fide vitam ha-
'buit, latro autem credidit tantum, & justificatus est. *Aug. lib. 1. contra 2. Epi-
'stolas Pelag. cap. 21.* Quantalibet fuisse virtutis antiquos prædices justos, non
'eos salvos fecit, nisi fides Mediatoris. 38. q. 9. 76. Si quis cum crediderit mox de
'hac vita decesserit, justificatio fidei manet cum illo: nec præcedentibus bonis
'operibus, quia non meritò ad illam, sed gratiâ pervenit, nec consequentibus,
'quia in hac vita esse non finitur. *Theophylact. ad Galat. 3.* Nunc planè ostendit
'Apostolus, fidem vel solam, justificandi habere in se virtutem. *Bern. ser. 22. in
'Cantic.* Quisquis pro peccatis compunctus, esurit & sitit justitiam, credat in te
'qui justificas impium, & solam justificatus per fidem, pacem habebit ad te. *Et
'ep. 77. citans illud.* Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Cautè, inquit,
'non repetiit, qui verò baptizatus non fuerit, condemnabitur, sed tantum qui
'verò non crediderit, innuens nimirum solam fidem interdum sufficere ad salu-
'tem, & sine illa sufficere nihil.

Sometimes by these phrases of speech they exclude all that may be with-
out supernaturall knowledge, all that may bee without a true profession.
Sometimes the necessity of good workes in act, or externall good workes.
3. The power of nature without illumination and grace. 4. The power of the
Law. 5. The sufficiencie of any thing found in us, to make us stand in judge-
ment, to abide the triall, and not to feare condemnation. And in this sense faith
onely is said to justifie, that is, the onely mercie of God, and merit of Christ
apprehended by faith: and then the meaning of their speech is, that onely the
perswasion and assured trust that they have, to bee accepted of God for Christs
sake, is that that maketh them stand in judgement, without feare of condemna-
tion. And in this sense all the Divines formerly alleadged, for prooffe of the
insufficiencie

insufficiencie of all our inherent righteousness, and the trust which we should have in the onely mercie of God, and merit of Christ, doe teach as wee doe, that faith onely justifieth. For, neither they nor we exclude from the worke of justification, the action of God as the supream and highest cause of our justification: for it is he that remitteth sinne, and receiveth us to grace: nor the merit of Christ, as that for which God inclineth to shew mercie to us, and to respect us: nor the remission of sinnes, gracious acceptation, and grant of the gift of righteousness, as that by which we are formally justified: nor those works of preventing grace, whereby out of the generall apprehension of faith, God worketh in us dislike of our former condition, desire to be reconciled to God, to have remission of that is past, and grace hereafter to decline the like evils, and to doe contrary good things. For, by these we are prepared, disposed, and fitted for justification; without these none are justified. And in this sense, and to imply a necessity of these to be found in us, sometimes the fathers and others say, that we are not justified by faith only. And we all agree, that it is not our conversion to God, nor the change we finde in our selves, that can any way make us stand in judgement without feare, and looke for any good from God, otherwise than in that wee finde our selves so disposed and fitted, as is necessary for justification, whence we assure our selves, God will in mercie accept us for Christs sake.

CHAP. 12.
Of Merit.

a Vide Iansenium in concordiam Evangelicam, cap 98. p. 704.
b Lib. 1. c. 17. q. 1. in solutione quest.
c Apostolus ad Rom. 8. Ait, inquit, quod non sunt condignae passionibus huius temporis, ad futuram gloriam quae revelabitur in nobis. Si non sunt condignae non ergo ex debito iustitiae, sed ex dono gratiae, gloria pro illis datur, unde Glossa ibidem. passionibus huius temporis non sunt omnes simul condignae, id est, sufficientes, si distincte agere tunc nobiscum, ad promerendam vitam aeternam.

Merit, as Cardinall Contarenus rightly noteth, if we speake properly, importeth an action, or actions, *quibus actionibus aut earum auctori, ab altero iustitia postulante, debeat premium.* No man can merit any thing of God. 1. First, because we are his servants, and owe much more service unto him, than bond-slaves that are bought for money owe unto their Masters: and though no reward were promised, we were bound to obey his commands. Yet if we looke on the bounty of God, hee deales with us being bond-men, as with hired servants, recompencing that with a reward which we stood bound in duty to performe. 2. Because no profit cometh unto God from any thing we can doe: the good and salvation of our soules he accounteth his gain, and out of his goodnes so esteemeth of our good works, as if they were profitable unto him. 3. Because though our works were profitable unto God, & though we were able to doe them of our selves, yet wee could never repay unto him so much good, as we have already and doe daily receive from him: but now it is so, that he first bestoweth on us one gift, which hee may afterwards reward with another. 4. Because in many things we offend all, and so have need of pardon: so farre are we from meriting any thing at Gods hands. 5. Because no meritorious act is so great a good as eternall life, and so not equivalent unto it, and therefore so great a reward cannot in strictnesse of iustice be due unto it. *Actus secundum se consideratus (saith Scotus) absq. acceptatione divina secundum strictam iustitiam, non fuisset dignus tali premio ex intrinseca bonitate, quam haberet ex suis principiis, quod patet, quia semper premium est majus bonum merito, & iustitia stricta non reddit melius pro minus bono: ideo bene dicitur quod semper Deus praemiatur ultra meritum condignum, universaliter quidem ultra dignitatem actus qui est meritum: quia quod ille actus sit condignum meritum, hoc est, ultra naturam & bonitatem actus intrinsecam, ex mera gratuitâ acceptatione divina. Et forte adhuc, ultra illud ad quod de communi lege esset actus acceptandus, quandoq. Deus praemiatur ex mera liberalitate.* And againe Lib. 4. d. 49. q. 6. de tertio dubio. De premio quod est aeterna beatitudo, dico quod loquendo de stricta iustitia; Deus nulli nostrum propter quaecunq. merita, est debitor perfectionis reddendae tam intense quam est beatitudo, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita: sed esto quod ex liberalitate sua determinasset, meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam

tanquam premium, tali quidem iustitia qualis decet eum, scilicet, supererogantis in premijs: tamen non sequitur ex hoc necessario, quod per illam iustitiam sit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam premium: imo abundans fieret retributio in beatitudine unius momenti.

6. To merit is to make a thing due, that was not due before, whence it followeth that no man can merit eternall life. ^b For they that define merit do say, that no man can merit soe great a good as eternall life *ex condigno*, unlesse he be first justified, reconciled to God, and made partaker of the divine nature, but whosoever is soe justified, reconciled to God, and made partaker of the divine nature, hath right to eternall life, in that hee is justified, reconciled, and made partaker of the divine nature. Therefore seeing to merit, is to make that due that was not due before, no man can merit eternall life. And ^c Bellarmine confesseth, that many thinke eternall life cannot be merited, but onely some degrees in the same. And for this reason, as it appeareth by the epistle of Cardinall Contarenus to Cardinall Farnesius, the divines of both sides in the conference at *Ratisbon*, thought good to omitte and suppress the name of merit. 1. For that it might be thought a derogation to the goodnesse and bounty of God, that giveth us freely eternall life, to say that wee merit it. And secondly, for that it might be conceived, that it was not due before in respect of free gift, and that our working could merit it, though it were not due to us by gift. Let us see therefore what the Church of God hath taught touching merit.

^b Bellarm de
justificat. lib. 3.
cap. 12.

^c De justificat.
l. 5. c. 20.

The Author of the answer to *Bells* challenge named by him the downefall of Popery, article the fift chapt. 3. pag. 220. protesteth, that *Bell* doth greatly wrong the Romanists, in saying it is a part of their faith, and that it was defined in the councill of *Trent*, that good workes done in Gods grace, are condignely meritorious of eternall life; for the councill defined no such thing, and they that hold it, hold it not as a point of faith, but as an opinion onely. Whereupon *Vega*, who was one of the divines of the councill of *Trent*, writeth *de fide & operibus quest. 4.* that some noble Schole divines, being moved with no light arguments, and using a certaine sober and prudent moderation, have denied that there is any condigne merit of eternall happinesse; and hee sayth quest. 5. * that *Gregory, Durand, Marsil, Walden, Burgenfis*, and *Eckius*, doe deny condigne merit. *Sotus* also another divine of the sayd councill lib. 3. *de natura & gratia cap. 7.* sayth, that there is some difference amongst catholiques about condigne merit, and chap. 8. after hee had proved condigne merit out of the councill and otherwayes, yet concludeth not that it is a point of faith, but onely calleth it *conclusionem probatissimam*, a most approved conclusion. And *Bellarmino* lib. 5. *de justificatione cap. 16.* after hee had rehearsed two opinions of catholiques, whereof the one seemeth to deny condigne merit, the other admitteth it only in a large sence, proposeth and defendeth the third opinion, which defendeth condigne merit absolutely, onely as *verissimam, & communem sententiam theologorum*, most true and the common opinion of divines. This confession might suffice to prove, that the Church never admitted of the doctrine of merit of condignity, as any point of her faith, in the dayes of our Fathers, seeing even since these differences grewe that are now afoote, betweene those of the reformation, and the stiffe maintainers of all confusions formerly found in the state of the Church and religion, there are many found amongst the enemies of reformation, that reject the merit of condignity. Yet for the better satisfaction of the reader, I will more fully and at large sette downe the opinions of them that opposed against the doctrine of merit properly soe named before *L V T H E R S* time.

* Gregor i. d.
17 q. 1. Duran.
q. 2. Marsil. in 2.
Walden. de sa-
cram. c. 7. Bur-
genfis in psal.
37. Eckius in
centur. de prae-
dest.

^d *Gregorius Ariminensis*, besides the reason formerly alleaged, that no act of
E c man, quæst. 14.

^d Lib. 1. d. 17.
man, quæst. 14.

man, though done in, & out of the habite of charity, is so great a good as eternall life, and equivalent to it, and consequently that so great a reward as eternall life, cannot be due unto it *ex debito justitiæ*; hath sundry other reasons for proof of the same. 'Intelligendum est, *sayth he*, etiam ipsa hominis bona merita esse 'Dei munera, quibus cum vita æterna redditur, quid aliud nisi gratia pro gratia redditur? hæc *Augustinus*. Idem Antecedens probatur ratione: Nam constat quod animæ carenti charitate simul & gloriâ: Deus quantum ad neutram est illi debitor: & si dat charitatem, gratis donat. Nunc autem nullus diceret, quod ex eo quod Deus donat aliquod munus alicui, fiat ei alterius muneris debitor. Ergo non ex eo quod Deus gratis dat charitatem, debetur consequenter ipsi animæ gloria, sive beatitudo æterna. Et si dicatur quod non ideo debetur alicui vita æterna, quia habet charitatem, aut quia data est charitas illi, sed quia secundum acceptam charitatem operatur. Contra, quod omnes operationes nostræ secundum charitatem factæ, & omnia merita nostra sunt Dei dona, ut dicit *Augustinus* 13 de trinitate cap. 10. & autoritate ejusdem præallegatâ, & per consequens non ex illis est Deus debitor alterius præmij. Ad quartum dicendum, quod cum sit justitia unicuique reddere quod suum est, id est, sibi debitum, secundum sententiam *Augustini* 1. de Libero Arbitrio, sic vita æterna justè meritoriè redditur operanti. Et dicitur corona justitiæ, sicut ei debita est, pro talibus operibus meritorijs. Eis autem non est simpliciter debita, nec ex natura ipsorum, sed solum ex gratuita ordinatione Dei, qui ex abundantia misericordiæ suæ, statuit tales actus vitæ æternæ præmiare: propter quam statutam gratiæ legem, sibi debita dicitur & justè retribui, & secundum hanc considerationem, posset etiam dici stipendium bonorum operum vita æterna. Ad quem intellectum loquitur etiam *Augustinus* in lib. de gratia, & lib. arbit. & tamen simpliciter gratis donatur, & ut ibi dicit *Augustinus* gratia pro gratia redditur. Vnde & glossa super illud Apostoli 2 ad Tim. 4. Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi: in reliquo reposita est mihi corona justitiæ, quam reddet mihi Dominus in illa die justus Judex, &c. dicit, quod vita æterna est gratia pro gratia. Et ideo sicut notat *Augustinus* super eisdem verbis 1. lib. ad *Simplicianum*, quamvis Apostolus dixerit reddet, quasi jam sit ex debito, cum tamen ascendit in altum, scilicet Christus, captivavit captivitatem, non reddidit, sed dedit dona hominibus, volens per hoc *Augustinus* innuere, quod cum æterna vita datur justis, non tam redditur quam donatur. Ex eodem sensu intelligendæ sunt glossæ, cum justus dicitur retribuendo bona pro nobis, & misericors retribuendo bona pro malis, non quia non sit utrobique misericordia, sed quia magis apparet misericordia in dando bona pro malis, & in dando bona pro bonis generaliter loquendo, videtur quædam justitia ratione conformitatis meriti ad præmium, in hac generali ratione, quia utrumque bonum est, in hac tamen speciali retributione utique misericordia est, unde in glossa prius allegata sequitur immediatè, & ipsa tamen justitia, quâ retribuantur bona pro bonis, non est sine misericordia. Huic etiam concordat commune dictum doctorum dicentium, quod Deus præmiat ultra condignum, ergo vita æterna non debetur ex condigno meritis nostris.

e L. 2. d. 27. q. 2.
item l. 1. d. 17.
q. 2.

Durandus clearely and fully agreeth with Scotus and Ariminenſis, distinguishing merite of condignity, making it to be of two ſorts. 'Quoddam est meritum de condigno largè sumpto, pro quadam dignitate quam Deus ex ordinatione requirit in operibus nostris, ad hoc ut remunerentur vita æterna, & hæc dignitas est in nobis per gratiam & charitatem habitualement. Aliud est meritum de condigno stricte & proprie accepto, & tale meritum est actio voluntaria, propter quam alicui merces debetur ex justitia, sic quod si non reddatur, ille ad quem pertinet reddere injuste facit, & est simpliciter & proprie injustus, & tale meritum de condigno invenitur inter homines, sed non est homines ad Deum. Quod patet, quia quod redditur potius ex liberalitate dantis, quàm ex debito

'ope-

operis, non cadit sub merito de condigno stricte sumpto; sed quicquid à Deo accipimus, sive sit gratia, sive sit gloria, sive bonum temporale, vel spirituale, præcedente in nobis propter hoc quocunq; bono opere; potius & principalius accipimus ex liberalitate Dei, quam reddatur ex debito operis; ergo nihil penitus cadit sub merito de condigno sic accepto. Facilius & minus est reddere æquivalens ejus quod quis accepit ab alio, quam cum constituere debitorem, sed nullus potest redere Deo æquivalens; Deo & parentibus nemo potest redere æquivalens secundum philosophum; ergo multo minus est possibile, quod ex quocunq; nostro opere Deus fiat nobis debitor: *All that we are and have, whether good actions, good habits or good use of things it is all from the goodnes of God,* ex dono gratuito nullus obligatur ad dandum amplius, sed potius recipiens magis obligatur danti, ideo ex bonis habitibus, & ex bonis actibus sive usibus nobis à Deo datis, Deus non obligatur nobis ex aliquo debito justitiæ, ad aliquid amplius dandum, ita quod si non dederit sit injustus, sed potius nos sumus Deo obligati: & sentire seu dicere oppositum est temerarium seu blasphemum. Ex hoc quod Deus dat quædam non obligatur ad dandum alia, ita ut non dando sit injustus, & si quid pro bonis operibus nostris nobis datur vel redditur, potius & principalius est ex liberalitate Dei dantis, quam ex debito nostri operis. Quod si quis dicat quod quamvis Deus non constituatur nobis debitor ex aliquo nostro opere, constituitur tamen debitor ex sua promissione. Non valet propter duo; Primum est quia promissio divina in scripturis sanctis, non sonat in aliquam obligationem, sed insinuat meram dispositionem liberalitatis divinæ; Secundum est quia quod redditur, non ex debito præcedentis operis, sed ex promissione præcedente, non quidem redditur ex merito operis de condigno; sed solum vel principaliter ex promisso. Sicut reddere justum præciū pro re accepta ab aliquo est actus justitiæ, ita recompensare mercedem, vel præmium laboris nostri operis est actus justitiæ. Et ideo in illis in quibus est simpliciter justum, etiam simpliciter ratio meriti & præmij seu mercedis: in quibus autem non est simpliciter justum sed secundum quid, in his non est simpliciter ratio meriti, sed secundum quid: inter Deum autem & hominem, non potest esse justum simpliciter, sicut nec æquale, sed solum justum secundum quid, scilicet dominativum, quia totum bonum quod est hominis, est Dei & à Deo, & multo amplius quam actiones servi sint sui Domini in humanis, propter quod meritum hominis apud Deum, non potest esse meritum simpliciter de condigno, sed solum secundum præsuppositionem divinæ ordinationis, ita scilicet ut homo id consequatur à Deo per suam operationem quasi præmium, ad quod Deus ei virtutem operandi deputavit. Et supra dicit; maximam esse inæqualitatem inter opus nostrum & vitam æternam, nec valere quod quidam dicunt, quod sit quædam æqualitas secundum quod ex gratiâ spiritus sancti procedit, & quod valor ejus attenditur secundum virtutem spiritus sancti moventis nos in vitam æternam. *Bellar. de Justific. l. 5. c. 16.* Durandus videtur omnino velle merita nostra ex gratiâ Dei procedentia, & positâ promissione, adhuc non esse talia ut ijs ex justitiâ debeatur merces, sed ex solâ Dei liberalitate.

Thomas Waldensis tom. 3. de sacramentalibus c. 7. confuting this saying imputed to Wickliffe, Confidat homo in merito proprio, quia ad mensuram illius Deus necessario præmiabit, *allegeth out of Aug.* Deus non inveniret aliquid in hominibus nisi ad interitum, si cum ijs ageret per pondera meritorum. Super illud Ps. 94. Præoccupemus faciem ejus in confessione. Quomodo distinguis, vota quæ reddis Deo: ut cum laudes, te accuses quia illius est misericordia, ut peccata nostra dimittat; nam si vellet pro meritis agere, non inveniret, nisi quos damneret; hæc Aug: *Et cum illud objiceretur 2 Tim. 4. Bonum certamen certavi, cursum consummavi &c* Quamvis bona opera recoluit, tamen non eis confidit, qui soli Deo gloriam dedit, Et cum omnia faceret: non autem ego, inquit, sed gratia Dei mecum. Hanc item normam observat Psalmista cum dicit, Retribuet mihi Dominus secundum justitiam meam, & secundum innocentiam meam super me. Sed

Psal. 171

his verbis præmisit: quoniam voluit me. Gratiā ergo voluntatis ejus præsumens, descendit ad innocentiam actionis. Et Cassiodorus: dicit Apostolus, De reliquo reposita est mihi corona iustitiæ &c. non quod suis aliquid meritis humilis applicabat, sed quia præmissis beneficijs domini, jam deberi posse præmium confidebat. Hoc non erat in meritis confidere, sed in beneficijs Domini. Et supra: Nec hoc dico quin accepta gratia fiduciam præstet orandi, sed omnino non oportet ut fiduciam in eā constituat quisquam impetrandi. Hoc solum conferunt hæc prima dona. ab eā misericordiā, quæ tribuit hæc, ut speremus & ampliora. *And he addeth*, Quantum mea sapit modicitas, hæc ipsa determinatio scripturarum, quam sic ex Apostolo & Psalmistā annotant sancti patres, congruentius jungeretur locutionibus de meritis hominum, quā absolute diceretur quod homo ex meritis est dignus regno cælorum, aut hac gratiā, vel illā gloriā: quamvis quidam Scholastici invenerunt ad hoc dicendum, terminos de condigno & congruo. At Chrysostomus dicit, Quid dignum facimus in hoc seculo, ut participes domini nostri, in regnis cælestibus fieri mereamur? Ideo iuste dicit Apostolus, Existimo quod non sunt condignæ passionibus huius temporis ad futuram gloriam. Reputo igitur saniores theologum, fideliorē catholicum, & scripturis sanctis magis concordem, qui tale meritum simpliciter abnegat, & cū modificatione Apostoli & scripturarū, concedit quia simpliciter quis non meretur regnum cælorum, sed ex gratia Dei aut voluntate largitoris. Sic enim dicit Apostolus, Non quod sufficientes simus existimare aliquid à nobis: sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est. 2. Cor. 3. Hæc locutio crebra esset in ore peritorum fidelium, ut Pelagianis qui gratiam Dei tacent vel abnegant, & in meritis hominum omnino confidunt, ex parte gratiæ Dei inveniremur esse discordes, sicut omnes sancti priores usque ad recentes Scholasticos, & communis scripsit ecclesia. Vnde in oratione Canonis ad Deum. Non astimator meriti, sed veniæ quæsumus largitor admitte &c. Feriā quartā passionis. Ut qui de meritorum qualitate diffidimus, non iudicium tuum, sed misericordiam consequi mereamur. Et in secretā oratione dominicæ secundæ adventus: Vbi nulla suppetunt suffragia meritorum, tuæ nobis indulgentiæ succurre præsidij. Meritum nostrum in articulo minimè Deus attendit, sive rationem congrui, vel condigni, sed gratiam suam, aut voluntatem suam, aut misericordiam suam.

Paulus Burgenfis in additione in Psalm. 35. Manifestum quod misericordia Dei maximè relucet in Cælo, ubi beati misericordiam Dei plenè consequuntur, ut in Math. 5. cuius ratio est, nam gloriam cælestem nullus de condigno secundum legem communem meretur. Vnde Apostolus ad Rom: 8. Non sunt condignæ passionibus &c. *Cassander sayth, he found it thus written by a certaine schoole-man in an old manuscript*, Nota quod cum dicitur, Deus pro bonis meritis dabit vitam æternam: pro, primo notat signum, vel viam, vel occasionem aliquam: sed si dicatur propter bona merita dabit vitam æternam, propter, notat causam efficientem. Ideo non recipitur à quibusdam, sed hanc recipiunt, pro bonis meritis, & consimiles earum, assignantes differentiam inter pro & propter. *Thomas Bradwardin in summa contra Pelagianos*, Disputat meritum non esse causam æterni præmij, cumque scriptura & doctores confirmant. Deum præmiaturum bonos propter merita sua bona, propter non significare causam propriè, sed impropriè, vel causam cognoscendi, vel ordinem, vel denique dispositionem subjecti. *Bernard: de gratiā & libero arbitrio.* Merita nostra sunt via regni non causa regnandi. *Cambracensis in 4. quest. 1. artic. 1.* Quia causa est illud ad cuius esse sequitur aliquid. Dupliciter potest aliquid dici causa: uno modo propriè, quando ad præsentiam esse unius, virtute ejus ex naturā rei sequitur esse alterius, & sic ignis est causa caloris: alio modo impropriè, quando ad præsentiam esse unius sequitur esse alterius, non tamen virtute ejus, nec ex natura rei, sed ex solā voluntate alterius, & sic actus meritorius dicitur causa respectu præmij: (subdit autem) causa sine quā non, non debet simpliciter & absolute

f. Epist. 19.

g. Lib. 1. c. 39.

absolutè dici causa, quia propriè non est causa. *And the same Cameracensis proveth at large, that there is no condigne meriting of eternall life.*

Manipulus Curatorum, fol. 129. Quare melius dicimus, adveniat regnum tuum, quam dicamus adveniamus in regnum tuum? dico quod ad denotandum; quod gloria Paradisi non habetur ex proprijs meritis, sed ex mera gratia Dei, juxta verbum Apostoli dicentis, Non ex operibus iustitiæ quæ fecimus nos. Sed secundum misericordiam salvos nos fecit, non autem dicimus, adveniamus; quia ut dictum est, ex meritis nostris non possumus ad illud venire, nemo potest venire ad me, nisi pater meus traxerit illum, ut dicitur Ioan. *Stephanus Brulepher l. 1. d. 17. following the opinion of Scotus, layeth down two propositions, the first,* Nullus actus elicited ex charitate, & secundum inclinationem charitatis, quantumcunque bonus sit, est dignus vitâ æternâ ex naturâ rei: probatur, Non sunt condignæ passiones &c. Christus in Evangelio cum feceritis omnia, &c. Sed si homo faceret actus ex naturâ rei dignos æterno præmio, non esset servus inutilis: *the second,* Omnis actus elicited ab habente charitatem, & secundum inclinationem charitatis, solum est dignus vitâ æternâ, propter passivam acceptationem Dei. Quid sit autem acceptare, *Scotus* explicat ipse dicens, acceptare est velle aliquem secundum dispositionem quam nunc habet, esse dignum tali præmio, quem prius non voluit esse dignum; verbi gratia, sit aliquis gravis peccator, non modo non dignus cælesti præmio, verumetiam dignissimus qui sempiterno supplicio afficiatur, convertatur js ad Deum, studeat eum placare jejunijs, orationibus, elemosynis; quamvis hæc omnia naturâ suâ non sint ejusmodi, ut sint cælesti præmio digna; tamen secundum has dispositiones acceptat Deus hominem ex gratuita sua bonitate, & vult esse dignum tali præmio.

Citatus ab Hosio conf. c. 73. tom. 1. p. 286.

Anselm. Si homo mille annis serviret Deo etiam ferventissime, non meretur ex condigno dimidium diem esse in regno celorum, l. de mensurat crucis. *Simon de cassia,* Neminem Deus nisi per misericordiam salvat, nec reprobatur nisi iusto iudicio. *Drogol de Sacramento dominicæ passionis:* Terra mentis nostræ est velut chaos quoddam, confusione teterrimum & involutum, ignorans tam finem suum quam principium, & naturæ suæ modum, nisi quod a summo Creatore de nihilo mirabiliter factam se credit, & post hanc vitam, vel ad inferos pro suis meritis, vel ad coelos pro misericordiâ sui autoris transferendam. *Rogerus Benedictinus* scribens vitam *Brutonis* Archiepiscopi Colon. ante annos 500 sic orditur, sapientiæ nimirum est scire, unde sit donum quod quis accipit, nè a se sibi hoc esse, aut a Deo quidem sed sibi debitum putet, si enim quærimus quid nobis debeatur, nihil inveniemus nisi supplicium, misericordia autem Dei prærogavit nobis gratiam, ut haberet quibus redderet gratiam pro gratia, & hoc jam esset debitum, quia Deus voluit, non quia homo meruit, quid enim habes, ait Apostolus, quod non accepisti, si autem accepisti quid gloriaris quasi non acceperis? *Bernard.* Sufficit ad meritum, scire quod non sufficiunt merita; *in Cantica ser. 68. Et serm. 61.* Meum proinde meritum miseratio domini: non planè sum meriti inops, quamdiu ille miserationum non fuerit; quod si misericordiæ domini multæ, multis nihilo minus ego in meritis sum; quid enim si multorum sum mihi conscius delectorum? nempe ubi abundavit delictum, superabundavit & gratia. Et si misericordiæ domini ab æterno, & usque in æternum, ego quoque misericordias domini in æternum cantabo. Numquid iustitias meas? Domine memorabor iustitiæ tuæ solius: ipsa est enim & mea, nempe factus es mihi tu iustitia a Deo. *Et ser. 68* Merita habere cures, habita donata novetis, fructum spectaveris Dei misericordiam, & omne periculum evasisti, paupertatis, ingratitude, præsumptionis. *Haimo in ps. 131.* Nemo debet de suis meritis præsumere, sed omnem salvationem ex Christi meritis expectare *Hier. in Es. 64.* Si nostra consideremus merita desperandum est, si tuam autem clementiam qui flagellas omnem filium quæ recipis, audemus preces fundere, tu enim pater noster es. *Orig. in 4. ad Ro.*

Apud Hos. ib.

Citatus ab Hosio ibid.

Cum considero sermonis eminentiam, quod dicit, operanti secundum debitum reddi, vix mihi suadeo quod possit ullum opus est, quod ex debito remunerationem Dei deposcat.

Sophoniz ult.

Theodoret: explicans illud¹, *Va qui accepit super eam opprobrium*, Hominum inquit salus ex solâ Dei misericordiâ pendet, neque enim hanc adipiscimur premium & mercedem justitiæ, sed Dei bonitatis donum est. Explicans illud Psalmi 23. *Hic accipiet benedictionem a Domino*. Ingeniose admodum misericordiam cum benedictione conjunxit. Etenim quæ existimantur remunerationes, propter solam divinam benignitatem hominibus præbentur. Omnes enim hominum justitiæ nihil sunt ad dona, quæ à Deo nobis suppeditata sunt, nedum ad futura munera, quæ omnem humanâ cogitationem transcendunt. Basil. in Psal. explicans illud, *Propter nomen tuum propitiaberis peccato meo*. Ego te inquit oro ut propitius sis peccatis meis, non propter exactam meam penitentiam, sed propter benignitatis nomen quod habes; explicans illum Psal. 142. locum *Exaudi me in justitiâ tuâ*. Quid facis o homo? infra dicis non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens, & si iniquitates observaveris &c. & hic secundum justitiâ exaudiri petis? quid est igitur quod dicit? justitiâ hic benignitatem Dei dicit, & hoc multis in locis videri potest, & valde merito. Apud homines enim justitiâ misericordiâ caret, apud Deum vero non ita, sed immixta est misericordiâ, atq; ita immixta, ut ipsa justitiâ benignitas vocetur. Chrysost. in Psal. 4. *Etiamsi innumerabilia recte fecerimus, à misericordiâ & clementiâ audimur, etiamsi ad ipsum fastigium virtutis pervenerimus, servamur à misericordiâ*. Ambros. in Psal. 118. *Semper homo etiamsi sanctus & justus sic debet orare, ut exaudiat eum secundum misericordiam suam, non secundum meritum virtutis alicujus*.

Hitherto I have sufficiently proved, that both the latter Schoolemen & the more Ancient Fathers, rejected the merit of condignity; I will onely adde the testimony of a great learned man, that lived immediately before *Luthers* time, and the opinion of some of the best learned after his time, and so conclude this point. *Gocchianus* part. 3. c. 6. *Aquinas* scripto tertio in sent. d. 18. dicit actum charitate informatum, mereri vitam æternam ex condigno, quia inter hujusmodi meritum & premium, invenitur aequalitas secundam rectam estimationem, & hujusmodi meritum innititur divinæ justitiæ. Contra *Paulus* Rom. 4. si *Abraham* ex operibus &c. ubi dicit glossa *Aug.* in lib. de spiritu & litterâ, quod actus hominis quantumvis sit informatus charitate, tamen non potest esse tam perfecta justitiæ, ut ex debito meriatur præmiū beatitudinis æternæ, & exemplificat de *Apostolis*, In multis offendimus omnes, & iterum, si dixerimus quia peccatum non habemus &c. Quis vestrum habens servum &c. docet suos quod ex operibus justitiæ de fide formatâ procedentibus, non debet expectari premium æternæ beatitudinis ex debito justitiæ, tanquam fecissent Deum sibi debitorem per hujusmodi. 1 Quia nihil utilitatis Deo ex nostris operibus accrescit. 2 Quia quicquid facere possumus, ex debito servitutis debuimus: Attende servum tam in agro quam domo laborantem, & tamen à Domino suo ex debito justitiæ nec gratias merentem: Ut ex præmissis advertere potes, homo per quoscunq; actus suos qualitercunq; factos, mereri non potest, quia omnium operum suorum quæ facere potest debitor est, & ideo Ecclesia in fide Christi fundata innititur meritis Christi, & per ea se credit & sperat saluari, ipse enim meruit nobis à peccatis & à diabolo liberationem vitam justificationem & glorificationem, ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus. 3 Ostendit idem *Esaias*, facti sumus ut immundi omnes nos, & quasi pannus menstruatus universa justitiâ nostra: Quæ ergo proportio nostrorum bonorum operum, quæ tam erunt judici abominabilia, & æternæ beatitudinis, quæ tanta pulchritudinis & dulcedinis perfectione abundat?

Anno 1541. In the time of *Charles* the fifth and by his appointment, there was a conference betweene six learned Divines at *Ratisbon*, for the composing of the differences in Religion, whereof three were chosen for the Roman, and three for the reformed part; at which conference *Cardinall Contarini* was present.

At

At this conference the collocutors of both sides, agreed in all the poynts that concerne Iustification, composed the differences touching the same, and offered the forme of their agreement to the Emperour and the imperiall states. In this agreement they left out the matter of merit; which when some disliked, and there wanted not in *Rome* that tooke exception to their so doing; Cardinall *Contarenus* writeth to Cardinall *Farnesius*, and sheweth at large, that there is no merit properly so named, out of the grounds of Philosophie and Divinitie. And strongly proveth, that there is no merit of eternall life; because if there bee, then either men merit it before or after Iustification, not before, then enemies &c: not after, because to merit is to make that due that was not due before, whereas the happines of eternall life is due to the justified, by the right of his justification, so that the workes of the justified doe not make the same newly due.

C H A P. 13.

Of workes of Supererogation and counsailes of perfection.

THe Papists imagine certaine degrees of morall goodnesse: the lowest whereof, who so attaineth not, doeth sinne, as not doing that the precept required; the higher such as men are counselled unto, if they will bee perfect, though not by any precept urged thereunto; they that attaine to such height of vertue, are said by them to doe workes of supererogation. But *Gerson* sheweth, that these men erre, in that they discern not betweene the matter of precepts and counsailes, imagining that the precept requireth the inferiour degrees of vertue, and the counsailes the more high and excellent: whereas the precept requireth all the actions of vertue in the best sort they can bee performed, and the counsailes are conversant in another matter, namely, in shewing us the meanes whereby most easily, if all things bee answerable in the parties, men may attaine to the height of vertue. Hereunto agreeth *Jansenius*, alleaging the authority of *Aquinas*, *secundâ secundæ quæst.* 184. *Artic. 3.* who affirmeth that the perfection of Christian life, consisteth essentially in keeping the Commandements: and of another, who saith, that watchings, fastings, nakednesse, and forsaking all, are not Christian perfections, but the instruments of perfection, not the ends of Christian discipline, but the meanes whereby men doe oftentimes attaine to the height of vertue: so that as *Gerson* and *Paludanus* doe shew, some men at some time, and in some state of things, may attaine to as great height of perfection, living in marriage, and possessing much, as they that live single, and give away all they have: But the conceit of the Jesuites is, that the entring into a Monasticall life, wherein are implied the vowes of single life and voluntary poverty, is essentially of so great merit, and acceptation with God, that it is a kinde of Baptisme freeing from all temporall punishments otherwise due for precedent sinnes.

a De consilijs Evangelicis & statu perfectionis.

b In concordia evangelicam, c. 100.

c In sent. l. 3. d. 34. qu. 3. d. Bellar. lib. 2. de Monachis. cap. 6.

C H A P. 14.

Of Election and Reprobation depending on the foresight of something in the parties elected or rejected.

WHy these or these men are predestinated or reprobated, *Ariminensis* saith, some yeeld a positive reason, to wit, workes, or the well using of free will; others, a privative, to wit, the not resisting against grace: against these opinions hee opposeth these conclusions; the first, that no man is predestinated, for that God foresaw hee would use the liberty of his will aright: the second, that no man is predestinated

a Lib. 1. d. 40. qu. 1. art. 2.

stinated, because God foresaw, he would not resist against his grace; the third, that whom God did predestinate, hee did freely, and onely of mercy predestinate them, according to the good pleasure of his will. See the diverse opinions touching Predestination formerly found in the Romane Church, in ^b *Ca-*
6 in 1 sent. q. 12 meracensis.

CHAP 15.

Of the seven Sacraments.

^a L. 4 d. 26. q.

³ L. 2. c. 5.

^c Part. 4. q. 5.

memb. 2. art. 1.

q. 5. memb. 3.

art. 2. q. 9.

memb. 2. art. 2.

D*Vrandus* ^a denyeth Matrimony to bee a Sacrament properly so named, and of the same nature with the rest, or to give grace. ^b *Camus* saith, the divines speake uncertainly of the matter and forme of Matrimony, and that they doe not certainly resolve, whether it give grace or not. ^c *Alexander of Hales* sayth, that there are onely foure, which are in any sort properly to bee said Sacraments of the new Law, that the other three supposed Sacraments had there being long before, but received some addition by Christ manifested in the flesh, that amongst them which beganne with the new Covenant, onely Baptisme and the Eucharist were instituted immediatly by Christ, received their formes from him, and flowed out of his wounded side: whence it commeth, that water is the matter of Baptisme, and bread, and wine of the Eucharist, without any other consecration, but that which they receive from the words of Sacramentall forme: but the matter of the other two supposed Sacraments, requireth consecration, and hallowing. before it can bee the matter of those Sacraments, so that though the wordes of forme bee pronounced, they have no vertue of Sacraments, but from precedent consecration: whereby it appeareth, that they take their force from the prayers of the Church, by the Ministry whereof they were appointed, and not from the words of forme, as the other doe. Hence also it commeth, that they are variable both in their matter and forme. The Apostles, sayth *Alexander of Hales*, confirmed with the onely imposition of their hands without any certaine forme of wordes or outward matter or Element, but afterward it was otherwise ordained, both in respect of the one, and the other: the formes of Baptisme, and the Eucharist being appoynted by Christ, are kept inviolably without all change: but touching the wordes of forme to be used in any other of the supposed Sacraments, there is no certainty, but they are diversly and doubtfully delivered. The reason whereof is because they are of humane devising. By this which hath beene said, it may appeare, that the other pretended Sacraments are not of the same nature with Baptisme and the Eucharist, as even ^d *Bellarmin* himselfe is forced to confesse: the sacred or holy things, sayth he, which the Sacraments of the new Law signifie, are threefold; the grace of Iustification, the Passion of Christ, and eternall life, as *Thomas* teacheth; touching Baptisme, and the Eucharist, the thing is most evident, concerning the other it is not so certaine.

^d De sacram. in genere l. 1. de definit. Sacram. cap. 6.

CHAP. 16.

Of the being of one body in many places at the same time.

THE possibility of the being of one body in many places at the same time, was ever denied by many worthy members of the Church, and consequently the locall presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament, whether definitive, or circumscriptive, was likewise rejected, as a thing impossible. To affirme, sayth ^a *Aquinas*, that one body may be locally in this place, and yet also in another at the same time, implyeth a contradiction: and

^a Quolib. 309. 1. art. 2.

and therefore the power of God extendeth not to the effecting of any such thing. ^a *Scotus* confesseth, that *Egidius*, *Godfredus de font*, *Alanus*, and *Henricus*, are of the same opinion with *Thomas*. *Durandus* sayth, that which is present in one place definitively or circumscriptively, cannot in any such sort be in many places at the same time. Whereupon he pronounceth, that the body of Christ is no otherwise in the Sacrament, but by reason of a certaine habitudinary vnion betweene it, and the sacramentall elements: whence it was wont to be sayd, that Christs body is *personaliter in verbo*, *localiter in caelo*, *sacramentaliter in Eucharistia*: *Personally in the eternall word*, *locally in heauen*, *sacramentally in the Eucharist*. The first that taught otherwise, and brought in the locall presence, was *Scotus*, whome ^d *Occam* followed, though he deny not, but the former opinion had great fauourers. ^{Lib. 4. dist. 10. quest. 2. Lib. 4. dist. 11. q. 1. & 11. Lib. 4. q. 4.}

C H A P. 17.

Of Transubstantiation.

THe conversion of the bread and wine into Christs body and blood, all ofus, saith ^a *Cajetan* do teach in words, but in deede many deny it, thinking nothing lesse. These are diuersly divided one from another: for some by the *Conversion* that is in the sacrament, understand nothing but Identity of place, that is, that the bread is therefore sayd to be made the body of Christ, because where the bread is, the body of Christ becomes present also; others understand by the word *Conversion*, nothing else but the order of succession, that is that the body succeedeth, and is under the vailles of those accidents, under which the bread, which they thinke to be annihilated, was before. This opinion in substance *Scotus* followeth, though in the maner of his speech he seemeth to decline it. Some admit both the word and thing, but yet not wholly, but only in part, as *Durandus*. ^b *Bonaventura* sayth, that some seeing the accidents to remaine both in their being and operation, thinke the matter of the sacramentall element still remaineth; Other, the forme; but that the more Catholike or generall opinion is, that the whole substance of the elements is turned into Christs body and blood. We see, he maketh the doctrine of Transubstantiation to be but an opinion. ^c *Occam* saith, there are three opinions of Transubstantiation, of which, the first supposeth a conversion of the sacramentall elements; the second an annihilation; the third affirmeth the bread to be in such sort transubstantiated into the body of Christ, that it is no way changed in substance, or substantially converted into Christs body, or doth cease to bee, but onely that the body of Christ in every part of it becomes present in every part of the bread. This opinion he sayth, the *Master of sentences* mentioneth, not much disliking it; yet is it not commonly holden. ^d *Cameracensis* saith, that the more common opinion, is, that the substance of bread doth not remaine, but wholly ceaseth; and that though this opinion be not evidently deduced from the Scriptures, nor concluded out of any determination of the universall Church for ought he can see, yet he is resolved to follow it. ^e *Waldensis* sayth, hee found in a certaine old booke of decrees, that in the year 1049. there was a meeting of Archbishops, Bishops, and other religious persons in a Synode, and that when they were come together, they beganne to speake of the body and blood of Christ, some saying one thing some another; but that before the third day of meeting, they that denied the substantiall conversion of the sacramentall elements, were silent. But in the same booke hee reporteth out of *Christopolitanus Zacharius*, his booke intituled *Quatuor unum*, that there were some, perhaps many, but hardly to bee discerned and noted, that thought still, as *Berengarius* did, whom they then condemned, and yet condemned him with the rest, in this respect onely disliking

^a In 3 part. qu. 75. art. 1.

^b Lib. 4. dist. 11. qu. 2.

^c Centilogij conclus. 39.

^d 4. sent. q. 6.

^e Tom. 2. de sacram. Eucharistia, cap. 43.

^f Cap. 19.

disliking him, for that refusing the forme of wordes the Church used, with the nakednesse of his maner of speaking, hee gave offence, not following the use of the Scriptures, which every where call things that are signes, by the names of things signified, especially in the matter of Sacraments, the more lively to expresse their vertue and efficacy: these men ceased not to charge others secretly, that they knew not the nature of figurative speeches, & therefore not without grosse error, killing the soule, tooke signes for the things, whereof they are signes; scorning not a little the folly, of them that say, the appearing accidents of bread and wine after the conversion, doe hang in the ayre, or that the senses are deceived. In the same place he saith, that *Guilmundus* reporteth some other that were not of the faction of *Berengarius*, but with great vehemencie, contrary and opposite unto him, to have beene of opinion, that the bread and wine in part are changed, and in part remaine; these supposed so much onely to be changed, as is to serve for the communicating of the worthy receivers: others thought the whole to be changed. but that when unworthy men come to communicate, the body and blood of Christ cease to be present, and the substances of bread and wine returne, and are there present to be received by them. But that it may yet more clearly appeare, that the opinion of Transubstantiation never passed currantly in the Church, let us adde another testimony of the same *Waldensis*, who sayth, that some supposed the conversion that is in the Sacrament, to be in that the bread and wine are assumed into the unity of Christs person: some thought it to be by way of Impanation: and some by way of figurative or Tropicall appellation. The first and second of these opinions, found the better entertainment in some mens mindes, because they graunt the essentiall presence of Christs body, and yet deny not the presence of the bread still remaining to sustaine the appearing accidents. These opinions hee reports to have beene very acceptable to many, not without sighes, wishing the Church had decreed, that men should follow one of them; Whereupon *John Paris* writeth, that this way of Impanation so pleased *Guido* the *Carmelite*, sometimes Reader of the holy Palace, that hee professed, if he had beene Pope, hee would have prescribed and commaunded the imbracing of it. Neither was it lesse pleasing to many in *Waldensis* time, who, as hee saith, did as it were wish in their hearts, it were free from them to defend it, and that a decree in the Church were passed in the favour of it.

Cap. 94.

C H A P. 18.

Tonching or all Manducation.

a 4. part. qu. 11.
memb. 2. art. 2.
b Lib. 4. sent.
dist. 12. art. 3.
qu. 1.

Alexander of Hales, and Bonaventura doe teach, that no man can eat the flesh of Christ, and drinke his blood, without faith; and that the eating of Christ is mylticall, not corporall, Bonaventura sheweth; for that whereas there are three things implied in corporall eating, to wit, a mastication or chewing, a trajection into the stomacke and bellie; and a conversion of the thing eaten into the substance of the eater; this later, which is most essentiall in eating, cannot agree unto the body of Christ, which is not turned into our substance, but rather in mysticall sort turneth us into it selfe. It appeareth by that of *Waldensis* cited before, that many thought, the wicked doe not eat the flesh of Christ, seeing they supposed so much onely of the bread to be turned into the body of Christ, as is to be received by the beleivers; or if all bee turned, that yet the body of Christ ceaseth to be in the Sacrament, when a wicked man is to receive it, and that the bread returneth againe.

C H A P. 19.

C H A P. 19.

Of the reall sacrificing of Christs body on the Altar, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quicke and dead.

Touching the reall sacrificing of Christs Body on the Altar, the Church never taught any such thing, as the *Romanists* now teach, as appeareth by these testimonies followiug. Although, saith *Biel*, Christ were once offered, when he appeareth in our flesh, hee is offered notwithstanding daily hidden under the vailles of bread and wine, not touching any of those things which import punishment or suffering (for Christ is not daily wounded, he suffereth not, he dyeth not) but for two other causes, the consecration and receiving of the holy Eucharist, may be named a sacrifice and oblation: first because it is a representation and memoriall of the true sacrifice and holy oblation made on the Altar of the Crosse; secondly, because it maketh us partakers of the effects of the same: now the resemblances of things, as *Augustine* noteth, writing to *Simplicianus*, are called by the names of those things whereof they are resemblances, as wee are wont to say, when wee behold a paynted table or wall, this is *Cicero*, this *Salustius*. Wherefore seeing the celebration of this sacrifice is a lively resemblance of the Passion of Christ, which is the true sacrificing of him, it may rightly be named the sacrificing of him. *Peter Lombard*, *Thomas*, and the other Schoolemen, sayth *Bellarmino*, were not carefull of that, which is now in question, touching the daily renewed Reall sacrificing of Christ, but only sought to shew how the sacrifice of the Masse, may be called an offering of Christ, that is, a slaying of him; and therefore proposing the question, whether the Eucharist be a sacrifice, they answer, for the most part, that it may be sayde to bee an offering or sacrifice, because it hath a resemblance of the true and Reall offering which was on the Altar of the Crosse, and because it communicateth unto us the effects of the true and Reall killing of Christ.

In Canonem Missæ lect. 85.

2 Tom contr. 3. l. 5. de Eucharistia qui est 1. de missa, c. 15.

C H A P. XX.

Of Remission of sinnes after this life.

That Remission of sinnes after this life was not taught, nor beleevd in former times by the Church, appeareth by the judgement of these Divines who teach the contrary. The prayers of the living, saith *Duranus*, may be understood to benefit the dead two wayes: either in respect of remitting the fault, or diminishing or taking away the punishment: in the first sort, the prayers of the living cannot profit the dead, because either the sinne, wherein they depart out of this life, is mortall, or veniall; if it be mortall, he that so departeth is not capable of Remission: if veniall, he needes no helpe, because such remission of sinne consisteth in the ordering the will aright againe, whereby men rightly dislike, that they ill affected before: now the wills of them that depart hence in grace, and yet with veniall sinne, so soone as they are out of the body, are brought into due order, because, as weight and lightnesse, carry the things that are heavy or light, if there be no impediment, to their owne places; so Grace and Charity carry men going hence, to the possessing of eternall happinesse, so that all things hindering or staying, from the present enjoying thereof, are bitter and unpleasant. Now because not onely punishments for mortall sinnes formerly committed, but also veniall sinnes, if any bee found in him that dyeth in state of grace, hinder from such desired enjoying, therefore they must needes bee disliked: in which dislike, the will is reordred againe, which in the liking of that it should not, was disordered, &c. The merites, sayth *Scotus*, of him that dyeth in charity, are a sufficient cause

L. 1. dist. 45. quest. 1.

Lib. 4. dist. 21. quest. 1.

Lib. 4. q. 15.
secm. 3. art. 3.

Dialog. lib. 4.
c. 46.

In Psal. qui
habitat, ler. 10.

cause of the remission of veniall finnes; neither is this cause hindered from working the proper effect thereof, in him that dieth, as it often is, in him that liveth; for in him that liveth, there is a stop and hindrance, so long as hee remaineth actually in sinne; but after death there is no stop, because then a man committeth no sinne, and therefore by such merits finnes are remitted: Whence it followeth, that in the instant of death, all veniall finnes are remitted, to men dying in state of grace. *Alexander of Hales* maketh grace to be of three sorts; the first, that which is given in baptisme; the second, that which is found in men repenting of sinne committed after Baptisme; and the third, that which is in men departing hence, which he calleth finall grace: this last, he saith, taketh away all sinfullnesse out of the soule, because when the soule parteth from the body, all pronenesse to ill, and all perturbations which were found in it, by reason of the conjunction with the flesh, do cease, the powers thereof are quieted, and perfectly subjected to grace, and by that meanes all veniall finnes removed: for that no veniall sinne is remitted after this life, but in that instant, wherein grace may be said to be finall grace, it hath full dominion and absolute command, and expelleth all sinne. Whereas therefore, *the Master of sentences*, and others do say, that some veniall finnes are remitted after this life, we must for understand their sayings, that therefore they are sayd to be remitted after this life, because it being the same moment or instant, that doth continuat the time of life, and that after life, (so that the last instant of life, is the first after life) they being remitted and taken away in the very moment of dissolution, are sayd to be remitted after this life: for otherwise, the wills of men after death are unchangeable, and there is no more place left for merit. Hereunto *Gregory* seemeth to agree, saying, that the very feare that is found in men dying, doth purge their soules going out of their body, from the lesser finnes. Seeing therefore, as *Bernard* sayth, if all sinne be perfectly taken away, which is the cause, the effect must needs cease, which is punishment: it followeth, that seeing after death, there is no sinne found in men dying in state of grace, there remaineth no punishment, and consequently no purgatory.

CHAP. 21.

Of Purgatory

Bellarmino li. 2.
de purgatorio,
cap. 11.
6 Cap. 6.

Cap. 9.
In dist. 19.
qu. 3. art. 2.

Cap. 13.

Touching Purgatory, whether they, that are to be purged, be purged by materiall fire, or by some other meanes, it is doubtfull: likewise touching the place, the Roman Church hath defined nothing. Whereupon some thinke, that soules are purged, where they sinned, some in one place, some in another: neither is there any more certainty touching the continuance of sinfull soules in their purgation. *Dominicus à Soto* thinketh, that no man continueth in this purgation ten yeares: his reason is, for that seeing, men may pacifie Gods wrath, by very short penance in this life, where they can neither endure any great extremity, nor are perfectly apprehensive of smart and griefe, therefore much sooner in the other, where they may endure greater extremity, and are more apprehensive of it; so that the extremity of their passion, may countervail long continuance in paine. This of *Soto*, if we grant to be true, saith *Bellarmino*, no soule needes stay in purging one houre: neither indeed can he prove, that any doth, by Scripture, or Fathers, or any resolution of the Church, but only because they use to pray for mē departed a long time after their death; which doth no more prove, that they neede prayers so long as they are prayed for, then pardons for thousands of yeares prove Purgatory to continue so long; and by certaine visions, which sometimes he regardeth not. For howsoever sundry visions reported by *Beda*, *Dionysius Carthusianus*; and in the

the first booke of the life of *Bernard* import, that the soules of men in Purgatory are tormented by diuels. yet he thinketh that the children of God, overcoming Satan in the last conflict, and being secure of their future state for ever, are never molested by Satan any more. Thus then we see, that notwithstanding any thing defined in the Church, the soules of men may bee purged from all the drosse of sinnefull remainders, and freed from all punishments, in the very moment of dissolution, which is that wee say. Hereupon *Nobis Bacon* sayth, there be some, who thinke that Purgatory after this life cannot be prooved by the authority of the Scripture, and that these do say, the bookes of *Maccabees* are not Canonically, and that the Apostle, *1. Cor. 3.* speaketh of that fire, that shall purge the elements of the world, in the last day: And touching that saying of Christ, of sinne that shall never be remitted in this World, nor that to come, they say it prooveth not the remission of any sinnes in the other world, but that this forme of speaking is used, only for the better enforcing of that he intendeth to deliver; as if a man should say to a barren woman, thou shalt never beare child, neither in this world nor in that which is to come.

f Li. 4. dist. 45.
quæst. 1.

C H A P. 22.

Of the Saints hearing of our prayers

THat the Saints doe heare our prayers, or are acquainted with our particular wants, was never resolved in the Church of God. *Biel* sayth, that the Saints by that naturall, or evening knowledge, whereby they see and know things, as they are in themselves, do not know or discern our prayers, neither mentall nor vocall, by reason of the immoderate distance betweene them and us: and touching that morning knowledge, whereby they see things in the eternall word, it no way pertaining to their essentiall felicity, to see and know our desires, and it being uncertaine, whether it appertaine to their accidentall happinesse, hee sayth, it is not certaine, but that it may seeme probable, that God revealeth unto them all those suites, which men present unto them. The *Master of sentences* saith, it is not incredible, that the soules of the Saints, that delight in the secrets of Gods countenance, in beholding the same, see things that are done in the world below: *Hugo de sancto Victore* leaveth it doubtfull whether the Saints do heare our prayers or not, and rejecteth that saying of *Gregory*, brought to prove that they doe, *Qui videt videntem omnia, videt omnia.* The interlineall glosse upon *Esay 53.* sayth. *Augustine*, was of opinion, that the dead, though Saints, know not what the living, though they be their owne children doe here in this world. Which appeareth to be true by his owne words, pronouncing, that if so great Patriarkes as was *Abraham*, knew not what befell to the people that came of them, it is no way likely that the dead, do intermeddle with the affaires of the living, either to know them, or to further, and set them forward: whereupon he concludes, that, for ought is knowne to the contrary, the Saints remaining only in heaven, and praying for us only in generall, God by the ministry of Angels, or immediately by himselfe, without their particular intermedling, giveth us the things we have need of. *Willihelmus Altrifodorensis* sayth, that many do thinke, that neither wee do properly pray to the Saints, nor they pray for us in particular, but that improperly only we may be sayd to pray to them, in that wee desire God that the favour which they finde with him, resting from their labours, and their workes being gon after them, may procure us their brethren, acceptation likewise, whome they have left behind them in the warfare of this world. Whereupon the prayers are, *Adjuvant nos eorum merita &c.* In the margent he sayth, that this was a common opinion in his time.

In canonem
missæ, lect. 31.

Lib. 4. d. 45.

De Sacram.
lib. 2. cap. 11.

In 4 sent li.
3. tract. 8. cap. 3.
quæst. 6.

C H A P. 23.

C H A P. 23.

Of the Superstition and Idolatry committed formerly in the worshipping of Images.

Rational, di-
vin. l. 1. de pi-
cturis.
b De defect. vi-
ror. Ecclef.
c In P sal. 113.

THat many in the *Roman Church* did see the abuse and superstition, that was in the use of Images, appeareth by *Picus Mirand.* his Appology of his conclusion proposed in *Rome*, that neither the Crosse, nor any other image is to be worshipped with divine worship: by *ⁱ Durand.* blaming many things in the practise of the Church at that time, and by *ⁱ Gerson*, disliking the honour then given to Images, their number and fashion, as being occasions of Idolatry in the simple; which to be true, the words of *ⁱ Augustine* are proof sufficient, who demaundeth who it is, or where he may bee found, that adoreth or prayeth, beholding an Image, as the manner was in the *Romane Church*, & is not in such sort affected, that he perswadeth himselfe it heareth him, and is able and ready to grant him the things he desireth, and seeketh in his prayer.

C H A P. 24.

Of Absolution.

a Panoplix l. 4.
c. 70.

b Part. 4 q. 21.
memb. 1. Bo-
navent. in 4.
dist. 18. art. 2.
q. 1.

Absolution is now supposed by those of the Church of *Rome*; to bee a Sacramentall Acte, giving grace, *ex opere operato*, and so remitting sinne, both *quoad culpam & pœnam*: but in the Primitive Church it was nothing else, but a restoring of men formerly put from the Sacrament, and cast out of the Church, to the Church's peace, and use of the Sacraments againe; as appeareth by *Cyprians Epistles*. Neither was absolution given in those times till penance were first performed. Amongst the ancient, saith *ⁱ Lindsay*, Absolution was seldome given, but after penance performed; onely in time of persecution, pestilence, warre, or dangerous sicknesse of the party, the manner was, sometimes to give absolution presently at the suit of the penitent, & to require of him the performance of penance afterward, if hee escaped those dangers. Hence in time it came, that ordinarily, they gave Absolution first, and then imposed penance to bee performed afterward. Now because they could not conceive, from what this Absolution should free them, not being formerly subjected to any censure of the Church, some began to thinke, that it freeth them from the stain of sinne, and the punishments due unto the same, thereby making it a Sacramentall Acte, yet so, as many retayned a right perswasion still. The Priest; saith *ⁱ Alexander of Hales*, is a Mediatour betweene God and man: to God hee ascendeth, as an inferiour, by way of petition, and as a suiter; to man he descendeth, as a Commaunder and Judge. In the first sort, he obtayneth grace for men, by his prayer, and procureth acceptation with God: in the second; he reconcileth them to the Church, his prayer obtayneth grace, his absolution presupposeth it, so that the Keyes of the Church extend to the remission of sin, by way of request obtayning it, not by way of authority giving it.

C H A P.

C H A P. 25.

Of Indulgences and Pardons.

Touching Indulgences or Pardons; they were originally nothing else, but the releasing of some part of that penance, that had beene enjoyned, as appeareth by the whole course of antiquity. Whereupon it was a long time, the opinion of many in the *Romane Church*, that Indulgences are of force, onely *in iudicio Ecclesie*, not *in iudicio Dei*; and that they free men only from enjoyned penance, which the forme of them was wont to import, it being ever added in those relaxations, *ab inunctis penitentijs*; and *Cajetan* sheweth the same, affirming, that an Indulgence is principally an acte of jurisdiction, and the freeing from enjoyned penance. That which bred another conceit in the *Romane Church* in later times, was an error in practise; for whereas aunciently they never remitted any part of the penance they had enjoyned, but out of the consideration of the extraordinary signes of repentance, appearing in the penitent, arguing that to bee performed in shorter time, than was expected, which was intended; in later times they granted these relaxations and remissions in favour, when there was no inducement, in respect of any thing, appearing in the parties. Now because to free them from these penitentiall exercises, tending to the preventing of Gods Iudgments, before so much was performed, as was necessary for the turning away of his displeasure, might seeme hurtfull, rather than beneficiall to them, to whom such favours were shewed, in that they were left to Gods judgments, into whose hands it is fearefull to fall, they began to bethinke them, how they might supply the defects of penitentiall conversion unto God, in those they thus pardoned, and not leave them to the danger of his future judgment. This they could not otherwise devise to doe, but by casting the overplus of other mens satisfactions upon them, and releeving them out of the treasury of the Church: which groweth, as they suppose, out of the satisfactorie sufferings of Christ and his Saints, *multis tamen doctoribus adversantibus*, as *Cajetan* noteth; where hee sheweth, that *Durandus* teacheth, that the Saints had no superfluous merits, not rewarded in themselves. Touching Indulgences, *Durandus* sayth, little can bee sayd of any certainty, or as undoubtredly true, seeing the Scripture speaketh not expressely of them, neither the Fathers, as *Augustine*, *Hillarie*, *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, and the rest; so that in speaking of them, wee must follow the common course. Touching the force of these pardons, how uncertainly and unconstantly their greatest doctours dispute, it is not unknowne; for *Bonaventura* noteth, that many were of opinion, that pardons have no other use, nor have any further force or vertue, but onely to remit certaine dayes penance, if the cause, in respect whereof they bee granted, bee equivalent unto the penance, which was to have beene performed; so making them to bee, but onely a commutation of penance, and not a relaxation or remission. *Gerson* sayth, the judiciall and publike power of the keyes extended not it selfe principally, or directly, to the diminishing or taking away of any punishments, but such, as it selfe inflicted, or might have inflicted, as are the punishments of Excommunication, irregularity, and other disablings to performe Civill or Ecclesiasticall actes. And in another place he sayth, the granting of Indulgences extendeth not it selfe to punishments, following the corruption of nature, and flowing from originall sinne; for it is certaine that the Pope doeth not absolve, and free men from thirst, hunger, infirmities and death; so that such absolutions extend only to the punishments above mentioned, & such as may be inflicted by the just Iudgment and prescription of him that imposeth penance for actuall sins. Whether the power of the Keyes extend only, to such as are on earth, or to them also

Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 15. c. 1. 2. 3.

Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 8. qu. 3. In 4 dist. 20. quest. 3.

De indulgentijs confid. 2.

Confid. 11.

/Confid. 8.

that are in Purgatory, the opinions, hee sayth, of men are contrary and uncertaine: but howsoever, this hee pronounceth confidently, that onely Christ can give such pardons for thousands of dayes and yeares as many Popes assume to themselves power to graunt.

C H A P. 26.

Of the Infallibility of the Popes judgment.

* Cont. 3. q. 4.

Touching the infallibility of the Popes judgment: it was so farre from being a thing resolved of in the Church of God before our time, that * *Stapleton* confesseth it is yet no matter of faith, but of opinion only; because so many famous and renowned Devines, have ever holden the contrary, as *Gerson*, *Almaine*, *Occam*, almost all the *Parisians*, all they that thought the councell to be above the Pope, *Adrianus Sextus*, *Durandus*, *Alfon- sus à Castro*: and many more.

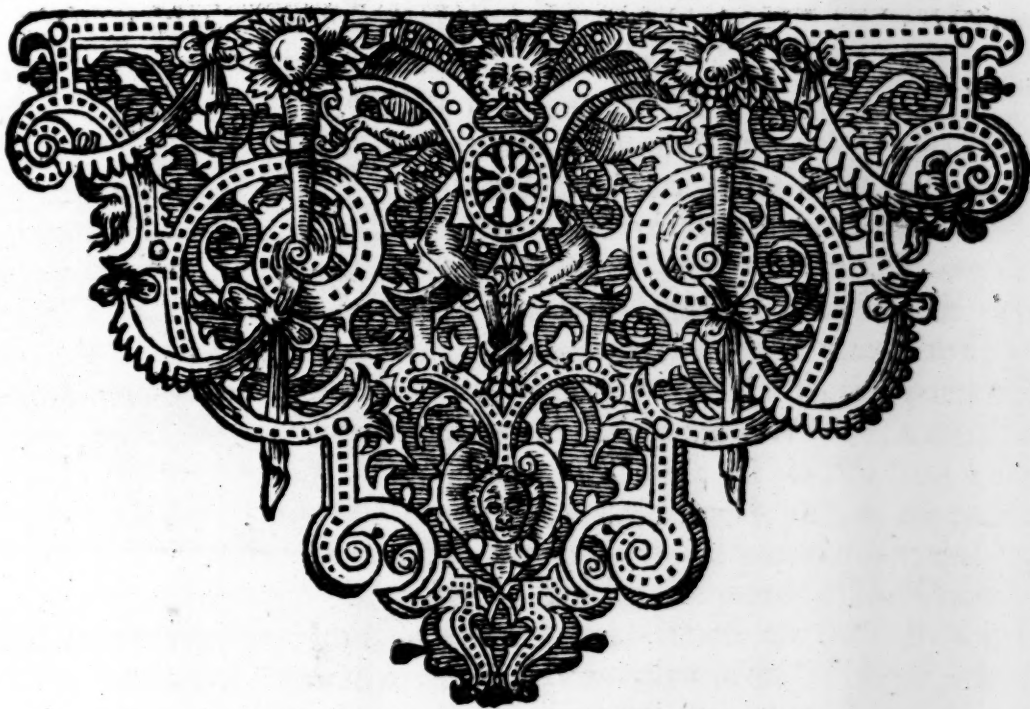
C H A P. 27.

*Of the power of the Pope, in disposing the affaires of Princes and their states.** Doctrinal. fi-
dei, lib. 2. art. 3.
quest. 78.* De potestate
ecclesiastica
confid. 12.

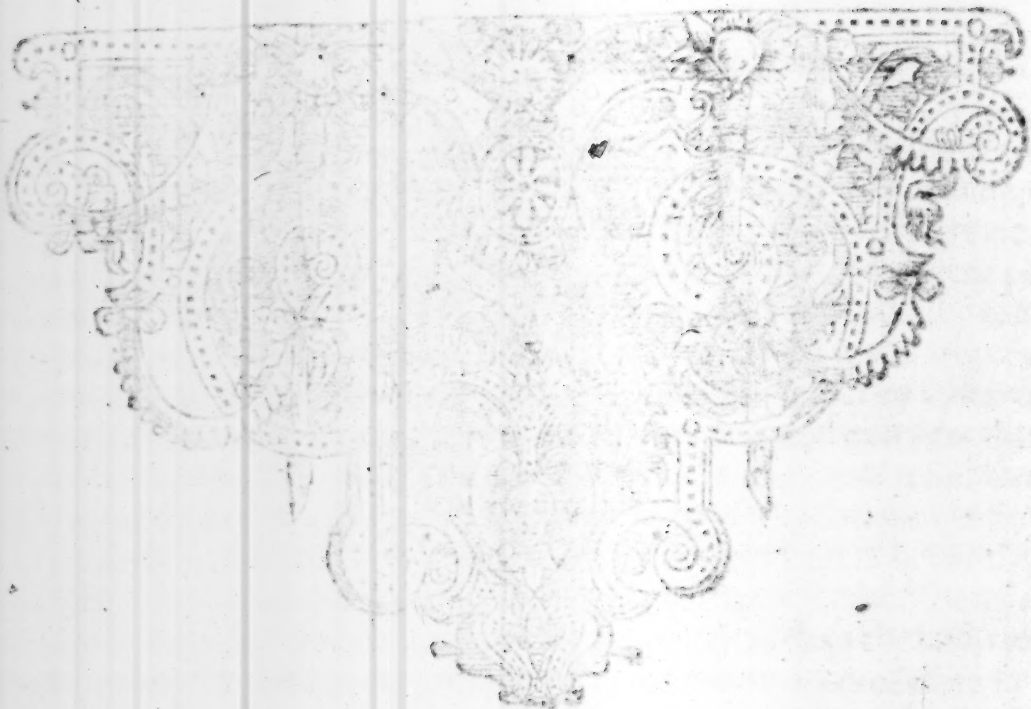
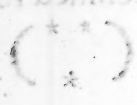
Lastly, touching the power of the Pope, in disposing the affaires of Princes & their States there were ever many worthy men, that opposed themselves against his unjust and Antichristian claimes. There are some sayth *Waldensis*, that erre, supposing, that the roote of all terrene power dependeth in such sort of the Pope, that it is derived unto Princes, by commis- sion from him; and that if they abuse the same, hee may take the disposing of such affaires as belong unto them, into his owne hands. This they indeavour to prove, because the Ecclesiasticall power is more eminent and excellent than the power of Princes; but this their prooffe is too weake: for let us runne through all examples of things which are different in degree of excellencie, and one of them more worthy than another, wee shall see that the Sunne is better than the Moone, yet the power and vertue of moystening that is in the Moone, is not imparted to it from the Sunne; the soule is more excellent than the body: yet the body was before the soule came into it, and in it many workes of sense are per- formed, which the spirit by it selfe cannot performe; gold is better than leade, yet doth it not give being unto it: so that though it were granted, that Episco- pall dignity is more high and eminent then the authority of Princes, yet the first spring of Regall power, is in the King from God, and not from the Pope. There is, sayth *Waldensis*, one doctor *Adam*, a Cardinall, who in a dialogue betweene a Bishoppe and a King, indeavoureth altogether to derive the au- thority of Kings from the Papall power, both in the being and exercise of it, and reserveth onely a power of execution to Princes, at the com- mand of the high Bishop: this errour hee condemneth, and sayth, that how- soever the solemnities of the oath, unction, crowning, and the like are performed to Kings by Bishoppes, yet hath not kingly dignity her beginning from Priesthood, but by the ministry of Priests, Kings receive it from God, and are put in possession of it. Fawning and deceitfull flattery, sayth * *Gerson*, whis- pereth in the eares of Ecclesiasticall persons, especially of the Pope, in shame- lesse manner saying unto them, O sacred Clergie, how great, how great is the height and sublimity of thy Ecclesiasticall power! how is all secular authori- ty, compared thereunto, altogether nothing! For as all power in heaven and earth was given to *Christ*, soe *Christ* left it all to *Peter*, and his Successours: so that *Constantine* the Emperour gave nothing to Pope *Sylvester*, that was not his

his before, but onely restored that which had bin unjustly detayned: besides, as there is no power but of God, so is there none, whether Temporall or Ecclesiasticall, Imperiall or Regall but from the Pope, in whose thigh CHRIST hath written, *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*: of whose power to dispute, is sacriligious boldnesse, to whom no man may say, Sir, why doe you so? though he alter, over-turne, wast and confound all States, Rules, Dominions, and possessions of men, whether Civill, or Ecclesiasticall; let me be judged a Lyar, saith he, if these things bee not found written, by them that seeme wise in their owne eyes, and if some Popes have not given credit to such lying and flattering wordes. Nay, I am greatly deceived, if before the holding of the sacred Synode of *Constance*, this tradition did not so farre forth possesse the mindes of very many men, rather literall then literate, that whosoever should have taught the contrary, should have beene noted and condemned for heresie.

(* *)
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his before, but only restored that which had been unjustly
there is no power but of God, so is there none, whether Imperiall or Ecclesi-
astickall, Imperiall or Regall but from the Pope, in whose right C is a
written, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, of whose power and jurisdiction, is a
religious boldness, to whom no man may say, Sit, why? for though he
also, over-tune, wall and count all States, Kingdoms and nobles.
one of men, whether Civil, or Ecclesiastick; for me be judged a Layman, but he
if these things be not found written, by them that seeme to be in the
eyes, and if some Popes have not given credit to such saying and hearing
words. Nay, I am greatly deceived, if before the holding of the last
node of *Constantine* this tradition did not hold forth both to the
very many men, rather licke all then liars, that whatsoever should
have taught the contrary, should have beene
and condemned for heretic.





THE FOURTH BOOK, OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE CHURCH.

CHAP. I.

Of the divers kinds of the privileges of the Church, and of the different acceptions of the name of the Church.



Now it remaineth, that wee proceede to the other parts of our first generall division, to wit, the privileges that pertainē to the Church; & the diverse and different degrees, orders, and callings of them. to whom the government of it is committed. The privileges, that pertainē to the Church, are of two sorts: The first, proper to the best, and most essentiall parts of it, to wit, the elect and chosen of God; as are the promises and assurances of everlasting love and happinesse: the second, such as are communicable unto others, not partaking in that highest degree of unitie, the partes of the Church have amongst themselves, or with Christ their head. These are specially foure: the first, the possession of the rich treasure of heavenly trueth; whence it is called by *Irenaus* *Depositorium dives*; and by the *Apostle*, *the pillar and ground of truth*. The second is the office of teaching and witnessing the same truth. The third, the authority to judge of such differences, as arise amongst men, concerning any part of it. The fourth, is power to make lawes, for the better guiding and governing of them, that professe this truth.

Touching the first, that wee may the better understand, in what degree and sort, and upon what assurances, the Church is possessed of the knowledge and profession of the truth revealed in Christ; wee must observe the diverse acceptions of the name of Church: for accordingly, more or lesse in this kinde is attributed to it, and verified of it. The *Romanistes* make the Church to bee of three sorts. For there is (as they say,) *Ecclesia virtualis, representativa, & essentialis*. By the name of *virtuall Church*, they understand the *Bishoppe of Rome*, who, being by *Christes* appointment (as they suppose) chiefe Pastor of the whole Church, hath in himselfe, eminently and virtually, as great certainty of truth, & infallibility of judgment, as is in the whole Church, upon whom dependeth all that certainty of truth, that is found in it. By the name of *representative Church*, they understand the assembly of *Bishoppes* in a generall Councell, representing the whole body of the Church, from the severall parts whereof they come. By the name of the *essentiall Church*, they understand the

Contra hereses l. 3. c. 4.
b *1 Timothy*, 3. 15.

the whole multitude of the beleevers.

This essentiall Church, either comprehendeth all the faithfull, that are and have beene, since CHRIST appeared in the flesh; or all that are, and have beene since the Apostles time; or onely those that now presently live in the world.

CHAP. 2.

Of the different degrees of infallibility found in the Church.

a Lib. de præs-
script. adversus
hæreticos.

IF we speake of the Church, as it comprehendeth the whole number of beleevers, that are, and have beene, since CHRIST appeared in the flesh, it is absolutely free from all error and ignorance of Divine things, that are to be knowne by revelation, *Quid enim latuit Petrum, &c.* For, as *Tertullian* sayth rightly and aptly to this purpose, *What was hidden and concealed from Peter, upon whom Christ promised to build his Church, and to whom he gave the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven? from Iohn the Disciple hee so dearly loved, which leaned on his breast at the mysticall Supper? and the rest of that blessed company? that should after bee manifested to succeeding generations?* so that touching the Church taken in this sort: there is no question, but it is absolutely led into the knowledge of all truth, without any mixture of ignorance, error, or danger of being deceived.

Let us come therefore to the second acception of the name of the Church, as it comprehendeth onely all those beleevers, that are, and have beene since the Apostles time. The whole Church, taken in this sort, may bee ignorant in sundry things, which though they be contained within the compasse of revealed truth, yet are not of necessitie to be expressely knowne by all that will be saved: but that the whole Church in this sort conceived, should erre in any thing of this nature, it is impossible; seeing error, which is an aberration, declining, or swarving from the truth once delivered, necessarily implyeth a kinde of particularity and novelty.

Neither onely is the whole Church (comprehending all the beleevers that are, and have beene since the Apostles time) freed from error in matter of faith; But wee thinke it impossible also that any error, whatsoever, should be found in all the Pastors and guides of the Church, thus generally taken. Secondly, though there may be some question, whether any error may be found in all them, whose writings now remaine, yet because they have all written of nothing, but that which is absolutely necessary to bee knowne, for the attayning of everlasting salvation, and that was ever generally received, it is not possible they should all be convinced of error. Thirdly, though all, whose writings remaine, have not written of a thing; yet if all that mention it, doe constantly consent in it, and their consent be strengthened by universall practise, wee dare not charge them with error. Yea, though their consent be not strengthened by such practise, if it be concerning things expressed in the Word of truth, or by necessary and evident deduction to be demonstrated from thence, we thinke no error can be found in all them, that speake of things of that nature, if in every age of the Church some be found to have written of them. But in things that cannot be clearely deduced from the rule of faith, and word of divine and heavenly truth, wee thinke it possible, that all that have written of such things, might erre and be deceived.

b Eorum quæ
dubia esse pos-
sunt circa fi-
dem, quædam
sunt quæ ex
Scripturis divi-

nis deductione infallibili inferri possunt: quædam quæ non possunt: quemadmodum per beatum Hieronymum beatam Virginem esse corporaliter in cælo, ex scripturis certitudinaliter haberi non potest: sicut etiam nec quod illi, de quibus dicitur Math. 27. multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt cum eo &c: corporaliter ascenderint in cælum: nec quod corporaliter non ascenderint infallibiliter deduci non potest ex scripturis divinis. Occam, lib. 3. 1. tractat. 3. part. cap. 10.

This

This matter is excellently handled by *Pererius, Augustinus Eugubinus, Cornelius Iansenius & Hieronymus ab Oleastro*: who hold it probable, that Paradise doth not remaine in originall beauty, notwithstanding the consent of all the auncient (that have written of that matter) to the contrary. Soe likewise, *Cajetan* and *Andradius* professe, they dare goe against the torrent of all the Doctours, and dissent from them, in the interpretation of some parts of Scripture.

Bellarmino blameth *Pererius, Eugubinus*, and the rest, for that they durst imbrace an opinion contrary to the judgment of antiquity: yet doth hee not fasten upon them any note of heresie, or favouring of heresie.

Touching the Church, as it cōprehendeth only the beleevvers that now are, & presently live in the world, it is most certaine & agreed upon, that in things necessary to be known and believed expressely and distinctly, it never is ignorant, much lesse doth erre. Yea, in things that are not absolutely necessary to be knowne & beleevved expressely & distinctly, we cōstantly believe, that this Church can never erre, nor doubt pertinaciously, but that there shall ever be some found ready to imbrace the truth, if it be manifested unto them, and such as shall not wholly neglect the search and inquiry after it, as times and meanes give leave.

As therefore wee hold it impossible, the Church should ever by Apostasie and missebeliefe wholly depart from God (in proving whereof, *Bellarmino* confesseth, his fellowes have taken much needlesse paines, seeing no man of our profession thinketh any such thing;) so we hold that it never falleth into any heresie: so that he is as much to be blamed, for idle & needeles butying himselfe, in proving that the visibie Church never falleth into heresie, which wee most willingly grant.

traditionum autoritate. li. 2. fol. 257. 260. f Bellarm. de gra. prim. hominis lib. 1. cap. 14. g Occam dialog. 1. par. lib. 3. cap. 28. h Bellar. de ecclesia militante lib. 3. c. 13.

C H A P 3.

Of the meaning of certaine speeches of Calvin, touching the erring of the Church.

THat which he alleageth out of *Calvine*, and others as if they supposed the true Church to be sometimes altogether invisible, and that the outward profession of the trueth doth sometimes wholly faile, is to no purpose; for they meane not that it is wholly invisible at any time, but that it is not allwayes to be esteemed by outward appearance; that sometimes the state of things is such, that the greatest, in place of Ministry in the Church, pervert all things; & that they, that defend the truth, make themselves a reproach.

To this purpose, *Occam* hath divers excellent things out of *Hierome*: and *Vincentius Lirinensis* sheweth, that the poisoned doctrine of the *Arrians* did infect, not only a part, but almost the whole Church: soe that almost all the Bishops of the Latine Church were misseled; and fewe found to defend and maintaine the truth, as be seemed them.

There are therefore foure things, which *Calvin* sayth. The first, that the Church may not so farre presume of the assistance of the spirit of truth, as that she may devise new articles of faith; and, without the certaine direction of the word of God, proceede in the determination of doubts in matters of religion. The second, that she must not relie upon traditions, and a pretended unwritten word, but must cōtaine her selfe within the compasse of that heavenly doctrine, which is comprehended in the Scripture. The 3^d, that so containing her selfe she cannot erre. The 4th, that we have no assurance, that the Church shall alwaies so precisely follow the directions of the word of truth, as that she shall never erre; but so farfoorth only, that she shall ever be free from all error in things necessary to salvation, and such things that men cannot bee ignorant of, or erre in, without

c Pererius in Genesim. lib. 7. 9. 7. Cor. Iulius Iansenius cap. 13. concordia Evangelica.

Bellarmino de gratia 1. hominis li. 1. c. 12. 14 ostendit nemi-

nem ex veteribus dicere paradysum perisse, & omnes qui de eo scripserunt, affirmare adhuc superesse; & tamen aliter sentire Pererium, Eugubinum, Iansenium, Hieron. ab Oleastro & Vatablum.

d Cajetan: in proemio communi in Genesim.

e Andradius de script. sacrae & Occam dialog. 1. par.

f Bellarm. de ecclesia militante lib. 3. c. 13.

g Occam dialog. 1. par.

h Bellar. de ecclesia militante lib. 3. c. 13.

i Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

j cited by Bellarmino de ecclesia militante lib. 3. cap. 14.

k Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

l Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

m Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

n Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

o Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

p Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

q Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

r Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

s Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

t Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

u Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

v Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

w Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

x Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

y Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

z Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

aa Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

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ai Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

aj Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

ak Calvin. instit. 1. 4. c. 8. sect. 11.

without pertinacy, or over-grosse and damnable negligence; yea, that shee is secured from erring in any thing, with hereticall pertinacy.

This last part of *Calvins* speech it is, that the Jesuite disliketh, that he sayth, The Church is not absolutely freed from error, but from some kinde of error onely. Yet *Melchior Canus* confesseth, that sundry great Divines seeme to be of this opinion: as the *Authour of the Interlineall glosse*; *Thomas Aquinas*, Cardinall *Turricremata*, and *Alfonfus à Castro*; Yea, *Picus Mirandula* in his theoremes is of the same opinion, confirming it by the authority of *Aquinas*, who thinketh, that the Church may erre in Canonizing of Saints, and proposing such to be honoured, whom God rejecteth from his presence, as vessels of his wrath.

e Melchior Canus de auctoritate ecclesie Catholicæ, li. 4. c. 2. Picus theoremate 4. ecclesia universalis in ijs quæ pertinent ad substantiam fidei errare non potest: in alijs potest, ut ostendit Thomas &c.

f Bellarm de ecclesia militante l. 3. c. 14.

Notwithstanding, the 'Romanists at this day seeme to hold, that the whole Church, that presently is in the world, cannot erre in any thing, that either concerneth faith or manners, which they endeavour to prove by these reasons.

CHAP. 4.

Of their reasons, who thinke the present Church free from all error in matters of faith.

First, for that it is the pillar and ground of trueth: secondly, for that it is guided by Christ her head, and spouse: and thirdly, because it is led by the spirit of trueth. These reasons will be found exceeding weake, if we examine them. Let us therefore take a particular view of them.

1 Tim. 3. 15.

* First the Apostle (say they) calleth the Church the pillar and ground of trueth; therefore it cannot erre. These words cannot prove that, for confirmation whereof our adversaries alleage them; seeing hee speaketh in this place of a particular Church, to wit, the Church of the *Ephesians*, in which hee left *Timotheus*, when he departed from it. Now, that particular Churches may erre in matter of fayth, and become hereticall, our adversaries make noe question.

That the Apostle speaketh of the Church of *Ephesus*, and calleth it *The pillar and ground of trueth*, it appeareth by all circumstances of the place. *These things have I written*, sayth hee, *hoping to come shortly unto thee; but if I tarry longer, that thou mayest know, how to behave thy selfe, in the house of God.* That house of God, in which *Paul* left *Timothie*, in which he directeth him, how to behave himselfe till hee come, he calleth *The Church of God, and pillar of trueth*; that *Timothie* might bethinke him the better, how to demean himselfe in the government of it.

The Church of God is named the *Pillar of trueth*; not, as if the truth did depend on the Church; or, as if God could not otherwise manifest it, than by her Ministry; or, that our fayth should be built on the authority of it; or, that we should thinke it absolutely free from all ignorance and error: but because it doth strongly hold and maintaine the saving profession of the trueth, notwithstanding all the violence of wicked and cruell enemies, as both the *Ordinary glosse*, and that of *Lyra* doe interpret it; and for that by instructions, admonitions and comforts, it strengtheneth, stayeth, and supporteth such as otherwise would fall, as the *Interlineall glosse* seemeth to expresse it. So then the Church is *The pillar of trueth*; not, because it is absolutely free from all error, or, that our fayth should be builded upon the infallibility of it; but because it alway retayneth a saving profession of heavenly trueth, and by strength of reasons, force of perswasions, timeliness of admonitions, comforts of Sacraments, and other meanes of saving grace, (The powerfull force whereof the sonnes of God doe feele) it strengtheneth and stayeth the weakenesse of all them, that depend upon it.

That

This is it, that *Calvine* meaneth, when hee saith the Church is called, *The pillar of truth*, because it firmly holdeth the profession of it, and strengtheneth others by the knowledge of it. *Bellarmines* cavill, that, if this were all, the Church might more fitly be compared to a chest, than a *Pillar*, is not worth the answering: for it doth not onely preserve the truth as a hidden treasure, but by publique profession (notwithstanding all forces endeavouring to shake it) publisheth it unto the world, & stayeth the weakenesse of others, by the knowledge of it; in which respect it is fitly compared to a *Pillar*, and not unto an Arke or chest.

The second reason is much more weak than the former. For thus they argue: The Church is governed by Christ, as by her head and spouse; and by the spirit, as by the soule and fountaine of her life; therefore if shee erre, her error must be imputed unto Christ, and to the spirit of truth. This their consequence is blasphemous and impious. For who knoweth not, that particular men, companies of men, and Churches are governed by Christ, as by their head and spouse, and by the spirit of truth, as being the fountaine of their spirituall life; as the Churches of *Corinth*, *Galatia*, and the Churches mentioned in the *Revelation of S. Iohn*, called *golden Candlestickes*, in the midst whereof the Sonne of God did walke, yet had they their dangerous and grievous errors, and defaults, for which they were blamed; so that by the argument of our adversaries men may blame the spirit of truth for their errors.

b Revel. 1. 12.

That which the Jesuite addeth, that Christ the husband of the Church is bound to free it from all error in matter of faith, whence any great evill may ensue, is as childish an argument, as may bee devised. For if great and grievous evils may be found in the Church, then, notwithstanding this argument, errors also. Now that the Church is subject to great & grievous evils, he that maketh any question, seemeth to know nothing at all. As therefore God giveth that grace, whereby the children of the Church may avoyde great and grievous evils, and never with-draweth the same, but for punishment of former sinne, & contempt of grace: so he giueth the gracious meanes of illumination, and never withdraweth the meanes of knowledge, but when the contempt of the light of knowledge, and the abusing of it, procure the same. So that the sinnes and errors of the children of the Church, proceede from themselves, and not from any defect, or want of Christ, the husband of the Church.

The third reason is, hee that heareth not the Church, must bee holden for an Ethnicke, therefore it cannot erre. But they should know, that Christ speaketh in that place of the *Sanedrim* of the Iewes, which whosoever refused to obey, they held him as an Ethnicke. Yet was not that great Councell of State, among the Iewes, free from danger of erring. If these words of our Saviour be applied to the Church, as they are ordinarily by the Fathers, they must be understood by the censures of the Church, which are not alwayes just and righteous, as *Augustine* sheweth, and not of her doctrinall determination.

c See the same proved at large by Erastus, writing of the Presbyteries and excommunications, and by Doctor Bilson now Bishop of Winchester, in his booke of the perpetuall government of the Church c. 4. d De vera Religione c. 6. e Gal. 1.

But, saith *Bellarmino*, the Councils were wont to denounce *Anathema* to all that obey not their decrees: therefore they thought they could not erre. To this we answer, that they denounce *Anathema*, not because they thinke every one that disobeyeth the decree of the Councell to be accursed, but because they are perswaded in particular, that this is the eternall truth of God, which they propose, therefore they accurse them that obstinately shall resist, as Paul willeth every Christian man, to *Anathematize an Angell coming from Heaven*, if hee shall teach him any other doctrine, then he hath already learned, yet is not every particular Christian, free from possibility of erring.

The other argument, that because the Church is holy, and her profession holy, therefore shee cannot erre, will prove as well, that particular Churches cannot erre, as the universall. If they say, the universall Church is holy, and the profession of it holy, in such a degree as freeth it from error, it is *petitio principis*.

Their

Their next argument is, that if the Church be not free generally from erring, but only from erring in things necessary to salvation, many Catholike verities may be called in question & doubted of: for that there are many things that pertain to faith, which are not necessary to salvation. This argument holdeth not: for though the Church which comprehendeth onely the number of beleivers, that are at one time in the world, may erre, yet have men other meanes to finde out the truth, as namely, the Scriptures, and resolutions of former times, which whosoever findeth, is bound to beleue, though the rest of the Church not finding them, may in the mercies of God be saved.

That which is alleaged out of the Fathers, is to no purpose: for they speake of the Church, as it comprehendeth the faithfull that are, and have been, which we confesse cannot erre in matters of faith.

CHAP. 5.

Of promises made unto the Church, how it is secured from error, and of the different degrees of the obedience, we owe unto it.

THe right understanding of the promises made, and due consideration of the parties to whom they are made, will leade us to the right understanding of the Churches infallibility, and assurance of truth.

For, seeing, though they be made to all the faithfull generally, and to the particular Churches aswell as to the whole, yet they are understood to be performed proportionably, according to the measure, and degree, of each part, but to the whole Church wholly, and entirely; the Church being particular, not onely in respect of place, but also of time, the whole is not necessary to be performed, to the Church of one time, (unlesse wee speake of the Primitive, wherein the whole was originally) but to the Church that comprehendeth the whole number of beleivers, that are and have beene: in which sense that promise is to be understood, that *the spirit shall leade the Church into all trueth.*

1 Ioh. 16. 13.

1 Waldensis doctrinal. fidei lib. 2. art. 2. cap. 27.

Hither wee may refer, those different degrees of obedience, which wee must yeeld to them, that commaund and teach us, in the Church of God, excellently described, and set downe, by *Waldensis*. We must, sayth he, reverence, and respect, the authority all Catholike Doctours, whose doctrine and writings the Church alloweth: wee must more regard the authority of Catholike Bishops: more then these, the authority of the Apostolicke Churches; amongst them, more specially the Church of Rome; of a generall Councell, more then all these: yet we must not listen so to the determinations of these, nor so certainly assent unto them, as to the things contained in the Scripture, or beleueed by the whole universall Church, that hath bin ever since the Apostles time, but as to the instructions of our Elders, and fatherly admonitions. We must, sayth he, obey without scrupulous questioning, with all modesty of minde, and reverence of body, with all good allowance, acceptation and repose in the words of them that teach us, unlesse they teach us any thing, which the authority of the higher and superiour controlleth; yet so as then the humble, and obedient children of the Church, must not insolently insult upon them, from whence they are forced to dissent, but must dissent with a reverent, child-like, and respectfull shamefastnesse.

1 Lib. 1. de baptismo, contra Donatistas c. 3.

This hee prooveth out of *Augustine*, Tom. 7. lib. 2. De Baptismo contra Donatistas. Who knoweth not, (sayth *S. Augustine*) that the sacred and Canonick Scriptures of the old & new Testaments, are contained within their set & certain boundes; and that they are so, & in such sort set in a higher degree of authority, then any of the writings of the succeeding Bishops, that of the we may not doubt nor make any question, whether it be true or right, that is there contained: but the writings

things of the Bishops of the Church, which either have beene published since the perfecting of the Canon of Scripture, or which shall be hereafter, may be censured and reprov'd, by the wiser judgment of any, that are skilfull in the same things, whereof they write; or by the graver authority of other Bishops, and the wisdom of them that are learned themselves, and able to reach others; and by the determination of Councils, if happily they have gone aside from the truth; And the Councils themselves, which are holden in severall Countries and provinces, must give place to the authority of generall councils, gathered & assembled out of the whole Christian World: & of plenary Councils, oftentimes, the former are to be corrected by the later, when by experience, & more perfect knowledge of things, that which was shut, is opened, and that knowne which was hidden before. Every of these must be content to yeeld one to another, without the puffed of sacrilegious pride, without swelling arrogancie, without envious contending, with all holy humility, with all Catholique peaceable disposition, and Christian charity.

Thus then we thinke, that particular men and Churches may erre damnably, because notwithstanding, others may worship God aright, but that the whole Church, at one time, cannot so erre; for that then, the Church should cease utterly for a time, and so not be Catholique, being not at all times; and Christ should sometimes be without a Church; yet, that errors, not prejudicing the salvation of them that erre, may be found in the Church that is at one time in the World, we make no doubt; only the whole symbollicall and catholique Church, which is, and was, beeing wholly free from error.

Thus touching the possession of the rich treasures of heavenly truth, I have sufficiently cleared our judgment, which is the same, that all wise and learned men have ever beene of, to wit, that the Church which comprehendeth the whole number of beleivers, that are and have beene, since Christ appeared in the flesh, (so including the Apostles) can neither erre in, nor be ignorant of any thing that was to be revealed by Christ, the eternall Word and Angell of the great Covenant of God. Secondly, that the Church, that comprehendeth all the faithfull that are and have beene since the Apostles, may be ignorant of some things, which in proceesse of time shall be known, but cannot erre in any thing. Thirdly, that all the Pastours of this Church, cannot erre. Fourthly, that all the Pastors, that have committed the treasure of their wisdom & learning to writing, cannot erre in any thing wherein they consent in their writings: because it is not possible, that they should all have writen of any thing, but such as touch the very life of the Christian faith generally received in all their times. Fifthly, that it is not possible, that all that doe speake of a thing, consenting together, should erre, if it be a matter of substance, and if in every age some have writen of it, though many that have writen, be silent and say nothing of it. Sixthly, that the most famous & renowned in all ages, consenting in any thing, that toucheth the substance of the Christian faith, & no man dissenting from them, (without note of novelty & singularity,) may not without intolerable rashnesse, bee charged with error. Seventhly, that though the writings of the auncient may be much corrupted, so that the consent of antiquity cannot alwaies be easily known, yet there will be ever some meanes to finde it out, & to discry the errors, and frauds of the corruptors. & so I understand that of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, that the judgment of antiquity is to be sought out, at the very first rising of heresies and not

monuments of antiquity, for the confutation of them, we must flee to the Scriptures only. So did Luther and the rest in the beginning, seeming to decline the triall by the Fathers, because the corruptions of their writings were so many, as could not easily be discovered at the first: but now having found out by the helpe of so many learned men, both of our adversaries, and amongst our selves, that have travelled in that kind, which are their undoubted workes, and which doubtfull or undoubtedly forged, wee willingly admit the triall by the Fathers.

c Waldensis
doctrin. fidei l.
2 art. 2. cap. 19.
ibidem certio-
res iudices esse
dicit in causa
fidei patres suc-
cessive, quam
Synodum An-
tistitum geno-
ralem & cap. 20
ait Gregorium
non comparare
4. concilia
scripturis, sed
similitudinem
quandam infi-
nuare, sicut
Christus in E-
vangelio, Volo
ut sitis perfecti
sicut pater
vester.

afterwards when they are grown inveterate; for that then they will corrupt the monuments of antiquity. 8^{ly}, That the whole present Church may be ignorant of some things, and erre in them; but that in matters necessary to bee knowne and beleevd expressely, it cannot erre, and that it cannot erre in any the least thing, with pertinacie, such and so great as is found in Heretickes. Ninthly, that Councils and Popes, may erre in matters of greatest consequence.

This our opinion thus layde downe, is defended by *Waldensis*, *Occam*, and others. *Waldensis* saith, 'the Church, whose faith never faileth, according to the promise made to *Peter*, who bare the figure of the Church, when Christ said, I have prayed for thee that thy fayth faile not, is not any particular Church, as the Church of *Africa*, within the bounds whereof *Donatus* did inclose it: nor the particular *Romane* Church, but the universall Church, not gathered together in a generall Councell, which hath sometimes erred, as that at *Ariminum* under *Taurus* the Governour, and that at *Constantinople* under *Iustinian* the younger, but it is the Catholique Church, disperfed through the whole world, from the Baptisme of Christ unto our times, which doth holde and maintaine the true faith, and the faithfull testimony of *Iesus*.

C H A P. 6.

Of the Churches office of teaching and witnessing the truth; and of their error, who thinke the authority of the Church is the rule of our faith, and that shee may make new articles of our faith.

THus having spoken of the Churches assured possession of the knowledge of the truth, in the next place wee are to speake of her office of teaching, & witnessing the same: touching the which, our adversaries fall into two dangerous errors: the first, that the authority of the Church is *Regula fidei*, & *ratio credendi*, the rule of our faith, & the reason why we beleve. The second, that the Church may make new articles of faith.

f Primum inter
credibilia, quod
est ratio cre-
dendi alia, &
ad quod fit ulti-
ma resolutio
credibilium, est,
credere Eccle-
siam regi à spi-
ritu sancto.
Durand. l. 3.
dist. 24. quæst. 1.
1. Vera esse
contenta in scr-
iptura, & a Chr-
isto revelata,
per nullam vi-
am scimus, nisi
quia hoc credit
Ecclesia, & sic
audivimus à
patribus nost-
ris. Greg. Ari-
min. l. 1. dist. 1.
q. 1 art. 4.
g Relect. con-
tro. 4. de pote-
state ecclesie
in se. q. 3. art. 2.
resp. ad argu-
mentum 5.
h 1 Tim. 3. 15.

Touching the first of these erroneous conceipts, the most of them doe teach, that the last thing to which the perswasion of our faith resolveth it selfe, & the maine ground whereupon it stayeth, is the authoritie of the Church guided by the spirit of truth. For (say they) if infidels and misbeleevers demaund of us, why we beleve the Trinity of persons in the Unity of the same Divine essence, the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, the Resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come: we answer, because these things are contayned in the Scriptures. If they proceede farther to aske, why we beleve the Scripture: we answer, because it is the word of God: if, why we beleve it to bee the word of God: because the Church doth so testifie of it: 'if, why we beleve the testimony of the Church, because it is guided by the spirit of truth: so that, that upon which our faith setteth her perswasion touching these things, is the authority of the Catholique Church, ledd and guided by the spirit of truth.

If it be said, that it is one of the things to bee beleevd, that the Church is thus guided by the spirit, and therefore that the authority of the Church cannot be the reason and cause of beleeving all things, that pertain to the Christian faith, because not of those things which concerne her owne authority: *Stapleton* who professeth to handle this matter most exactly, Sometimes seemeth to say, that this article of faith, that the Church is guided by the spirit, and appointed by God to be a faithfull mistrisse of heavenly truth, is not among the Articles of faith, nor in the number of things to be beleevd. Which the *Rhemists* upon these words, 'The Church is the pillar and ground of truth, most constantly affirme, saying, We must beleve, heare, and obey the Church, as the Touchstone, Pillar, and firmament of truth: for all this is comprised in the principle, I beleve the holy Catholique Church.

Some.

Sometimes, that though perhaps in that Article it bee implied, that wee beleeve whatsoever the Church teacheth us, yet not necessarily, that wee beleeve, that the Church is a faithfull and infallible witnesse, and mistresse of truth.

And sometimes, as in his triplication against *Whiraker*, he sayth, that when we professe that we beleeve the holy Catholike Church, we doe not onely professe to beleeve that there is such a Church in the world, but that wee are members of it, and doe beleeve and embrace the doctrine of it, as being guided infallibly by the spirit of truth; and that we are taught in the Articles of our faith, that the church ought to bee listned unto, as to an infallible mistresse of heavenly trueth. Surely it seemeth, his braine was much crased when he thus wrote, saying, unsaying, and saying, he knew not what. That which he addeth, that this proposition, God doth reveale unto us his heavenly trueth, & teach us the misteries of his kingdome by the ministry of his Church, is a transcendent, whereupon that article, wherein wee professe to beleeve the Catholique Church, doth depend, as all the rest do, & is not an Article of the Creede; doth but more & more shew the distemper of his head. But in that which hee addeth for confirmation hereof, that we do not professe in the first Article of our faith, to beleeve God as the revealer of all hidden and heavenly trueth, and to rest in him as in the fountaine of all illumination, is the note and brand of an impious miscreant. For this doubtlesse is the first thing implied in our faith towards God, that we yeeld him this honour, to be the great master of all trueth, upon whose authority we will depend, renouncing all our owne wisdom, & knowing, that as *no man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of a man; so no man knoweth the things of God, but the spirit of God;* and, that *flesh and blood cannot reveale these things unto us, but our father which is in heaven.* 1 Cor. 2. 11. Math. 19. 17.

That the precept of loving God above all, is not distinctly set downe among the rest of the tenne commaundements, but is implied, though principally in the first, yet generally in all, is to no purpose. If he thinke, it is not at all contained in the Decalogue, his folly is too too great.

CHAP. 7.

Of the manifold errors of Papistes, touching the last resolution of our faith, and the refutation of the same.

THus wee see, hee cannot avoyd it, but that the Church is one of the things to be beleeved, and therefore cannot be the first & generall cause of beleeving all things that are to be beleeved. For when wee are to bee perswaded of the authority of the Church, it is doubtfull unto us, and therefore cannot free us from doubting, or settle our perswasion; because that which setteth the perswasion, must not be doubted of.

There is no question then, but that the authority of the old Testament may bee brought to prove the new, to him, that is perswaded of the old, and doubteth of the new; and the authoritie of the new, to prove the old, to him, that is perswaded of the new, and doubteth of the old: but to him that doubteth of both, wee must not alledge the authority of either of these, but some other thing: so likewise, we may prove the authority of the Scripture by the Church, to him that is already perswaded of the Church; & of the Church by the Scripture, to him that is perswaded of the Scripture; but to him that doubteth of both, we must bring other reasons. For no man proveth a thing doubtfull, by that which is as much doubted of, as it selfe. So that to prove the authority and infallibility of the Church by the testimony and authoritie of the Church, which is the thing doubted of, is, as if one taking upon him to be a Lawgiver, whose authority is doubted of, should first make a Law, and publish his proclamation, and by vertue thereof give himselfe power, to make Lawes; his authority

thority of making the first law, being as much doubted of as the second.

Thus then it being cleare and evident, that it is one of the things that are to bee beleevd, that the Church is guided by the spirit, if *Stapleton* bee asked, why hee beleeveth it to bee soe guided, hee sayth, he soe beleeveth, because the spirit mooveth him so to beleve. But he should knowe, that three things concur to make us beleve that whereof we are doubtfull. The light of Divine understanding, as that whereby wee apprehend the things of God; The spirit, as the author of this illumination; and the reasons and motives, by force whereof, the spirit induceth, mooveth, and perswadeth us. Even as in the apprehension of things within the compasse of the light of nature, when wee are to be perswaded of a thing, seeming doubtfull unto us, not only the action of him that perswadeth us, and the light of naturall understanding, are required to the effecting of it, but also the force of reasons winning us to assent to that, wee are to be perswaded of. We therefore demaund not of *Stapleton*, who it is that perswadeth us to beleve, or what that light of understanding is, that maketh him capable of such perswasion; but, what those reasons, or motives are, by force whereof, the spirit setteth his minde, in the perswasion of the truth of those things, he formerly doubted of.

^a Triplicatio
fol. 188.

^a Surely he sayth, the highest and last reason, that moveth a man to beleve the things that pertaine to faith, is the authority of the Church. Let us suppose it to be so, touching all other things; yet can it not be so, in respect of those things, we are to beleve touching the authority of the Church it selfe. What is the motive then, whereby the spirit moveth us to beleve, that the Church hath divine authority? Hee sayth, because it is soe contained in the Scripture; and in the Articles of the Creed. See then if he be not forced to runne round in a circle. He beleeveth other matters of faith, because contained in the Scripture; and the Scripture, because it is the word of God; and that it is the word of God, because the Church delivereth it to be so; and the Church, because it is ledde by the spirit; and that it is ledde by the spirit, because it is so contained in the Scripture, and the Creede. This kind of circulation, ^b *Campion* reckoneth amongst the Sophismes, he wrongfully imputeth unto us: but it will ever bee found true, that the Prophet pronounceth of the wicked; ^c *Impij ambulat in circuisu*; The wicked runne round, till they be giddie, and are in the end, where they were, when they began.

^b Campiani 10
rationes.

^c Psalm. 11. 10.

Out of this maze *Stapleton* cannot get himselfe, unlesse hee flye to humane motives and inducements, and make them the highest and last reason of his faith, and soe indeede hee doth. For fearing that hee hath not sayd well in saying he beleeveth the Church is guided by the spirit, because it is contained in the Scripture, hee addeth another reason, why hee so beleeveth, because it is the generall opinion, and concept of all Christian men, that it is so guided: and so indeed his perswasion stayeth it selfe upon humane grounds, though hee bee unwilling that men should so thinke, and conceive.

These mazes and labyrinths, other Papists seeking to avoyd, runne without any such shewe of feare, as *Stapleton* bewrayeth, into most grosse absurdities; some thinking, that the authority of the Church is the reason mooving us to beleve all other things; and that wee beleve that the Church is ledde and guided by the spirit, and that the truth of God, which the Church teacheth us, mooved thereunto by humane motives; namely for that, that must needs bee the truth, which soe many miracles have confirmed, which a few weake and silly men, contemptible in the eyes of the world, have wonne all the world to beleve, and have holden out the defence of it, against all the furies of enemies whatsoever: which they could not have done, had not the spirit and power of the most high beene with them, making them more then conquerours. This is the opinion of ^d *Durandus*, who maketh humane motives and inducements, the highest and last reason of his faith; to which also *Stapleton* flyeth

^d Durandus. li.
3. dist. 24. q. 1.
art. 1. & distin:
25. q. 3.

flyeth, though unwillingly. Others thinke, that wee beleevē by the sole and absolute commaund of the will, either finding nothing, or nothing of sufficient force to perswade us. Both these conceipts are to be examined by us.

Concerning the first, wee are to observe, that the Schoolemen make two kindes of faith, calling the one *fidem infusam*, an infused faith, wrought in us by the inlightning spirit of God, and staying it selfe upon the trueth of God: the other, *fidem acquisitam*, a humane and naturall faith, grounding it selfe upon humane authoritie, and wrought by humane motives and perswasions. So that according to the opinion of these men, we beleevē the Articles of our Christian faith, and whatsoever is containd in the bookes of the Prophets and Apostles, because wee are perswaded, that they were revealed by Almighty God; and this pertaineth to infused faith, as they thinke: but that they were revealed, there is nothing that perswadeth us, but the authority of the Church, and because wee have so learned, and received of our forefathers: and this pertaineth to humane faith, and is meere a naturall and humane perswasion, like that, the *Saracens* have, touching the superstition of *Mahomet*, who therefore beleevē them, because their Aunceltors have delivered them unto them: Greg. Arim.
nensis l. 1. c. 1.
q. 1. fol. 7.

If this opinion were true, (as *Melchior Canus* rightly noteth,) the finall stay of our infused faith, and the first reason mooving us so to beleevē should not be the truth of God, but humane authority. For wee should beleevē the Articles of our faith, because they were revealed, and beleevē they were revealed, because our Aunceltors soe delivered unto us, and the Church soe beleeveth. And from hence it would farther follow, that seeing the assent yeelded to the conclusion, can be noe greater, nor more certaine, then that which is yeelded to the premisses, whence it is deduced and inferred, wee should have no greater certainty of things Divine and revealed, then such as humane meanes and causes can yeeld. And so, seeing wee can never bee so well perswaded of any man, or multitude of men, but that wee may justly feare, either they are deceived, or will deceive: if our faith depend upon such grounds, wee cannot, firmly and undoubtedly beleevē. Nay it is consequent unto this absurd opinion, that the Children of the Church, and they of the household of faith, have no infused or Divine faith at all: for that, whatsoever is revealed by the God of trueth, is true, the Heathens make no doubt, but doubt whether any thing were so revealed: and that any thing was so revealed, if these men say true, we have no assurance but by humane meanes and causes. Canus l. 1. c. 8.

But the absurdity hereof, the same *Canus* out of *Calvin*, doth very learnedly demonstrate, reasoning in this sort. If all they that have beene our teachers, nay, if all the Angels in Heaven, shall teach us any other, or contrary doctrine to that we have received, we must holde them accursed, and not suffer our faith to be shaken by them, as the Apostle chargeth us in the Epistle to the *Galatians*: therefore our faith doth not rely upon humane causes or grounds of assurance. *Ne mens nostra vacillet, altius petenda, quam ab hominum vel ratione, vel auctoritate scripturae auctoritas.* g Calvin. instit.
l. 1. c. 7. 4. Besides, our faith and that of the Apostles and Prophets, being the same, it must needs have the same object, and the same ground and stay to rest upon, in both: but they builded themselves upon the sure and unmooveable rocke of Divine truth, and authority: therefore we must doe so likewise. If any man desire farther satisfaction herein, let him reade *Canus*, and *Calvin*, to whom in these things *Canus* is much beholding.

Others therefore, to avoide this absurdity, run into that other before mentioned, that wee beleevē the things that are divine, by the meere and absolute command of our will, not finding any sufficient motives and reasons of perswasion: & hereupon they define faith in this sort: *Fides est assensus firmus inevidens*, that is, faith is a firme, certaine & full assent of the minde, beleeving those things, the truth whereof no way appeareth unto us. For farther explication, and better

ter clearing of this definition of faith, they make two kindes of certainty; for there is, as they say, *certitudo evidentia*, and *certitudo adhaerentia*; that is, there is a certainty of evidence, which is of those things, the truth whereof appeareth unto us; and another of adherence and firme cleaving to that, the truth whereof appeareth not unto us. This later they suppose to bee the certainty that is found in fayth, and thereupon they hold that a man may beleieve a thing meerely because hee will, without any motives or reason of perswasion at all: the contrary whereof when *Picus Mirandula* proposed, among other his conclusions to bee disputed in *Rome*, hee was charged with heresie for it. But hee sufficiently cleared himselfe from all such imputation, and improved their fantasie that so thinke, by unanswerable reasons, which I have thought good to lay downe in this place.

h Apologia qu.
8. de libertate
credendi.

It is not, sayth hee, in the power of a man, to thinke a thing to bee, or not to bee, meerely because hee will; therefore much lesse firmly to beleieve it. The truth of the antecedent wee finde by experience, and it evidently appeareth unto us, because if a doubtfull proposition bee proposed, concerning which the understanding and minde of man resolveth nothing, seeing no reason to leade to resolve one way or other, the minde thus doubtfull cannot incline any way, till there bee some inducement, either of reason, sight of the eye, or testimony or authority of them wee are well conceipted of, to settle our perswasion. Secondly, a man cannot assent to any thing, or judge it to bee true, unlesse it so appeare unto him; but the sole acte of a mans will, cannot make a thing to appeare and seeme true or false, but either the evidence of the thing, or the testimony and authority of some one, of whose judgment hee is well perswaded. Thirdly, though the action of understanding *quoad exercitium*, as to consider of a thing and thinke upon it, or to turne away such consideration from it, depend on the will; yet not *quoad specificationem*, as to assent or dissent: for these opposite and contrary kinds of the understandings actions, are from the contrary and different appearing of things unto us. Fourthly, the sole command of the will cannot make a man to beleieve that, which being demanded why hee beleeveth, he giveth reasons and alleadgeth inducements: but so it is, that in matters of our Christian faith, we alledge sundry reasons, moving us to beleieve as Christians doe, as appeareth by the course of all Divines, who lay downe eight principall reasons mooving men to beleieve the Gospell; namely the light of propheticall prediction, the harmony and agreement of the Scriptures, the diligence of them that received them, carefully seeking to discern betweene truth and errour, the authority and gravitie of the writers, the reasonableness of the things written, and the unreasonableness of all contrary errours, the stability of the Church, and the miracles that have beene done for the confirmation of the faith it professeth. Fifthly, if there bee two, whereof one beleeveth precisely, because hee will, and another, onely because hee will not beleieve, refuseth to beleieve the same thing, the acte of neither of these is more reasonable than the other, being like unto the will of a Tyrant, that is not guided at all by reason, but makes his owne liking, the rule of his actions. Now, who is so impious to say, The Christians, that beleieve the Gospell, have no more reason to leede them so to doe, then the Infidels that refuse to beleieve?

Scorus prol.
sententiarum
qu. 2.

4 Sententia-
rum quæst. 1.
art. 2. sicut im-
possibile est as-
sentiri sine ra-
tione, ita vide-
tur impossibile
assentiri plus
quàm ratio
probat, vel vi-
detur probare.
1 Durandus 3.
sent. distinct.
24. quæst. 3.

With *Picus*, in the confutation of this senselesse conceipt, wee may joyn *Cardinall Cameracensis*, who farther sheweth, that as a man cannot perswade himselfe of a thing, meerely because hee will, without any reason at all; so, having reason, hee cannot perswade himselfe more strongly and assuredly of it, then the reason hee hath, will afforde; for if hee doe, it is so farre an unreasonable acte, like that of a Tyrant before mentioned. *Durandus* likewise is of the same opinion. *Assentiri nullus potest, nisi ei quod apparet verum: igitur oportet quòd illud quod creditur, appareat rationi verum, vel in se, vel ratione medijs*
per

per quod assentitur; & se non in se, sed tantum ratione medij, illud medium apparebit verum, vel in se, vel per aliud medium; & si non est processus in infinitum, oportet quod deveniatur ad primum, quod apparet rationi esse verum in se & secundum se: That is, No man can yeeld assent to any thing, but that which appeareth to him to be true: therefore whatsoever a man beleeveth, must seeme and appeare unto him to be true, either immediatly and by it selfe, or in respect of that medium, by force whereof he is perswaded to beleeve; and if it doe not appeare unto him to be true in and by it selfe, but onely in respect of the medium, that medium must appeare true, either in respect of it selfe, or by another medium; and because there is no infinite proceeding in these things, wee must at last come to some first thing, which in and by it selfe, must appeare to be true.

CHAP. 8.

Of the last resolution of true faith, and whereupon it stayeth it selfe.

IN naturall and humane knowledge, there are two sortes of things: some that are evident unto us immediatly in, and by themselves; and some, that are not. The former of these, are likewise of two sorts: for there are some known onely by intuitive knowledge, as contingent things: so that wee cannot apprehend the trueth of any proposition framed of such things, unlesse wee intuitively apprehend the things, whereof such propositions are framed; (as, that *Peter* and *John* now walke, now leape for joy, or tremble for feare, wee cannot know, unlesse wee intuitively behold, both these men, and these things to agree unto them.) Other things there are universall, necessary, and alwayes of one sort: these may bee evidently known by abstractive knowledge. Of these, there may be framed two sorts of propositions: for there are some propositions *per se nota*, originally cleare and evident, the *termini* or single wordes whereof, being rightly conceived by us, wee cannot but know the trueth of the whole propositions: (as, that every whole and entire thing, is greater and better then any part of it. (* And other propositions there are, which are not thus originally cleare and evident, upon the right understanding of the *termini* or single wordes whereof they are composed, but a man doubteth of them, till hee see them deduced by cleare and evident consequence from the former; these things a man is properly sayd to learne,

* Aliacensis
sent. citat. Lin-
coln. 1. poster.
cap. 1.

Thus having spoken of things evident in themselves, let us come to the things that in themselves are never evident unto us, either that they are or what they are: but that they are, and what they are, appeareth unto us by a forraine medium, without the compasse of the things themselves. Of this sort are those things wee are perswaded of, upon the report of others; this is the certainty wee have of things beleaved: the trueth of them in themselves appeareth not unto us, nor is seene of us; in which sense faith may rightly bee named a firme assent without evidence; and there may bee a certainty of adherence, as the Schoolemen call it, without evidence; yet must the credite of him that speaketh, bee known unto us, and wee must evidently discern, that he doth speake unto us, upon whose testimony wee rely.

The Schoolemen make three sorts of things; some that are beleaved because they are first known, as the first principles originally cleare and evident unto us, and the conclusions demonstratively proved out of those principles: other things, that are beleaved and never known, as all the matters of fact that are reported in the Scripture, which wee can never know by the immediate evidence of the things themselves, but mediately, in that wee know they are delivered unto us by him that cannot lye. And a third sort of things that are first beleaved, and afterwards the understanding being inlightned, and the heart cleansed, they are discerned of us to be true.

The opinion of the ordinary Papists is, that the things pertayning to our faith, are beleev'd, because God revealeth and delivereth them to be so, as wee are required to beleeve; but that we know not that God hath revealed any such thing, but by humane conjectures and probabilities: soe weakly doe they make our faith to bee grounded. Wee confesse, that faith may rightly bee sayde to bee a firme assent, without evidence of many of the things beleev'd, in themselves: but the *Medium*, by force whereof wee are drawen to beleeve, must bee evident unto us, as *Durandus* doeth rightly demonstrate.

^b De utilit. credendi ad Honoratum c. 11.

^c Lib. 1. instit. c. 7. 5.

^b *Augustine* noteth, that there are three things found in the soule of man; Opinion, Beleeve or Faith, and Science; the first of these is necessary and ever joyned with imperfection and defect, to wit, danger and feare of erring: the third is ever perfect, excluding both: the second standing in the midst, is of a middle nature, and dependeth upon the third. For otherwise, to beleeve their reports, whose credite is not knowne unto us, is levitic and rashnesse. Faith therefore, that is commendable, and without fault, presupposeth knowledge, & right beleiving groweth out of it. Wee hold therefore, that every true Christian doth most evidently discern and know, that it is God that speaketh in the Scriptures; which *Calvin* excellently expresseth. *Illius virtute* (saith he) *illuminati, jam non aut nostro, aut aliorum judicio credimus a Deo esse Scripturam, sed supra humanum judicium certo certius constituimus, non secus, ac si ipsius Dei numen illic intueremur, hominum ministerio ab ipsissimo Dei ore fluxisse.* After we are enlightned by the spirit, we do no longer trust, either our owne judgment, or the judgment of other men, that the Scriptures are of God; but above all certainty of humane judgment, we most certainly resolve, as if in them we saw the Majesty and glory of God, as *Moses* saw it in the Mount, that by the ministry of men, they came unto us from Gods owne most sacred mouth.

^d De util. credendi ad Honoratum c. 16.

^e Cap. 14. 15. 16.

^f In sententijs.

Heereunto doth S. *Augustine* fully agree, shewing that the authority of the Church, is but an introduction to the spirituall discerning of divine things, and that men rest not in it. Whereupon he sayth, ^d *Homini non valenti verum intueri, ut ad id fiat idoneus purgarique se sinat, praesto est auctoritas, quam partim miraculis, partim multitudine valere nemo ambigit:* that is, Men that are not yet able to discern the heavenly truth, that they may be fitted to it, and suffer themselves to be purged from their impurity, hindring them from it, have the benefite of the direction of authority, which standeth upon two things: the one, the greatest of miracles, and wondrous workes done, the other multitude. Christ (^e sayth *Augustine*) being to bring a salving medicine into the World, and to reforme the most corrupt and wicked manners of the sonnes of men, by miracles got himselfe authority, by authority wonne credit, by the credit he had gotten, drew multitudes after him, which continuing long in one course of profession, in tract and continuance of time, gained the reverent estimation of antiquity, and so strengthened the opinion of Religion professed by them. These things (^f sayth *Augustine*) are not necessary to men of spirituall and heavenly understanding: but we are now to shew how men may become wise, & attaine the knowledge of spirituall things, This they cannot attaine to, unlesse they bee purged from their soules uncleannesse: from which they cannot be purged, unlesse they listen to them, that are already wise and exercised in things that are divine, and therefore they must begin with authority.

Hugo de Sancto Victore maketh three sorts of beleevers: for there are (sayth he) *qui solâ pietate credere eligunt, qui utrûm credendum sit, vel non credendum, ratione non comprehendunt, alij ratione approbant quod fide credunt, alij puritate cordis, & mundâ conscientia, interius jam gustare incipiunt, quod fide crediderunt.* The first are moved to beleeve out of piety, finding the Majesty of God to present it selfe unto them in the word of truth, and happy communion of the people professing the same, challenging their attention and readinesse to be taught

taught by him: In the second the light of divine reason causeth approbation of that they beleve. In the third sort, the purity of divine understanding apprehendeth most certainly, the things beleved, and causeth a foretasting of those things, that hereafter more fully shall be enjoyed. They that are thus established in the faith, do now already begin to foretast that, which they long in heaven distinctly to know and enjoy, and begin already to have God present with them, by force of divine contemplation; so that if all the world should be turned into miracles, they could not remove them from the certainty of their perswasion. Hence it is, that *Pycus* sayth in his Conclusions, that as faith which is but a bare credulity, is in degree of perfection lesse then Science, so true faith is greater and more certaine, then any science gotten by demonstration.

Thus then we may easily discern, what is the formall reason of our faith, or inducing us to beleve. In things that are therefore beleved, because knowne, as in the principles & conclusions of naturall knowledge, the evidence of things appearing to us, is the formall reason of our beleefe and perswasion. In things first beleved, and afterwards knowne, the evidence of the things appearing unto us, being inlightned by the light of grace. In things only beleved, and not knowne, the authority of God himselfe whom wee do most certainly discern, to speake in the worde of Faith, which is preached unto us. *Si puros oculos, & integros sensus, illuc afferamus* (sayth Calvin) *statim occurret Dei majestas quæ subactâ reclamandi audaciâ, nos sibi parere cogat.* If we bring pure eyes, and perfect senses, the Majesty of God presently presenteth it selfe unto us, in the divine Scripture, and beating down all thoughts of contradicting or doubting of things so heavenly, forceth us to obey. For *Non dubiam vim numinis illic vigere & spirare sentimus, quâ ad parendum scientes quidem, ac volentes, vividius tamen & efficacius, quàm pro humana, aut voluntate aut scientia, trahimur ac accendimur.* We find a greater light of understanding, shining unto us in this doctrine of faith, then is found within the compasse of nature: a satisfaction touching many things, in which humane reason could not satisfie us in: a joy & exultation of the heart, such and so great, as groweth not out of nature. This maketh us assure our selves; the doctrine which thus affecteth us, is revealed from God: that they are the only people of God, and have the meanes of happinesse; where this treasure of heavenly wisdom is found: that those bookes are the richest jewell, that the world possesseth, and ought to be the Canon of our faith, which this people delivereth unto us, as received from them, to whom these things were first of all made knowne, and revealed.

So then that God speaketh in the Scripture, and is the Author of it, we know more certainly, than any thing that is knowne by naturall light of reason; and thereupon wee beleve all things therein contained, though many of them are such, as can never be knowne of us, as those that are historicall and other such as are not knowne at first, though after we have beleved, we begin to understand and know them. Hereunto agree the best learned, and most devout and religious amongst the Schoole-men. For the greater part of them were given to curious disputes, but voyd of all devotion, as *Gerson* complaineth. *Alexander of Hales* sayth; there is a certainty of speculation, and a certainetie of experience: a certainty in respect of the understanding, and a certainetie in respect of the affection: a certainty in respect of the spirituall man, and a certainty in respect of the naturall man: and pronounceth that the things apprehended by us in divine knowledge, are more certainly discerned by such as are spirituall, in the certainty of experience, in the certainty which is in respect of affection, and by way of spirituall taste and feeling, than any thing is discerned in the light of naturall understanding. *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua!* (sayth the prophet *David*) *How sweete are thy wordes (O Lord) unto my mouth! They are sweeter than the hony, and the hony combe.* And againe, *I have knowne long since, that thou hast established the for ever.*

Thus

Calvin. Instit.
lib. 1. cap. 7. 4.

Lib. 1. 7. 3.

Gers. de examinatione doctrinarum.
Lib. 1. qu. 1.
summ. theolo.
gicæ memb. 4.
art. 2.

psalm. 118.

Contra ep.
fundamenti, c.
5.

Thus then it is true, that the authority of Gods Church, prepareth us unto the faith, and serveth as an introduction, to bring us to the discerning and perfect apprehension of divine things, but is not the ground of our faith, and reason of beleeving. And that doubtlesse is the meaning of those wordes of *Augustine*, that hee would not beleeve the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not move him thereunto.

CHAP. 9.

Of the meaning of those wordes of Augustine, that he would not beleeve the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not move him.

Dialog. l. 1.
part. 1. c. 4. ubi
ait totam mul-
titudinem fi-
ventium non
esse majoris
auctoritatis
quam evange-
lium sanctum,
quia debet illud
defendere us-
que ad san-
guinem.

Doctrinal.
fidei, 2. art. 2.
cap. 21. ubi ad-
fert exemplum
Nathanielis,
quem Philip-
pus induxit ad
credendum in
Christum,
quemadmodū
nos inducunt
parentes &
pædagogi: nec
tamen sunt
majoris aucto-
ritatis quam
Christus.

THe Divines give two explications of these wordes of *Augustine*. For *Occam* and some others say, the Church, whereof hee speaketh, is not the multitude of beleevers, that now are in the World, but the whole number of them, that are, and have beene, since Christ appeared in the flesh; so including the Apostles, in which sense, they confesse the Church comprehending in it the Apostles, and writers of the whole Scripture of the new Testament, is of greater authority, then the bookes of the Gospell written by them, and delivered to posterities. Others, taking the name of the Church, to signifie onely the beleevers that now presently are in the world, say, the meaning of *Augustine* is; that hee had never beleeved the Gospell, if the authoritie of the Church had not beene an introduction unto him: Not that his faith rested upon it, as a finall stay, but that it caused him so farre to respect the word of the Gospell, to listen unto it, and with a kinde of acquiesce and humane faith, to beleeve it, that hee was thereby fitted to a better illumination, by force whereof he might more certainly know, and beleeve it to be of God: To which purpose *Waldensis* out of *Thomas Aquinas* observeth, that as the Samaritans beleeved that Christ was the promised Saviour, upon the report of the woman, that talked with him; made unto them; but afterwarde having seene him, and talked with him, they professed that they beleeved, not for her saying any longer: for themselves had heard him speake, and did know that hee was the Saviour of the world indeed. So men at the first beginne to beleeve, moved so to doe by the authority of the Church; but rest not in it, but in the infallible assurance of divine trueth. Vpon the mistaking of this saying of *S. Augustine*, and an erroneous conceit, that our faith stayeth wholly upon the authority and testimony of the Church, hath growne that opinion, that the authority of the Church is greater, then the authority of the Scriptures.

CHAP. 10.

Of the Papistes preferring the Churches authority before the Scripture.

Annotat. in
ad Galat.

Touching which odious comparison, I find some shew of difference amongst the Papistes, but none indeede. Some affirme, that the authorities of the Church, and of the Scripture, being in divers kinds, may in divers sorts, and respects, either of them be sayd to bee greater then the other: to wit, the one in nature of an evidence, the other of a Iudge; and that therefore the comparing of them in authority is unfit and superfluous. Others say, that the Church is greater then Scriptures. The *Rhemists* seeme to be of the first sort; seeking to conceale that, which indeede they thinke, because they would not incurre the dislike and ill opinion of men, naturally abhorring from so odious a comparison. Yet in the same place they doe make the comparison, and preferre the Church before the Scriptures. 1. In respect of antiquity, in that it was before them. 2. In excellencie of nature, in

in that the Church is the spouse of Christ, the Temple of God, the proper subject of God and his graces, for which the Scriptures were, and not the Church for the Scriptures. Thirdly, in power of judging of doubts and controversies, the Church having judicall power, the Scripture not being capable of it. Fourthly, in evidence, the definition of the Church being more cleare and evident, then those of the Scriptures.

^b Stapleton sayth, the comparifon may be made, and the Church preferred before the Scriptures, foure wayes. First, so as if the Church might define contrary to the Scriptures, as shee may contrary to the writings of particular men, how great soever. In this sense, they of the Church of Rome make not the comparifon, neither do we charge them with any such thing, though Stapleton be pleased to say so of us. Secondly, so, as the Church may define, though not contrary to, yet beside the Scripture or written Word of God. This comparifon is not made properly, touching the preheminence of one above another in authority, but the extent of one beyond the other, as Stapleton rightly noteth. In this sense the Romanists make the Church greater in authority than the Scriptures, that is, the extent of the Churches authority, larger than of the Scriptures, to bring in their traditions: but this wee deny, and will in due place improve their error herein. Thirdly, in the obedience they both challenge of us, where they all say, that we are bound with as great affection of piety, to obey and submit our selves unto the determinations of the Church, as of the Scriptures: both being infallible, of divine and heavenly authority, against which no man may resist, and that it is a matter of faith so to thinke. Yea, some of them, as Stapleton in the same place, are not ashamed to say, that wee are bound with greater certaintie of faith, to subscribe unto the determinations of the Church, than of the Scriptures; and that it is the authority of the Church, that maketh us accept, embrace, and beleve the Scriptures. Fourthly, in the nature of the things themselves, in which respect, they preferre the Church before the Scriptures; as being in it selfe more excellent then the Scriptures: as the subject by which the spirit worketh, is more excellent than the thing hee worketh by it.

b Relect. contro. 4. de potestate ecclesie in se. q. 3. in explicatione q.

CHAP. II.

Of the refutation of their error, who preferre the authority of the Church before the Scripture.

THat wee may the better discern, what is to bee resolved, touching these two latter comparifons betweene the Church and the Scriptures; wee must remember that which I have before noted, touching them both. For first, the name of the Church sometimes comprehendeth onely the beleevors, that now presently are living in the World. Sometimes not onely these, but all them also, that have beene since the Apostles times. Sometimes all that are, and have beene since Christ appeared in the flesh,

If the comparifon bee made betweene the Church; consisting onely of the faithfull that now are and the Scripture, wee absolutely deny the equality of their authority; and say it is impiety to thinke, that both may challenge an equall degree of obedience, and faith to bee yeilded to them: for it cannot bee proved, that the Church, thus taken, is free from error; nay themselves with one consent confesse, ^a that generall Councils, representing this Church, may erre, though not in matters of substance, which they purposely meete to determine, yet in other passages; and in the reasons, and motives, leading to such determinations: and consequently the whole Church may erre in the same things: the one, in their opinion, being no more infallible, than the other. Yea, some

^a Canus l. 5. c. 5. p. 170.

Multi opinantur concilium generale errare posse, quia non innitur præcisè divinæ revelationi, sed procedit secundum sensum proprium assistente sibi influenza generali &c. Occam lib. 3. tract. 1. part. 3. cap. 8.

some of them feare not to pronounce, that Popes and generall Councils may erre damnably, and that the Church it selfe may erre in matters not fundamentall, though without pertinacy, as *Picus* in his theoremes, and *Waldensis*, who freeth only the universall Church, consisting of the faithfull that are, and have beene, from error, and not the present Church, as I shewed before. We are so farre then from preferring the Church thus taken, (as *Stapleton* in the place above mentioned, professeth he taketh it) in authority before the Scripture, that we thinke it impiety, to imagine it to be equall.

That the authority of the Church maketh us to beleeve, with an humane, and acquiste faith, we deny not, but that it maketh us to beleeve with a divine faith, we deny, as before. If the comparison be made, between the Church consisting of all the faithfull that have beene since, and besides the Apostles, & writers of the holy Scriptures, though wee thinke the Church thus taken to be free from an error; yet dare wee not make it equall to the Scripture. For that the Scripture is infallibly true, as inspired immediatly from the spirit of truth, securing the writers of it from error; The Church not in respect of the condition of the men, of whom it consisteth, or the manner of the guiding of the spirit, (each particular man being subject unto error) but in respect of the generality and universality of it, in every part whereof, in every time, no error could possibly be found: And for that, whatsoever is universally delivered by it, is thereby proved to be from the Apostles, of whose faith we are secure. Thus then the whole Church thus taken, is subject to the Scripture, in all her parts, and hath her infallibility from it: and therefore in her manner of having the truth, is inferiour unto it, neither are we bound to receive her doctrines as the sacred Scriptures. Besides, though the Church taken in this sort be free from error, yet not from ignorance of many things, wherein we may be instructed by the Scripture. So that it is possible for a man to understand the naturall & literall sense of some parts of Scripture, and from thence some things, that were not in such sort knowne and delivered by any, that went before: as *Andradini*, and *Cajetanus*, do prove at large.

If the comparison be made betweene the Church, consisting of all the beleevers, that are and have beene, since Christ appeared in the flesh, so including the Apostles, and their blessed assistants the Evangelists: we deny not, but that the Church is of greater authority, antiquity, and excellencie than the Scripture of the new Testament, as the witness is better than his testimony, and the Lawgiver greater than the Lawes made by him, as *Stapleton* alleageth. But hee is to prove the present Church greater in authority than the Scripture: which hee undertaketh, but performeth not. His reason, that the Scripture was given for the good of the Church, and that therefore the Church is better than the Scripture, proveth not the thing intended. For, as the people are more excellent in degree of being, and nature of things, than the lawes that bee made for their good, yet are the lawes of more authority, and must over-rule and direct the people: so though the Scriptures, being but significations, declarations, and manifestations of divine truth, be not better in degree of things, than the Church, yet in power of prescribing, directing, and over-ruling our faith, they are incomparably greater. That which the *Rhemists* adde, to shew the greatnesse of the Church above the Scripture, because the Church hath judiciall power, to determine doubts and controversies, whereof as they suppose, the Scripture is not capable, I will examine in the next part, when I come to speake of the power of judging, which the Church hath.

This error of the Romanists imagining the authority of the Church to be greater than the Scripture, all the best learned in the Church of Rome ever refuted, as *Waldensis*, *Occam*, *Gerson*, and sundry others.

Waldens. doct. fidel. lib. 2. art. 2. cap. 21.
Occam lib. 1. part. 1. c. 4.
Gerl. de vita spiritual. anim. lect. collario 7.

C H A P. 12.

Of their error who thinke the Church may make new articles of faith.

VNto this error is joyned, and out of this hath growne another not unlike, that the Church may make new articles of faith; which though *Stapleton* and some other of our time seeme to disclaime, yet doe they indeede fall into it. For the better understanding whereof wee must observe, as *Occam* fitly noteth, that an Article of faith is sometimes strictly taken, onely for one of those divine verities, which are contained in the creede of the Apostles: sometimes generally for any Catholike verity. This question is not meant of articles of faith in the first sence, but in the second; and so the meaning of the question is, whether the Church that now is, may by her approbation make those assertions and propositions to bee Catholike verities, that were not before, or those hereticall that were not. A Catholike verity is a divine truth, which every Christian is bound to beleve. The things which Christian men are bound to beleve, are of two sorts, and consequently there are two sorts of Catholike verities; to wit, some so neerely touching the matter of eternall salvation, that a man cannot be saved, unlesse hee expressly knowe and beleve them; others farther remooved, which if a man beleve *implicitè*, and *in prapratione animi*, it sufficeth; These must bee beleved expressly and distinctly, if their coherence with, or dependance on the former, do appeare unto us, so that the manifest deduction of them from the former, will make them such, as must be expressly beleved.

Our adversaries confesse, that the approbation and determination of the Church, cannot make that a truth which was not, nor that a Divine or Catholique truth, that was not so before: but they thinke, that the Church by her bare and sole determination, may make that verity to be in such sort Catholike, that every one, understanding of such determination, must expressly beleve it, that was not so, and in such degree Catholike before. But wee thinke, that it is not the authority of the Church, but the cleare deduction from the things which we are bound expressly to beleve, that maketh things of that sort, that they must bee particularly and distinctly knowne and beleved that were not necessarily so to bee beleved before: and therefore before, and without such determination, men seeing cleerely the deduction of things of this nature from the former, and refusing to beleve them, are condemned of hereticall pertinacy; and men not seeing that deduction, after the decree of a Councell hath passed upon them, may still doubt and refuse to beleve, without hereticall pertinacy.

We cannot therefore condemne the Grecians as heretickes, as the Romanists doe, because wee cannot perswade our selves of them generally, that they

Dialog. 1.
part. 1. c. 14.

Dicet forte aliquis quod simplices non debent credere nisi ea quæ Papæ & Cardinales tradunt credere explicitè, nec debent investigare se-

creta scripturæ, sed communibus contenti de intellectu proprio non debent præsumere, ut aliquid credant explicitè nisi quod ipsi Papa & Cardinales tradiderint: dicendum est quod simplices non debent præsumere, sed sacra scripturæ firmiter inhærere, ut quod evidenter conspexerint ex sacris scripturis inferri: hoc explicitè credant, siue fuerit siue non fuerit à Papa & Cardinalibus declaratum: & ratio hujus est, quoniam Papa & Cardinales non sunt regula fidei nostræ: sed si contra regulam fidei, quam scriptura docet, definire præsumplerint, non sequendi, sed à Catholicis arguendi sunt. *Occam tractat. 2. part. 2. cap. 10.* Quidam moderni dicunt multas esse veritates consonas scripturæ, quæ non sunt Catholicæ, quia non definiuntur à Papa: & multos errores non habendos pro hæresibus, quia non damnati à Papa: sed si aliqua sit veritas scripturæ consona, & definiatur à Papa, dicunt quod sit Catholica. *Occam li. 2. part. 1. cap. 11. 12.* improbat hanc opinionem: & cap. 14. ostendit Papam non facere novam Catholicam veritatem, sed tantum ut nec asserendo nec opinando dicatur contrarium illius quod antè fuit Catholica veritas: & quod dicentes contrarium, excommunicationis sententiæ subdantur. *Waldens. doctrinal. fidei: lib. 2. art. 2. c. 22.* ait, ecclesiam non posse condere novum articulum fidei: cum jam creverit in perfectum &c.

c Scotus in 4.
dist. 11. q. 3. so-
luti omnes ra-
tiones adductas
pro confirmati-
one dogmatis
transubstantia-
tionis, & tamen
tenet, quia defi-
nitum ab eccle-
sia. Biel in Ca-
nonum missæ.
lect. 41. ostendit
rationes pro-
bantes tran-
substantia-
tionem non esse
efficaces, tenen-
dam tamen
hanc veritatem
propter Eccle-
siæ determina-
tionem.
d Qui adhuc
credunt Scrip-
turarum cano-
nem imperfe-
ctum, & posse
adhuc augeri
per authorita-
tem Ecclesiæ,
cum iudæis
plenitudinem
temporis expe-
ctant sub Iu-
daico forsitan
Messiâ. Wald,
doctr. fidei l. 2.
art. 2. cap. 20.

see that, which they deny touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, deduced from the indubitate principles of our Christian faith, or that they impiously neglect the search of the truth. What is it then (will some men say) that the decree of a Councell doth effect) Surely nothing else, but the rejecting of such as are otherwise minded, from the societies of those men and Churches, with whom the decree of the Councell doth prevaile; and with all wise men, the more wary and fearefull pronouncing any thing of those matters, concerning which so grave authority hath passed her sentence. The papists proceed further, and thinke it hereticall pertinacy, to gainsay the decrees of a Councell, though they finde the reasons by which they of the Councell were mooved so to thinke and determine, to bee too weake, and not to conclude the thing intended, as, in the matter of Transubstantiation, they thinke it heresie to gainsay the decrees of those Councells that have defined it, and yet many of them judge all the reasons, alleaged to prove it, too weake to prove it. Indeed if it were certaine, as they suppose, that a generall Councell could not erre, this were a sufficient deduction, These things are decreede in a generall Councell: Therefore true; because it is consequent, that that is true, which is affirmed by him that cannot erre.

Thus wee see what is to bee thought, touching this question, whether the Church may make new Articles of faith: onely one thing must bee added for the further clearing hereof. The Papistes thinke, that the Church may adde to the Canon of the Scripture bookes not yet admitted, as the bookes of *Hermas* the Scholler of *Paul*, intituled *Pastor*, and the constitutions of *Clement*; which if it should doe, wee were to receive them with no lesse respect, then the Epistle of *James*, and other bookes of the New Testament. This wee thinke to be a most grosse heresie, and contrary to their owne principles, who making the number of Canonically bookes a tradition, must necessarily receive it from a certaine and constant report of the ancient. But hereof no more in this place, because the exact handling of it pertaineth to another place, to wit, touching the Scriptures.

C H A P. 13.

Of the Churches authority to judge of the differences that arise, touching matters of faith.

Thus having spoken of the Churches assured possession of divine truth, and her office of teaching, testifying, and proposing the same, the next thing that followeth, is her authority to judge of the differences that may arise, touching matters of the faith taught by her, or any part thereof, and more specially touching the interpretation of the Scriptures and word of God. Judgement is an acte of reason, discerning whether a thing bee or not, and whether it bee that it seemeth to bee, and is thought or said to bee.

This judgement is of two sortes: The first, of definitive and authentical power. The second of Recognition. The judgement of authentical power, defining what is to bee thought of each thing, and prescribing to mens consciences so to thinke, is proper to God: being originally found in the father, who by his sonne as by the immediate and prime messenger, and Angell of his secret Councell, and by the holy Ghost as the spirit of illumination, maketh knowne unto men what they must thinke, and perswadeth them so to thinke. So that the supream judgement wherein the conscience of men doth rest, in the things of God, is proper to God, who onely by his spirit teacheth the

the conscience, and giveth unto it assurance of truth. Neither is God the supreme Judge, onely in respect of the godly, who stay not, till they resolve their perswasions into the certainty of his divine testimony and undoubted authority, but also in respect of the wicked, who in their erroneous conceits are judged by him, and of whose sinister and vile courses hee sitteth in judgement, while he confoundeth their tongues, divideth them one from another, maketh them crosse themselves, and bringeth all they doe to nothing. This judgement all are forced to stand unto, and this is that, that maketh a finall end of all controversies, according to that of *Gamaliel*; *If this thing be of God it will prosper and prevaile, and wee in resisting it, shall be found fighters against God, if not, it will come to naught.* Thus then the judgement of God the father as supreme, the judgement of the sonne as the eternall word of God, of the spirit as the fountaine of all illumination, making us discern what is true, is that, in which wee finally rest. The judgement or determination of the word of God is that, where- in wee rest as the rule of our faith: and the light of Divine understanding, as that, whereby we judge of all things.

The judgement of Recognition is of three sorts. For there is a judgement of discretion, common to all Christian men, a judgement of direction proper to the guides of the Church and a judgement of jurisdiction proper to them, that are in cheife places of authority. The first of these is nothing else, but an acte of understanding, discerning whether things bee or not, and whether also they bee that which they seeme to bee. The second endeavoureth to make others discern likewise: and the third by authority suppresseth all those, that shall thinke and pronounce otherwise, then they judge that have the judgement of Jurisdiction.

Touching the judgement of Recognition, wee acknowledge, the judgement of the universall Church, comprehending the faithfull that are and have beene, to bee infallible. In the Church that comprehendeth onely the beleivers that live at one time in the world, there is alwayes found a right judgement of discretion, and right pronouncing of each thing necessary, all never falling into damnable error, nor into any error pertinaciously; but a right judgement of men by their power of jurisdiction mantayning the truth, and suppressing error, is not alwayes found.

So that sometimes almost all, may conspire against the truth, or consent to betray the sincerity of the Christian profession, as they did in the Councells of *Ariminium* and *Seleucia*, in which case as *Occam* aptly observeth out of *Hierome*, men have nothing left unto them, but with sorrowfull hearts to referre all unto God. If (saith *Hierome*) iniquity prevaile in the Church which is the house of God, if justice be oppressed, if the madnes of them, that should teach & guide others, proceed so farre, as to pervert all the straight wayes of God, to receive rewards, to doe wrong, to tread downe the poore in the gates, and to refuse to heare their complaynts, let good men in such times hold their peace, let them not give that which is holy unto dogges, let them not cast pearles before swine, least they turne againe and trample them under feete, let them imitate *Jeremie* the Prophet, who speaketh of himselfe in this sort, I sate alone, because I was full of bitternesse. Even so (saith *Occam*) when heresies prevaile in the Christian world, when truth is trampled under feete in the streetes, and Prelates, and Princes being enemies to it, endeavour with all their power to destroy it, when they shall condemne the doctrine of the Fathers, molest, disquiet, and murder the true professors, let good men in such times, hold their peace, keepe silence, and bee still, let them not give holy things to dogges, nor cast pearles before swine, least they turne and tread them under feete, least they wrest and abuse the Scriptures to their owne perdition, and the scandall of others: but let them with the Prophet sit alone, and complaine that their soules are full of bitter heavinesse.

^a Acts. 3.34.

^b Est iudicium certa & veridica cognitionis quo unusquisque bene iudicat de ijs quæ noscitur, & illud iudicium pertinet ad quemlibet in qualibet arte peritum. est aliud iudicium auctoritatis seu iudicialis sententia: 1. Modo loquendo de

judicio in ecclesia militante est certum iudicium de ijs quæ necesse est credere explicitè: & semper erunt aliqui Catholici, qui tali modo in vera fide explicitè permanebunt: sed circa illa quæ non sunt necessaria explicitè credere, non semper erit tale iudicium: quia de multis, licet piè dubitare, nunquam tam men omnes circa ista pertinaciter errabunt vel dubitabunt: iudicium verò auctoritatis non est semper certum in ecclesia, sicut paruit tempore Liberti. Occam. dial. 5. part. 1. c.

C H A P. 14.

Of the rule of the Churches judgement.

THus having set downe the diverse kinds of judgement, which must determine and end all controversies in matter of faith and religion, it remaineth, to shew what is the rule of that judgement; whereby the Church discerneth betweene truth and falsehood, the faith & heresie; and to whom it properly pertaineth to interpret those things which touching this rule are doubtfull.

As the measure of each thing is that, by vertue whereof we know what it is, and the quantity of it; so the rule is that, by application whereof, we know whether it be that which it should be, and be so, as it should be. The rule of action is that whereby we know whether it be right, and performed as it should be, or not. The rule of doctrine is that, whereby we know whether it be true or false.

The rule of our faith in generall, whereby we know it to be true, is the infinite excellencie of God; (who in eminent sort possesseth all those perfections, which in the creatures are divided, and found in an inferiour sort:) in the full & perfect union with whom, and injoying of whom, consisteth all happinesse.

For by this rule wee know, that the doctrine of faith, which only professeth to bring us backe to God, to possess and enjoy him, (not as he is participated of us, but as hee is in himselfe) and maketh us, already, to beginne to tast the sweetnesse of so great and happy an union, is not onely true, but Divine and Heavenly, such as naturall could not teach us, but is to be learned of God himselfe.

It being presupposed in the generality, that the doctrine of the Christian faith is of God and containeth nothing but heavenly truth; in the next place we are to inquire, by what rule wee are to judge of particular things contained within the compasse of it. This rule is first, the summary comprehension of such principall articles of this divine knowledge, as are the principles whence all other things are concluded, and inferred. These are contained in the creed of the Apostles. Secondly, all such things as every Christian is bound expressly to believe, by the light and direction whereof he judgeth of other things, which are not absolutely necessary, so particularly to be knowne. These are rightly said to be the rule of our faith, because the principles of every science are the rule whereby wee judge of the truth of all things, as being better and more generally knowne, then any other thing, and the cause of knowing them.

Thirdly, the Analogie, due proportion, and correspondence, that one thing in this divine knowledge hath with another, soe that men cannot erre in one of them, without erring in another; nor rightly understand one, but they must likewise rightly conceive the rest. Fourthly, whatsoever bookes were delivered unto us, as written by them, to whom the first and immediate revelation of divine truth was made. Fifthly, whatsoever hath beene delivered by all the Saints with one consent, which have left their judgement and opinion in writing. Sixthly, whatsoever the most famous have constantly and uniformly delivered, as a matter of faith, no man contradicting, though many other Ecclesiasticall writers be silent, and say nothing of it. Seventhly, that which the most and most famous in every age constantly delivered, as matter of faith, and as received of them that went before them, in such sort that the contradictors and gainsayers were in their beginnings noted for singularity, novelty and division, and afterwards in proceffe of time (if they persisted in such contradiction) charged with heresie.

a Theologo-
rum sententi-
am de fœli-
citate superna-
turali altissimis
philosophiz ra-
dicibus nixam
& stabilitam
stare dilucidè
comprobabo:
fœlicitas est
possessio atque
adeptio primi
boni: bonum
adipisci duplici-
ter possunt res
creatæ aut in
seipsis, aut in
ipso, nam & in
seipso hoc bo-
num est super
omnia exalta-
tum, suæ inha-
bitans divinita-
tis abyssos, &
per omnia dif-
fusum in om-
nibus inveni-
tur: umbra po-
tius fœlicitatis
quàm vera fœ-
licitas est attingere Deum in
creatura, non
in ipso Deo
quemadmodù
creatura non
summæ bonitas,
sed summæ bo-
nitatis, id est
divinæ, tenuis
umbra est: Un-
de vera & con-
summata fœli-
citas ad Deifac-
tiem contuen-

dam quæ est omne bonum, ut ipse dixit, & ad perfectam cum illo principio, à quo emanavimus, unionem, nos
revehit & adducit: ad hanc fœlicitatem sola religio Christiana nos dirigit, & impellit. Pictis Heptaphi, l. 7. in præmio.
These

These three latter rules of our faith wee admit, not because they are equall with the former, & originally in themselves containe the direction of our faith, but because nothing can be delivered, with such and so full consent of the people of God, as in them is expressed, but it must needes bee, from those first Authors and founders of our Christian profession. The Romanists adde unto these the decrees of Councils, and determinations of Popes, making these also to bee the rules of faith: but because we have no prooffe of their infallibility, we number them not with the rest.

Thus then wee see, how many things, in severall degrees and sorts, are said to be rules of our faith. The infinite excellency of God, as that whereby the truth of the heavenly doctrine is proved. The articles of faith, and other verities ever expressly knowne in the Church, as the first principles, are the canon, by which wee judge of conclusions from thence inferred. The Scripture, as containing in it all that doctrine of faith, which *Christ* the Sonne of God delivered. The uniforme practice, and consenting judgement of them that went before us, as a certaine and undoubted explication, of the things containd in the Scripture.

The Scripture (saith *Vincentius Lirinensis*,) is full and sufficient to all purposes: but because of the manifold turnings of heretiques, it is necessary, that the line of Propheticall and Apostolicall interpretation, be drawne downe, and directed unto us, according to the rule of Ecclesiasticall and Catholique sense. So then, we doe not so make the Scripture the rule of our faith, but that other things, in their kinde, are rules likewise, in such sort, that it is not safe, without respect had unto them, to judge things by the Scripture alone. For without the first rule, we cannot know the Scripture to be of God. Without the second and third, we have no forme of Christian doctrine, by the direction whereof to judge of particular doubts and questions: without the other rules, wee cannot know the authors, and number of the Bookes of Scripture, nor the meaning of the things therein written. For who shalbe able to understand them, but hee that is settled in these things, which the Apostles presupposed, in their delivery of the Scripture.

We do not therefore, so make the Scripture the rule of our faith, as to neglect the other, nor so admit the other, as to detract any thing from the plenitude of the Scripture, in which all things are contained that must bee beleaved.

C H A P. 15.

Of the challenge of Papists against the rule of Scripture, charging it with obscurity, and imperfection.

THis rule our adversaries least esteeme of, charging it with obscurity and imperfection, and thereupon rely upon humane interpretations, and uncertaine traditions. Touching their first challenge made against this rule of the scripture, as being obscure and darke, and so not fit to give direction to our faith, unlesse it borrow light from some thing else: wee answer, there is no question, but there are manifold difficulties in the scripture, proceeding partly from the high and excellent nature of the things therein contained, which are without the compasse of naturall understanding, and so are wholly hidden from naturall men, and not knowne of them that are spirituall, without much travaile, and studious meditation; partly out of the ignorance of tongues, and of the nature of such things, by the comparison whereof, the matters of divine knowledge are manifested unto us. But the difference betweene their opinion and ours, concerning this difficultie is, first in that they thinke the scripture so obscure and hard to be understood, that Heretiques may

b Contra profanas hæreses: novitates,
c The Apostles wrote to them they had formerly taught more at large: neither can the scriptures bee understood now, but only by such as will be taught by the successors of the Apostles and guides of the Church, though being so taught, they may finde assuredly by the scriptures themselves, that they doe understand them aright.

wrest and abuse it at their pleasures, and no man be able to convince their folly, by the evidence of the Scripture it selfe. Secondly, in that they thinke, that wee cannot by any helpes be assured out of the Scripture it selfe, and the nature of the things therein containd, that that is the true meaning of it, which wee thinke to bee, but that we rest in it, onely for the authority of the Church. But wee say, that men, not neglecting that light of direction, which the Church yeeldeth, nor other helpes and meanes, may bee assured out of the nature of the things themselves, the conference of places, the knowledge of tongues, and the suitable correspondence, that one part of divine truth hath with another, that they have found out the true meaning of it, and so bee able to convince the adversaries and gainesayers.

CHAP. 16.

Of the interpretation of Scripture, and to whom it pertayneth.

Touching this poynt, there are two questions usually proposed; the one to whom the interpretation of the Scripture pertaineth: the other by what rules and meanes, men may finde out the true meaning of it.

Touching the first, our Adversaries jangle much, with many declamations, against private interpretations, and interpretations of private spirits, and make the world beleewe, that wee follow no other rule of interpretation, but each mans private fancie.

a Cont. 3. q. 4.
art. 2. explicat.
artic.

For answer hereunto, we say with *Stapleton*, that interpretations of Scripture may be said to bee private, and the spirits whence they proceede, named private, either *Ratione personae, modi, or finis*: That is, in respect of the person who interpreteth, the manner of his proceeding in interpreting, or the end of his interpretation. A private interpretation, proceeding from a private spirit in the first sense, is every interpretation delivered by men of private condition. In the second sense, is that, which men of what condition soever, deliver, contemning and neglecting those publike meanes which are knowen to all, and are to bee used by all that desire to finde the trueth.

In the third sense that, which proceeding from men of private condition, is not so proposed and urged by them, as if they would binde all other to receive and imbrace it, but is intended onely to their owne satisfaction. The first kind of interpretation, proceeding from a private spirit, is not to bee disliked, if the parties so interpreting neither neglect the common rules and meanes, of attayning the right sense of that they interpret, contemne the judgement of other men, nor presumptuously take upon them, to teach others, and enforce them to beleewe that, which they apprehend for trueth, without any authority so to doe.

But private spirits in the second sense, that is men of such dispositions, as will follow their owne fancies, and neglect the common rules of direction, as *Enthusiasts*, and trust to their owne sense, without conference and due respect to other mens judgements, wee accurse. This is all wee say touching this matter: wherein I would faine know, what our adversaries dislike. Surely nothing at all, as it will appeare to every one, that shall but looke into the place above alledged out of *Stapleton*. But say they, there must bee some authenticall interpretation of Scripture, which every one must bee bound to stand unto, or else there will bee no end of quarrels and contentions. The interpretation of Scripture is nothing else, but the explication and clearing of the meaning of it. This is either true or false. The true interpretation of the Scripture, is of two sorts. For there is an interpretation, which delivereth that which is true, and contained in the Scripture, or from thence to bee concluded, though not meant in that place which is expounded.

This

This is not absolutely and perfectly a true interpretation, because though it truly delivereth such doctrine as is contained in the Scripture, and nothing contrarie to the place interpreted, yet it doth not expresse that, that is particularly meant, in the place expounded. There is therefore another kind of true interpretations, when not onely that is delivered which is contained in the Scripture, but that which is meant in the particular places expounded.

Likewise false interpretations are of two sorts: some delivering that which is utterly false, and contrary to the Scripture; some others onely sayling in this, that they attaine not the true sense, of the particular places expounded. An example of the former, is that interpretation of that place of *Genesis*, *The sonnes of God saw the daughters of men, &c.* which some of the Fathers have delivered, understanding by the sonnes of God, the Angels of Heaven, whose fall they suppose proceeded from the love of women. Which error they confirm by that of the Apostle, that women must come vailed into the Church for the Angels: that is as they interpret, least the Angels should fall in love with them. A false interpretation of the later kind; *Andradius* sheweth, some thinke that exposition of the wordes of the Prophet *Esaiæ*, *Quis enarrabit generationem ejus? Who shall declare his generation*, delivered by many of the Fathers, understanding thereby the eternall generation of the son of God, which no man shall declare. Whereas, by the name of generation, the Prophet meaneth that multitude, that shall beleve in Christ, which shall be so great, as cannot be expressed.

An authentickall interpretation is that, which is not onely true, but so clearly and in such sort, that every one is bound to embrace and to receive it. As before we made 3. kinds of judgment, the one of discretion common to all, the other of direction common to the Pastors of the Church, and a third of jurisdiction, proper to them that have supreme power in the Church: so likewise wee make three kindes of interpretation; the first private, and so every one may interpret the Scripture, that is, privately with himselfe conceive, or deliver to other, what hee thinketh the meaning of it to bee; the second of publike direction, and so the Pastors of the Church may publike propose what they conceive of it; and the third of jurisdiction, and so they that have supreme power, that is the Bishops assembled in a generall Councell, may interpret the Scripture, and by their authority suppress all them that shall gainsay such interpretations, and subject every man that shall disobey such determinations as they consent upon, to excommunication and censures of like nature.

But for authentickall interpretation of Scriptures; which every mans conscience is bound to yeeld unto, it is of an higher nature: neither doe wee thinke any of these to be such, as proceeding from any of those before named and specified; to whom wee graunt a power of interpretation: Touching the interpretations which the Fathers have delivered, wee receive them as undoubtedly true, in the generall doctrine they consent in, and so farre forth esteeme them as authentickall: yet doe we thinke that holding the faith of the Fathers, it is lawfull to dissent from that interpretation of some particular places, which the greater part of them have delivered, or perhaps all that have written of them; and to find out some other not mentioned by any of the Ancient.

Genesis 6.2.
Tertul de ve-
landis Virgini-
bus. Debet ad-
umbrari facies
tam periculo-
sa, quæ usque
ad cælum
scandala jacu-
lata est &c. Iu-
stinus Martyr
& Clemens,
Gen. 6. Dei fi-
lios qui homi-
num filias
conspexerunt
Angelos inter-
pretantur:
Andrad: de
scrip. & tradi-
tionum autho-
ritate. l. 2. fol.
262.
Andrad: ibi:
fol. 257.
Esay. 53.

CHAP. 17.

Of the interpretation of the Fathers, and how farre wee are bound to admit it.

^a Andradius
defens. &c. l. 2.
fol. 257. & 260.

^b Cajetan pro-
emio com-
ment. in Gen.

^c In præfat. in
Novi Testa-
menti Syriaci
Latinam inter-
pret.

^d Comment. in
Ioh. c. 1.

THe Fathers, (saith *Andradius*) especially they of the *Greeke Church*, being ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, following *Origen*, did rather strive, with all their wit and learning, to devise Allegories, and to frame the manners of men, then to cleare the hard places of the law and the Prophets. Nay, even *Hierome* himselfe, who more diligently then any of the rest, sought out the meaning and sense of the Propheticall and divine Oracles, yet often to avoyde the obscurities of their words, betaketh himselfe to Allegories. In this sense it is that ^b Cardinall *Cajetan* saith, hee will not feare to goe against the torrent of all the Doctors; for which saying *Andradius* sheweth, that *Canus* and others doe unjustly blame him. For though wee may not goe from the faith of the Fathers, nor from the maine trueth of doctrine, which they deliver in different interpretations, yet may wee interpret some parts of the Scripture otherwise, then any of the Auncient ever did, weighing the circumstances of places, the nature and force of words in the Originall, and having others helps necessary.

Neither is this to contemne the uniforme and maine consent of the Fathers, but rather more exactly to illustrate and explaine those things, which they did allegorically understand, or not so diligently travaile in, as is fit for them that come after, to doe. It is not then so strange a thing to say, that there are many places of Scripture, the true literall, and naturall sense whereof, wee cannot finde in any of the Ancient. Neither is this to charge them with error in faith: seeing the sense they give, tendeth to the furtherance of the true faith, and the better forming of mens manners to godlinesse. Wherefore, wee feare not to pronounce with *Andradius*, that whosoever denyeth, that the true and literall sense of sundry texts of Scripture hath beene found out in this last age (wherein^c as *Guido Fabritius* rightly noteth, all things seeme to bee renewed, and all learning to be newly borne into the world, that so Christ might bee newly fashioned in us, and wee new borne in him) is most unthankfull unto God, that hath so richly shed out his benefites upon the children of this generation, and ungratefull towards those men, who with so great paines, so happy successe, and so much benefit to Gods Church, have travailed therein.

Neither is *Andradius* only of this opinion, but *Iansenius*, & *Maldonatus* also, who both of them do in sundry places professe, they rest not satisfied in any interpretation given by the Fathers, but preferre other found out in this age. For example, in the explication of that place of *Iohn*, Of his fulnesse, wee have all received, grace for grace; ^d *Maldonatus*, refuseth all the interpretations of the Fathers, and giveth this of his owne, We have received, of Christs fulnesse, most excellent gifts of grace, yet no man hath received all, but every one is defective, yea, every one lacketh something, that another hath. But he may acknowledge the goodnesse of God towards him, in that hee hath some other in stead of it, which the other hath not, and so may rightly bee said to have received grace for grace, because in stead of that grace he wanteth, and another hath, hee hath received some other, which the other wanteth. Many other instances might be given out of *Cajetane*, *Andradius*, *Iansenius*, *Maldonatus*, and other worthy Divines of the Church of *Rome*: but this may suffice.

C H A P. 18.

Of the divers senses of Scripture.

THus having set downe to whom the interpretation of the Scripture pertaineth, it remaineth, that wee speake of the rules, directions, and helpes, that men have to leade the to the finding out of the right meaning of it. But, because some suppose the Scripture hath many and uncertaine senses, before we enter into the discourse of the rules, which must direct us in interpreting, wee must speake something of the multiplicity of senses, supposed to be in the words of Scripture, which may seeme to contrary all certainty of interpretation. There is therefore a double sense of the sacred words and sentences of Scripture, for there is a literall sense, and a spirituall or a mysticall sense. The literall sense is either proper, or native, when the words are to be taken, as originally in their proper signification they import, or figurative, when the words are translated from their naturall and proper signification, to signifie something resembled by those things, they doe primarily import. As *John 10 16*, when Christ saith, *hee hath other sheepe, which are not of this fould.*

The spirituall or mysticall sense of the Scripture is, when the words either properly, or figuratively, signifie somethings, which are figures and significations of other things. This is threefoold: Allegoricall, Tropologicall, Anagogicall. The first is, when things spoken of in the old Testament, are figures of somethings in the Newe. So it was literally true, that *Abraham* had two sons, the one by a bond-woman, the other by a free: but these two sonnes of *Abraham* imported some other thing in the state of the newe Testament, to wit, two different sorts of men. And, here wee may observe the difference, betweene an Allegory and a Type. A Type is, when some particular person, or fact, in the old Testament, demonstrateth, and shadoweth out unto us some particular person, or fact in the newe. An allegory, when something in the old Testament, in a spirituall, and mysticall sort, shadoweth out unto us in a generality, things in some proportion answering in the newe. So *David*, overcoming *Goliath*, was a Type of *Christ*, and allegorically did shadow out that victory, which we obtaine in the state of the newe Testament, over those ghottly enemies that rise up against us.

The Tropologicall sense of Scripture is, when one thing delivered and reported in the Scripture, signifieth some other thing, pertaining to the behaviour and conversation of men: as when God forbade to *muzzle the mouth of the ox*, that treadeth out the corne. This prohibition did literally signifie, that God would not have labouring oxen restrained from feeding, while they were treading out the corne. But this respect, which God had unto these his creatures of inferiour condition, did signifie, that much lesse they which labour for our soules good, are to bee denied the things of this life.

Anagogicall, when the things literally expressed unto us, doe signifie something in the state of heavens happinesse. *God sware in his wrath*, to the Israelites, that they should not enter into his rest, meaning the land of *Canaan*: but the apostle from thence concludeth, that unbelievers shall not enter into that eternall rest of the Saints in heaven; because the rest of the Israelites in the land of *Canaan*, after their many fold dangers, vexations and travels, was a figure of the eternall rest in heaven. This division of the manifold senses of Scripture is taken out of *Encherius*.

Hierom maketh three kinds of exposition of Scripture, Historicall, Tropologicall, and Spirituall: that which he nameth spirituall comprehendeth both those before expressed by *Encherius*, to wit, Allegoricall and Anagogicall. *Augustine* maketh the exposition of the Scripture to be twofold, Historicall, and Allegoricall.

call. The former hee maketh to be twofold, to wit, Analogicall, and *Ætiologi-* call: and the latter hee maketh to comprehend that, which properly is called Allegoricall, and the other two, to wit, Tropologicall, and Anagogicall.

The reason of this diversity of mylticall senses is, because the old Testament was a figure of the new; and the new, of future glory. This multiplicity of senses breedeth no uncertainty in the Scripture, nor *Æquivocation*, because the words of the Scripture do not doubtfully signifie so divers and different things, but the things certainly signified by the words, are signes & significations of divers things. All these are founded upon one literall & certaine sense, from which onely in matter of question and doubt an argument may bee drawn. The thing wherein *Origen* offended, was not, that hee found out spirituall and mysticall senses of the divine Scripture, but because hee thought there is no literall true sense of them, but mylticall onely, so overthrowing the trueth of the sacred history of the booke of God. And the fault of many others in former times was, that following him too much, they neglected the literall sense, and overcuriously sought out allegories, and mysticall senses; whereas yet the literall sense alone hath force and power to establish trueth, and improve error. ^a And this doubtlesse is the first and chiefest use and necessity of following the literall sense. Another is, for that, being the foundation of the mysticall, if wee finde it not out, wee may runne into many errors. The *Manichees* out of those wordes of the *Psalmist*, where hee sayth, that *God hath made a Tabernacle for the Sunne in heaven, out of which, it commeth in the morning, as a Bride grooms out of his chamber, to shew the brightnesse of his countenance to the sonnes of men;* reading, *Posuit tabernaculum suum in sole, God placed his Tabernacle, or appointed and made himselfe a Tabernacle in the Sunne*, inferred, that Christ ascended into the highest heavens, without our flesh, leaving his body behind him, within the compasse of the globe of the Sunne so that his flesh is to bee adored in the Sunne, as in the Tabernacle wherein it resteth and remayneth. ^b Now as their course is not to be excused, which follow the mysticall sense onely, and neglect the literall: so they are no lesse faulty, that follow the literall sense onely, and doe not at all consider the mysteries of spirituall understanding, and information of Christian and godly conversation, which in the word of God, doe offer themselves unto them. For they make the Scripture, especially of the old testament, where so many things of outward observation, ceremony, and purification were prescribed, unsavorie, and to seeme lesse divine, than the lawes and prescriptions of the Gentiles, as the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and others, and the manifold histories of former times, to serve little to edification.

Betweene both these extreames, a meane is to bee kept, that neither the one, nor the other be neglected: so that we must neither be like them, that rejecting the literall exposition, seeke out fond and childish Allegories, and so overthrow the trueth of the divine historie, as *Origen* did, or neglect the knowledge of it, publishing their owne idle and ridiculous conceits, as if they were the great and hidden mysteries of the Christian faith and religion; nor like those, which rest in the bare and naked wordes, and syllables, without collecting from thence, such instructions as are fit. The former (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) are to know, that howsoever they imagine, the literall exposition of the Scripture to bee easie, obvious, and triviall, yet it is indeed the hardest of all other. Whereupon both *Hierome* and *Augustine* confesse, that at first, to decline the obscurities and difficulties of the text of Scripture, they followed mysticall senses, as being more easie; but afterward when they grew in age, and so in ripenesse of judgement they sought out the other, which is literall.

Thus we see the difference betweene the literall and mysticall sense of Scripture, and how and in what sort the one is the ground of the other. Which that wee misconceive not, nor take one for another, wee must remember, that by the literall sense of Scripture, wee understand not that onely, which the words

doe

^g *Sixtus* sentent. Bibliothecæ l. 3. de usu & utilitate historica & mystica expositionis.

^h Intellectus facti eloquij, inter textum & mysterium, magna est liberatione pensandus. Multa enim ejus sententia tanta allegoriarum conceptione sunt gravida, ut quisquis eas ad solam tenere historiam nititur, earum noticia per suam incuriam privetur. nonnulli vero ita exterioribus inserviunt, ut si quis eas subtilius penetrare desiderat, intus quidem nihil inveniat, sed etiam sibi quod foris loquuntur abscondat. Greg. moral. l. 21. in cap. 31. cap. 1.

doe properly afford, but which they primarily afford, according to the intention of him that useth them, and the construction of them that heare them. The mysticall sense opposite hereunto, is that which is not primarily intended by him that speaketh words, having such mysticall sense. All the allegories therefore, parables, and *Ænigmaticall* speeches which are used in Scripture, not being verified either in the intention of the speaker, or construction of the hearer, in sort as the words properly import, but as signifying things resembled by the things they properly import, doe literally signifie that, which by comparison of such things, they make us understand.

Here it is not out of place, to observe the difference betweene a proverbe, parable, allegory, and *ænigmaticall* speech or riddle. A proverbe is a sententious saying, much in use, and famous, for the most part somewhat obscure, by metaphorical words expressing something to us, and alluding to something not distinctly expressed. Though sometimes any famous and common saying, bee named a Proverbe. A Parable is, when one thing is compared and resembled to another; so Christ compared the kingdome of Heaven to leaven, to a graine of mustard seed, to ten virgins, to a net cast into the sea. Though sometimes the similitude of a thing, and not any such speech, wherein comparison is made betweene one thing, and another, is named a Parable.

¹ *Abraham recepit filium suum in parabola*, that is, *Abraham received his son* Iansenius in concordiam Evangel. c. 52. fol. 402. from such an estate, as was most like to the state of the dead. An allegorie is, when hee that speaketh intendeth to signifie, and insinuate some other thing, than his words in their primary use, and signification doe import. ² *Behold, saith Christ,* k Math. 17. 3. *the sower went out to sow, &c.* A Riddle, or *Ænigmaticall* speech, is an obscure allegorie. ³ *The trees went forth to anoint them a King:* and againe: ⁴ *Out of the eater came meate,* & *out of the strong came sweetnesse.* l Iudicum c. 9. m Cap. 14. The Scripture is full of these Allegories, Parables, Proverbiall and *Ænigmaticall* speeches; God in teaching us, taking that course, hee knoweth fittest for us, and making us understand things heavenly, and invisible, by those that are earthly and visible.

And as God doth thus speake unto us in parables, Allegories, and Riddles, so did hee shew the Prophets of old, in dreames and visions, the things that are heavenly, by those that are earthly, and the things that are invisible, by those that are visible: as in the Revelation, ⁵ *Saint Iohn saw seven golden Candlesticks,* n Revel. 1. *and one like the Sonne of man walking in the midst of them.* ⁶ There is none of these *Ænigmaticall*, Allegoricall, or Parabolicall speeches, nor none of these visions, but either by some things knowne to them, to whom they were proposed, or by speciall explication added to them, or *per novi facti exhibitionem*, by seeming the thing performed, that was so obscurely shadowed onely, may bee understood. ⁷ From these without these helps of understanding; wee can conclude nothing that is doubtful. An example of understanding *Ænigmaticall* and hard speeches, by force of some things knowne unto us, giving light unto them, is the riddle of *Samson*, *Out of the eater came meate,* &c. which any one, knowing that out of a Lyon hee had taken hony, would understand, but another could not. By explication added, ⁸ as the mysterie of the seven starres, and seven golden Candlestickes, is expounded to *Iohn*, that saw the vision of them. By evidence of the thing exhibited and performed, ⁹ *Destroy this Temple,* q Revel. 1. 20. *(saith Christ) and in three dayes I will build it, and raise it up againe.* ¹⁰ *The disciples after they saw him risen from the dead, remembered these words,* & understood that they were spoken of our Saviour, of the Temple of his body, and the resurrection of it. ¹¹ So likewise, when they saw the miserable and abominable overthrow of *Ierusalem*, and the Temple, they could not but understand what was meant by the prophecie of *Daniel*, touching the abomination of desolation, standing in the holy place.

Thus having cleared that doubt, which some make, touching the multiplicitie

In epist. ad
Gal. in cap. 1.

tiplicitie of senses of the words of Scripture, as if there were no certaine meaning of them, and having shewed which is that sense, we must principally seeke after, as being the foundation of the rest, it, remaineth that we come to speake of the rules of direction, and the helpes we have, to attaine to the understanding of the true meaning of the Scripture. For as *Hierome* fitly noteth, '*Non putamus in verbis scripturarum esse evangelium, sed in sensu, non in superficie, sed in medulla, non in sermonum folijs, sed in radice rationis.*' Wee must not thinke that the Gospell consisteth in the words of Scripture, but in the sense and meaning, not in the outward rinde and skinne, but in the inward pith and marrow, not in the leaves of the words, but in the roote and ground of reason.

CHAP. 19.

Of the rules we are to follow, and the helpes wee are to trust to, in interpreting the Scriptures.

Touching the rules wee are to follow, the helpes wee are to trust unto, and the things required in the interpretation of Scripture, I thinke wee may thus resolve. First there is required an illumination of the understanding: for the naturall man perceiveth not the things of God, for they are spiritually discerned, but the spirituall man judgeth all things, and himselfe is judged of none. Secondly a minde free from the thought of other things depending on God, as the fountaine of illumination, desirous of the truth, with resolution to imbrace it, though contrary to the conceits of naturall men. Thirdly, the knowledge of the rule of faith, formerly set downe, and the practice of the Saints according to the same. Fourthly, a due consideration, what will follow upon our interpretation, agreeing with, or contrary to, the things generally received, and beleevd among Christians: in which consideration the conference of other places of Scripture, and the things there delivered is necessary. For the consideration of the circumstances of the places interpreted, the occasion of the words, the things going before and following after. Sixtly, the knowledge of all those Histories, Artes, and Sciences which may helpe us. For, seeing grace presupposeth nature, and the Scripture doth not teach us, but presupposeth wee know already, the things that may bee discerned by the light of nature, many doe not understand sundry passages of Scripture, because they bring not with them, to the study of it, that degree of naturall knowledge, which is requisite. Seventhly, the knowledge of the originall tongues, and the phrases and Idiotismes of them. Soe that to resolve this matter yet more distinctly and fully, there are some things required for the attaining of the right understanding of Scripture, as making us capable of such understanding, of which sort is the illumination of the minde: some things as meanes, whereby wee attaine unto it. These are of two sorts, either disposing and preparing only, as often reading, meditating, and praying, or else guiding us in the very search it selfe. These are either generall and most infallible, as the rule of faith, which if wee follow, we are sure not to depart from the generall verity of the Christian faith: or more proper and speciall, directing us to the rule finding out of the meaning of particular places of Scripture. There is therefore betweene our adversaries, and us, no difference in this matter, if they will understand themselves. For wee confesse, that neither conference of places, nor consideration of the *antecedentia & consequentia*, nor looking into the originall, are of any force, vnlesse we finde the things, which we conceive to bee understood and meant in the places interpreted, to bee consonant to the rule of faith. And they confesse, that though alone, and without respect had to the rule of faith, they bee but probable meanes of direction, and

Scapl. conc. 6.
q. 7. exp. art.

and not absolutely certaine, yet that being joyned with the rule of faith, they helpe and are exceedingly necessary.

^b *Illyricus* in his *Clavis scriptura*, speaking of the difficulties that are found in Scripture, and how they may be cleared, sheweth that nothing is more necessary for the understanding of the Scripture, than to be rightly taught the generall principles, and axiomes of Divinity, out of which doe flowe, and on which do depend, whatsoever things are contained in the Scripture; and then commeth to the other *media* assigned before. Neither is there any of our Divines, that ever thought otherwise.

^b Decausis difficultatis scripturae & remedia, 2.

C H A P. 20.

Of the supposed imperfection of Scriptures, and the supply of Traditions.

THUS having shewed what that difficulty and obscurity is, which is found in Scripture, who must interpret it, and by what rules they must be guided in the interpretation of it; it remaineth, that in the next place we cleare the scriptures, from the other imputation of our adversaries, which is imperfection, which they indeavour to supply by addition of traditions. The necessity of writing, for the preservation & safe keeping of those treasures of learning, and wisdom, which wee desire should remaine and be knowne to posterities, appeareth, in that fewe things remaine, of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and others, renowned, in the times wherein they lived for wisdom & learning, because they left nothing in writing, as also by that ^a of blessed *Iob*, *Oh that my wordes were written &c.* as if there were no other meanes to preserve the remembrance of things, that they should never be forgotten, but writing only. The Auncients had the knowledge of God without writing, but how soone it decayed, it easily appeareth. Surely it failed in every family, in one at the least, till the time of *Iacob* father of the 12. Patriarkes. And therefore, after God tooke the whole posterity of *Iacob* to be his peculiar people, (a favour which hee shewed not to any of his fathers before) hee gave them his lawes in writing: which Scripture or writing was so full and perfect, ^b that the Jewes had nothing delivered unto them, pertaining to the knowledge or service of God, that was not written.

^a *Iob.* 19. 24.

^b *Bellar.* l. 4. c. 8. de verbo non scripto. Non defunt inquit, aliqui Catholici, qui negant ullam fuisse traditionem non scripturam apud Iudaeos. *Andrad.* de sen. l. 2. fo. 124.

The instance that our adversaries give to the contrary, is concerning the females, and males dying before the eighth day, who not being circumcised, they presume they were sanctified to God, and found remission of their Originall and birth sinne, by some other sacred rite, and Sacramentall meanes appointed by God, though not written. This instance is clearely refuted, by *Andradus*. If (saith hee) we shall more diligently looke into the thing it selfe, we shall finde, that the Jewes had no set, or certaine rite of religion, wherewith to sanctifie & cleanse their women children, or males that died before circumcision, from the pollution of originall sin: and if perhaps any did sometimes use any forme, or rite, it was rather a matter of private, and voluntary devotion, than of necessity. For whereas parents stand bound, by the generall law of God and nature, with all thankfull acknowledgment, to receive their children, as a great and speciall benefit from God, this their faith, pietie, and thankfullnesse joyned with desire of, and prayer for their Good, prosperous, and happy estate, was accepted, and found favour with God, on the behalfe of their children. Whereupon ^a *Gregory* pronounceth, that the faith of the parents, was of the same force with them of the old time, that the Baptisme of water is with us. And whereas *Augustine* saith, it is not likely that the people of God, before the institution of Circumcision, had noe Sacrament wherewith to present their children to God, though the Scripture have not expressed it, it is not to be understood,

^a *Moral.* l. 4. c. 2.

understood, (saith *Andradius*) of any outward ceremonies necessary for the sanctification of those Infants, but of any rite, and offering them to God, whether mentall onely, or outwardly object to the eye, and sense.

That which *Andradius* addeth, that it could not be knowne, but by tradition onely, that the faith of the parents was in stead of circumcision, before circumcision was instituted, and after the institution of it to them that might not lawfully, or could not possibly be circumcised, is frivolous; for men knew it, and concluded it out of the generall, and common rules of reason, and equity.

Touching the state of the people of God, since the comming of Christ, our adversaries make no doubt, but they can easily prove, that the writings, which the Church that now is, hath, are defective and imperfect. This they endeavour to prove: First, because the Scriptures of the New Testament, were written upon particular occasions offered, and not of purpose to containe a perfect rule of faith. Secondly, because they were written by the Apostles and other Apostolique men, out of their owne motions, and not by commandement from Christ the Sonne of God. But unto both these Arguments alleadged by our Adversaries, wee answer, that they containe matter of very grosse error.

For first, who seeth not plainly, that the Evangelistes writing the historie of Christ's life and death, Saint *Luke* in the booke of the Acts of the Apostles, describing the comming of the Holy Ghost; the admirable gifts, of grace powred upon the Apostles, and the Churches established, and ordered by them: and the blessed Apostle Saint *John*, writing the Revelations which hee saw, concerning the future state of things, to the end of the world; meant to deliver a perfect summe of Christian doctrine, and direction of Christian faith. It is true indeed, that the Epistles of the Apostles, directed to the Christian Churches that then were, were occasionally written, yet so, as by the providence of God, all such things as the Church beleeveth, not being found in the other parts of Scripture purposely written, are most clearely; and at large delivered in these Epistles.

¶ Aug. lib. 1. de
consensu Evan-
gelistarum cap.
ult. quicquid il-
le de suis factis
& dictis nos
legere voluit,
hoc scribendum
illis tanquam
suis manibus
impravit.
¶ 2. Pet. 1. 20. 21.

Secondly, touching the other part of their Argument, which they bring to convince the Scripture of imperfection, because they that wrote it, had no commandement to write, wee thinke it needeth no refutation, for the absurditie of it is evident and cleare of it selfe, For who knoweth not, that the Scriptures are not of any private motion, but that the holy men of God, were moved, impelled, and carried by the spirit of truth to the performance of this worke, doing nothing without the instinct of the Spirit, which was unto them a Commandement.

¶ 1. Cor. 11. 23.

The imperfection & defect supposed to be found in the Scripture, our adversaries endeavour to supply, by addition of traditions. The name of Tradition, sometimes signifieth every Christian doctrine, delivered from one to another, either by lively voyce only, or by writing, as *Exod. 17. Scribe hoc ob monumentum in libro, & trade in auribus Josua*: Write this for a remembrance in a booke, and deliver it in the eares of *Josuah*, *Aet. 6. 14. The written Law of Moses*, is called a Tradition. *Audivimus eum dicentem, quoniam Iesus destruet locum istum, & mutabit traditiones quas tradidit nobis Moses*. We heard him say, that *Iesus* shall destroy this place, and change the traditions, which *Moses* delivered unto us. Sometimes the name of tradition signifieth that which is delivered by lively voyce only, and not written. *That which I received of the Lord*, saith the Apostle, *that I delivered unto you*. In this question, by tradition, we understand such parts of Christian doctrine or discipline, as were not written by them, by whom they were first delivered?

For thus our Adversaries understand Traditions, which they divide into divers kindes. First, in respect of the Authors, so making them of three sorts, Divine, Apostolicall & Ecclesiasticall. Secondly, in respect of the matter they concerne, in which respect they make them to be of two sorts: for either they concerne matters of faith, or matters of manners: and these latter againe either

temporall or perpetuall, universall or particular. All these in their severall kindes they make equall with the words, precepts, and doctrines of Christ, the Apostles and Pastors of the Church, left unto us in writing. Neither is there any reason why they should not so doe, if they could prove any such unwritten verities. For it is not the writing, that giveth things their authority, but the worth and credite of him that delivereth them, though but by word and lively voyce onely.

The only doubt is, whether there be any such unwritten traditions or not. Much contention there hath beene, about Traditions, some urging the necessity of them, and others rejecting them. For the clearing whereof we must observe, that though we reject the uncertaine and vaine traditions of the Papists, yet we reject not all. For first, wee receive the number and names of the authors of Bookes Divine and Canonically, as delivered by tradition. This tradition we admit, for that, though the Bookes of Scripture have not their authority from the Approbation of the Church, but winne credite of themselves, and yeeld sufficient satisfaction to all men, of their Divine truth, whence wee judge the Church that receiveth them, to be led by the spirit of God; yet the number, Authors, and integrity of the parts of these Bookes, we receive as delivered by tradition.

The second kinde of tradition which wee admit, is that summary comprehension, of the chiefe heads of Christian doctrine, contained in the Creed of the Apostles, which was delivered to the Church, as a rule of her faith. ^b For though every part thereof be contained in the Scripture, yet the orderly connexion, and distinct explication of these principall articles gathered into an Epitome, wherein are implied, and whence are inferred all conclusions Theologicall, is rightly named a tradition. The 3^d is that forme of Christian doctrine, and explication of the severall parts thereof, which the first Christians receiving of the same Apostles, that delivered to them the Scriptures, commended to posterities. This may rightly be named a tradition, not as if we were to believe any thing, without the warrant and authority of the Scripture, but for that we neede a plaine and distinct explication of many things, which are somewhat obscurely contained in the Scripture: which being explicated, the Scriptures which otherwise we should not so easily have understood, yeeld us satisfaction that they are so indeede, as the Church delivereth them unto us.

h Illa verba
quæ audivitis
per divinas
Scripturas
parla sunt inde
collecta, & ad
unum redacta,
&c. Aug. ad ca-
techumenos,
lib. 1. de sym-
bolo cap. 1.

The fourth kind of tradition, is the continued practise of such things, as neither are contained in the Scripture expressly, nor the examples of such practise expressly there delivered, though the grounds, reasons, and causes of the necessity of such practise, be there contained, and the benefit, or good that followeth of it. Of this sort is the Baptisme of Infants, which is therefore named a tradition, because it is not expressly delivered in Scripture. That the Apostles did baptize infants, nor any expresse precept there found, that they should so doe. Yet is not this so received by bare and naked tradition, but that we finde the Scripture to deliver unto us the grounds of it. The fift kind of traditions, comprehendeth such observations, as in particular, are not commanded in Scripture, nor the necessity of them from thence concluded, though in generall without limitation of times, and other circumstances, such things be there commanded. Of this sort, many thinke, the observation of the Lent fast to be the fast of the fourth and the sixt dayes of the weeke, and some other.

h Waldensis
tom. 3. titulo
7. ca. 63. tra-
ditiones apo-
stolicas à pure
Ecclesiasticis
jam temporis
vassitate nesci-
mus discernere.

That the Apostles delivered by lively voyce, many observations, dispensable, and alterable, according to the circumstances of times, and persons, we make no question. Onely this wee say, that they are confounded with Ecclesiasticall traditions; so that which they are, doth hardly appeare, and that they doe not necessarily binde posterities. The custome of standing at prayer on the Lords day, and betweene Easter and Whitsontide, was generally received, as delivered by Apostolique tradition, and when some began to breake it, it was

confirmed

4 Concilium
Nicen. can. 20.

The custome of
ministring Bap-
tisme onely at
Easter and
Whitsontide ex-
cept in case of
necessity was
very generall:
whereupon Leo
reprehendeth
the Bishops of
Sicilia for that
concerning this
tradition of the
ancients, they
did baptise on
the day of Epi-
phany.

They proved it
out of the 44. of
Ezechiel 2. as
Hier. sheweth
in his comment
upon this place.
Index biblicus
in regis bibliis
vocabulo Maria
multis scriptu-
re locis signifi-
cari perpetuam
virginitatem
Marię ostendit.
Bellar. de sa-
cra. baptis lib. 1.
cap. 8.

We shall finde
an uncertaintie
touching the
forme & words
of forme of all
those pretended
Sacraments of
marriage, pe-
nances, unction,
and confirmati-
on: which in
Scripture are
not delivered
unto us as Sa-
craments.
o Canus lib. 3.
cap. 3. funda-
mentum 3.

confirmed by the Councell of Nice, yet is it not thought necessary to be obser-
ved in our time.

Out of this which hath beene said, wee may easily resolve what is to bee
thought touching traditions. For first the Canon of Scripture being admit-
ted as delivered by Tradition, (though the divine truth of it, be in it selfe cleare
and evident unto us, not depending of the Churches authority,) there is no
matter of faith delivered by bare and onely tradition, as the Romanists seeme
to Imagine. Yea this is so cleare, that therein they contrary themselves, in-
deavouring to prove by Scripture the same things they pretend to hold by tra-
dition as wee shall finde, if wee run through the things questioned betwene
them and us. The onely cleare instance they seeme to give, is touching the per-
petuall virginity of *Mary*, which they say cannot be proved by Scripture, and
yet is necessary to be beleaved.

But they should know, that this is no point of Christian faith. That shee
was a Virgin before, in, and after the birth of Christ, we are bound to beleave
as an Article of our faith, and so much is delivered in Scripture & in the Apostles
Creede: but that she continued so ever after, is a seemely truth, delivered unto
us by the Church of God, fitting the sanctity of the blessed Virgin, and the
honour due to so sanctified a vessell of Christs incarnation, as her body was:
and so is *de pietate*, but not *de necessitate fidei*, as the Schoole-men use to speak.
Neither was *Helvidius* condemned of Heresie, for the deniall hereof, but be-
cause pertinaciously he urged the deniall of it, upon misconstruction of Scrip-
ture, as if the deniall of it had beene a matter of faith. Touching this Allegation
of our Adversaries, concerning *Maries* perpetuall Virginity, wee must know,
that howsoever they pretend to hold it onely by tradition, yet the Fathers,
that defend it against *Helvidius*, endeavour to prove it by the Scripture. Their
instance of Childrens Baptisme, is most apparantly against themselves, for they
confesse it may bee proved by Scripture. *Bellarmino* proveth it by three rea-
sons, taken from the Scripture. The first is, from the proportion betwene
Baptisme and Circumcision, the Circumcision of Children then, and the Bap-
tisme of them now. This argument he saith as they propose it, cannot be avoy-
ded. The second from these two places *John 3. Except a man be borne anew,*
of water and of the spirit, hee cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heaven. And
that other, *Suffer little children to come unto mee, for unto such belongeth the*
Kingdome of Heaven.

This Argument he saith is strong, effectually, and pregnant, to prove the ne-
cessity of the Baptisme of Infants. The third is taken from the Baptizing of
whole families by the Apostles, in which by all likelyhood, there were infants.

Surely in this point of traditions, our adversaries bewray their great folly &
inconstancie, making it evident to the whole world, they know not what they
say. *Bellarmino* saith, that many things, touching the matter and forme of Sa-
craments, are holden by tradition, as not being contained in Scripture: and yet
in the particulars, there is nothing defined in the Church of *Rome* touching
these things which he indeavoureth not to prove by Scripture. Some alleage,
for prooffe of tradition, the consubstantiality of the Son of God with the Fa-
ther, and the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from them both. Others constant-
ly affirme, that these things are proved by Scripture. Some of them say Pur-
gatory is holden by tradition, others thinke it may bee proved by Scripture,
Melchior Canus endeavouring to prove the necessity of traditions, produceth
sundry things as not written, as invocation of Saints, worshipping of Images,
the Priests consecrating, and partaking in both parts of the Sacrament. That
ordination and confirmation, are to be conferred, and given, but onely once:
which when he hath alleaged, hee dareth not say, the Scripture doth not
deliver them for feare of gaine-saying the truth in some of them, and his owne
fellowes in other. And therefore he saith, These things perhaps, the Scripture
hath

hath not delivered. For *Bellarmino* thinketh, the Scripture doeth strongly prove the Invocation and worship of Saints and Angels: and who is so impudent to deny, that the Ministers of the Church, are bound by the commandment of Christ, contained in the Scripture, to consecrate and participate in both parts of the Sacrament? That confirmation, and ordination, once conferred, are not to be reiterated, may be concluded out of the nature of them, described unto us in the Scripture. So that for matters of faith, wee may conclude according to the judgement of the best and most learned of our adversaries themselves, that there is nothing to beleeved, which is not either expressly contained in Scripture, or at least by necessary consequence from thence, and other things evident in the light of nature, or in the matter of fact, to bee concluded. That there were many speeches and divine sayings of our Saviour Christ, which though they were never written by the Evangelists, the Apostles, and others conversant with him in the dayes of his flesh, knew and faithfully preserved and kept, as *Mary* did all things, which shee heard him speake, and saw him doe, (of which sort was that, alleadged by the Apostle, It is more blessed to give then to receive) wee make no question: but that there are any of those unwritten speeches, or Actions, necessary to be knowne for our salvation, or containing any other matter of divine knowledge, then is written, or that are certainly knowne unto the Church now, wee utterly deny. All the historicall things (saith Bishop *Lindan*) which are reported concerning Christ, not contained in Scripture, are fabulous, or uncertaine. Which doubtlesse was the reason, why more errors were found in the writings of the first Fathers of the Primitive Church, then in those that were further removed from those first beginnings, because they were abused by the false and uncertaine reports of traditions, which in those times men greedily hearkened after, as living with them which had beene conversant with the Apostles or their Schollers, as wee shall finde by that is reported of *Papias*, and it appeareth by the writings of others. Thus having made it cleare and evident, that it is not safe to relye upon traditions in things concerning the faith, let us come to those traditions, which concerne the manners and conversation of men.

That the Apostles delivered many things of this nature to the Churches, some by way of precept, some by way of Councell and advice onely, some to particular Churches, and some to all, some to continue but for a time, and some to continue for ever, wee make no doubt. Of this sort is the observation of the Lords day, the precept whereof is not found in Scripture, though the practice be, and so may bee named a tradition. And sundry other things there are, which doubtlesse the Apostles delivered by tradition, but they are confounded with Ecclesiasticall traditions, as *Waldensis* aptly noteth, that wee might the more reverence the constitutions of the Church, and are dispensably by the guides of the Church: because the Apostles, and Apostolike men that delivered them, did not deliver them as reporting the immediate precepts of Christ himselfe, but by vertue of their Pastorall power and office; and so it little concerneth us, exactly to know, whether they were delivered by the Apostles themselves, or their next after commers: For if they were delivered by the Apostles, yet are they dispensable by the authority of the Church: and if not by them, but by others, they may not be dispensed with, nor altered, but by the same authority.

C H A P. 21.

Of the rules, whereby true Traditions may bee knowen from counterfaite.

Lib. 4. contra
Donatistas, c.
23.

De traditio-
nibus, l. 3. c. 4.

THus having set downe the kindes and sorts of traditions, it remaineth to examine, by what meanes wee may come to discerne, and by what rules wee may judge, which are true and indubitate traditions. The first rule is delivered by ^a *Augustine*; *Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec concilijs institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum, rectissime creditur.* Whatsoever the whole Church holdeth, not being decreed by the authority of Councils, but having beene ever holden, may rightly bee thought, to have proceeded from Apostolike authority. The second rule is, whatsoever all, or the most famous and renowned in all ages, or at the least in diverse ages, have constantly delivered, as received from them that went before them, no man contradicting or doubting of it, may bee thought to bee an Apostolicall tradition. The third rule, is the constant Testimony of the Pastors of an Apostolike Church, successively delivered: to which some adde, the present testimony of an Apostolike Church, whose declinings when they beganne, we cannot precisely tell. But none of the Fathers admitte this rule. For when they urge the authority and testimony of Apostolike Churches, for the prooffe, or re-prooffe of true or pretended traditions, they stand upon the consenting voyce, or silence, of the Pastors of such Churches, successively in diverse ages concerning such things. Some adde the testimony of the present Church: but wee enquire after the rule, whereby the present Church may know true traditions from false: and besides, though the whole multitude of beleivers, at one time in the world, cannot erre pertinaciously, and damnably, in embracing false traditions, in stead of true; yet they that most sway things in the Church may, yea euen the greater part of a generall councill; so that this can be no sure rule for men to iudge of traditions by. And therefore ^b *Camus* reasoneth foolishly, that whatsoever the Church of *Rome* practiceth, which shee may not doe without speciall warrant from God, and yet hath no warrant in Scripture so to doe, the same things and the practise of them shee hath received by tradition. Hee giveth example in the present practice of the Romish Church, in dispensing with, and remitting vowes and oathes. and in dissolving marriages, (not consummate by carnall knowledge,) by admitting men into orders of Religion. But this practice of the Romish Church, wee condemne, as wicked and Antichristian.

C H A P. 22.

Of the difference of bookes Canonick and Apocryphall.

THus having answered our adversaries objections; touching the obscurity and imperfections of the scripture, which wee affirme to bee the rule of our faith; it remaineth, that in particular wee consider, which are the bookes of this Scripture, contayning the rule of our faith, and where the indubitate, and certaine verity of them is to be found, whether in the originals, or in the Translations. The bookes which *Moses*, the Prophets, and Apostles delivered to the world, containe the Canon, that is the rule of piety, faith, and religion, which the sonnes of men received by Revelation from heaven, and therefore are rightly named Canonick. The matter of these bookes, wee beleve to have beene inspired from the holy Ghost, for our instruction; whose authority is so great, that no man may doubt of them. The writers of these bookes, were in such sort guided, and directed by the spirit of

truth

trueth, in composing of them, that not to beleve them, were impious. Whereupon ^a *Augustine* writing to *Hierome*, saith, *Ego solis eis scriptoribus, qui Canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem, honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum scribendo errasse firmissimè teneam; at si quod in iis invenero, quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud existimem, quam mendosum esse codicem, vel non esse assecutum interpretem, quod dictum est, vel me minimè intellexisse non ambigam: alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate, doctrinave polleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ita senserunt, sed quia mihi per illos auctores canonicos vel probabiles rationes, quod à vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt.* That is, I have learned to yeelde that reverence and honour to those writers only that are called Canonically, to thinke that none of them could erre in writing; but if in them I find any thing that may seeme contrary to the trueth, I perswade my selfe that either the Copie is corrupt, or the interpreter defective and faultie, or that the fault is in my not understanding of it: but other authors I so read, that how great soever their learning & sanctitie bee, I doe not therefore thinke any thing to be true, because they have so thought, but because they perswade me that it is true, by the authority of the Canonically authors, or the probability of Reason.

^a Aug Hieronym.

Besides the indubitate writings of those Canonically Authors, there are other bookes written of the same argument, which because the credite and authority of the authors of them is not knowen, are named Apocryphall.

Bookes are named Apocryphall, first because the authour of them is not knowen: and in this sense some of the Bookes of Canonically Scripture, as the bookes of *Chronicles*, of *Hester*, and a great part of the *Psalmes* may bee named Apocryphall, though improperly, and unfitly: (The authority of the authors of them, not being doubted of, though their names, and other personall conditions be not knowen.) ^a And therefore *Andradius* reprehendeth the *Glosse*, which defineth those things to bee Apocryphall, *qua incerto authore prodita sunt*, the author and publisher whereof is not knowen.

^a De lib. canonicis, l. 3. fo. 287

Secondly, bookes are therefore named Apocryphall, because the authority and credite of them is called in question, it being doubted, whether they proceeded from the inspiration of the holy spirit; so that they cannot serve for the confirmation of any thing that is called in question. In this sense ^b *Hierome* calleth the bookes of the *Macchabees*, and therest of that kinde, Apocryphall, though they were read privately and publikely, for the edification of the people, and the information of manners.

^b In prologo Galat.
 ^c Lib Apocryphi appellantur, non quòd habendi sint in aliqua auctoritate secreta, sed quia nullae testificationis luce de nescio quo secreto, nescio quorum presumptione prolati sunt Aug. contra Faustum Manichæum, l. 1. cap. 2.
 ^d Andrad. de lib. canonicis fol. 286.

Thirdly, such bookes are named Apocryphall, as are meerely fabulous and full of impiety, and therefore interdicted, and forbidden to bee read, or regarded at all. The auncientest of the Fathers, name these only Apocryphall, and so doth *Hierome* sometimes, calling those of the second ranke, *Hagiographall*: ^d though this name bee sometimes given to those Canonically bookes which pertaine not to the Law nor the Propheets, as the booke of *Job*, the *Psalmes*, the bookes of *Salomon*, *Esdra*s, the *Chronicles*, &c. so dividing the whole Canon of the Scripture of the old Testament, into the Law, the Propheets, and the *Hagiographall* bookes, that is, those, which not having any proper name of difference, retaine, and are knowen, by the common name of holy writ.

CHAP. 23.

Of the Canonically and Apocryphall bookes of Scripture.

THe bookes of the old Testament were committed to the Church of the Iewes: whereupon that is one of the things in respect whereof, the ^a *Apottle* preferreth them before the Gentiles, that to them were committed the Oracles of God. This Church of the Iewes, admitted but onely 22 bookes, as delivered unto them from God, to bee the Canon

^a Rom. 3. 2.

b Cont. Appia-
num. l. 1. Euse-
bius l. 3. c. 10.

c Prefat. in lib.
Reg.

d Damascen. l.
4. orthodoxæ
fid. c. 18.

e Acts. 6. 1.
f Glossa ordi-
naria & g Ly-
rani in eundem
locum.

h Iudæus, A-
quila, Syma-
chus, & Theo-
dotion, Iudæi-
zantes hæretici
sunt recepti
Hier. præf. in
lib. Iobi.

i Concilium
Carth. 3. can. 47
k Innocentius
Exuperio ep.
cap. ult.

of their faith, according to the number of the letters of their Alphabet, as ^b *Josephus* sheweth. For though they sometimes reckon foure and twenty, and some-
times seven and twenty, yet they adde no more in one of these accounts, than in
the other. For, repeating *Iod* thrice, for honour of the Name of God, and so the
number of the letters rising to foure and twenty, they number the bookes of
Canonicall Scripture to be foure and twenty, dividing the booke of *Ruth* from
the *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* from the *Prophecies of Jeremy*, and reckoning
them by themselves, which in the former account they joyned with them.
These bookes thus numbred ^c *Hierome* fitly compareth to the foure and twen-
ty Elders mentioned in the Revelation, *Qui adorabant, & prostratis vultibus,*
offerebant coronas suas, Which prostrating themselves, adored and worshipped the
Lambe, acknowledging that they received their Crownes of him: Stantibus coram
quatuor animalibus oculatis ante, & retrò, in præteritum & futurum respicienti-
bus. Those foure admirable living creatures, having eyes before, & behind, looking
to things past, and to come, standing before him. And becaule five of the Hebrew
letters are double, ^d they sometimes reckon the bookes of the holy Canon so, as
that they make them rise to the number of seven and twenty, reckoning the
first and second of *Samuel*, of *Kings*, of *Chronicles*, and of *Esdras*, by themselves
severally, which in the first accompt were numbred together, two of every of
these being accompted, but as one booke, and dividing *Ruth* from the *Judges*.
These onely did the auncient Church of the Iewes receive, as Divine and Ca-
nonicall.

That other bookes were added unto these, whose authority not being cer-
taine & knowne, are named *Apocryphall*, fell out on this sort. The Iewes in their
latter times, before, and at the comming of Christ, were of two ^e sorts; some
properly and for distinctions sake named *Hebrewes*, commorant at *Hierusalem*
and in the holy Land; others named *Helenists*, that is, *Jewes* of the dispersion,
mingled with the *Grecians*. These had written sundry bookes in Greeke, which
they made use of, together with other parts of the Old Testament, which they
had of the Translation of the *Septuagint*: but the *Hebrewes* received onely the
two and twenty bookes before mentioned. Hence it came, that the *Jewes* de-
livered a double Canon of the Scripture, to the Christian Churches: the one
pure, indubitate, and divine, which is the *Hebrew Canon*; the other in *Greeke*,
enriched with, or rather adulterated by the addition of certaine bookes written
in those times, when God raised up no more Prophets among his people. This
volume thus mixed of divers sorts of bookes, the Christians received of the
Iewes. These bookes joyned in one volume, were translated out of Greeke into
Latine, and read by them of the Latine Church, in that Translation: ^f for there
was no Catholique Christian, that ever translated the Scriptures of the old Te-
stament, out of Hebrew into Latine, before *Hieromes* time, nor none after him,
till our age.

Hence it came, that the Fathers of the Greeke Church, having *Origen*, and
sundry other learned in the Hebrew tongue, and making search into the anti-
quities and originals of the Iewes, received as Canonicall, onely the two and
twenty bookes, written in the Hebrew, and did account all those books, which
were added in the Greeke to bee *Apocryphall*. The Latines receiving them
both in one Translation, and bound up in one volume, used sundry parts of the
Apocryphall bookes, in their prayers, and readings, together with the other,
and cited them in their writings: yet did none of them make any Catalogue of
Canonicall, and *Apocryphall* bookes, and number them amongst the Canoni-
call, before the ^g third Councell of *Carthage*, wherein *Augustine* was present,
at which time also ^h *Innocentius* lived, which Fathers seeme to adde to the Ca-
non divers bookes which the Hebrewes receive not. *Hierome* translating the
Scripture out of the Hebrew, and most exactly learning what was the He-
brew Canon, rejected all besides the two and twenty Hebrew bookes, as the
Grecia-

Grecians did before, and as after him, all men of note in the Latine Church did.

There was great exception taken to *Hierome*, for adventuring to translate the Scripture out of Hebrew, and among others ¹ *Augustine* and the Africans, seemed not much to like it. They therefore reckon the bookes of Scripture, according as they found them in use in the Latine Church, not exactly noting the difference of the one, from the other: yet not denying, but that the Hebrew Canon consisted onely of two and twenty bookes, and that they tooke exceptions to them, when they alleaged any testimonies out of those bookes, the Hebrewes admit not. Against which exceptions, ^m *Augustine* no otherwise justifieth himselfe but by the use of the Church in reading of them. Which prooffe is too weak to prove them Canonically, seeing the prayer of *Manasses*, confessed by our adversaries to be Apocryphall, the third and fourth of *Esdras*, the booke called *Pastor*, and some other, were likewise read by them of the Church cited by them in their writings, and many things translated out of them, into the publike prayers, and Liturgies of the Church.

¹ Aug. Hieron. epist. 10.

^m De prædestinatione Sanctorum. c. 14.

Thus then these Fathers not looking carefully to the originals, name all those bookes Canonically, which the use of Gods Church approved as profitable, and containing matter of good instruction, and so numbred the bookes of *Wisdom*, and the rest with the Canonically. Whose opinion yet, as *Cajetane* thinketh, was not that they were absolutely Canonically, but in a sort, in that they containe a good direction of mens manners. These the Greeke Fathers rejected from the Canon, admitting onely those which the reformed Churches at this day admit, as also almost all the Divines of the Latine Church, after *Hierome*, doe.

That some of the Greeke Fathers rejected the booke of *Hester*, it was, (as ^a *Sixtus Senensis* rightly noteth) by reason of the Apocryphall additions, which they not being skilfull in the Hebrew tongue, did not discern from the true part of it, which error made them to reject the whole booke as Apocryphall. This was also the reason, why they admitted those Apocryphall additaments, joyned to the booke of *Daniel*.

^a Bibliothecæ sanctæ l. 1. pag. 20.

Howsoever, it appeareth that all they, which diligently looked into these things, did admit all those bookes which wee admit, and reject all those which we reject. Neither is there any one amongst all the ancient, before the third Councell of *Carthage*, that clearely and of set purpose, numbred the bookes controverted betweene us and our adversaries, with the bookes of the Canon. ^o *Melito*, then Bishop of *Sardis*, going purposely into the East parts of the world, that he might diligently search out the monuments and sacred books of divine knowledge, reckoneth those only Canonically, which we do, save that he addeth the booke of *Wisdom*. ^p *Origen* admitteth and acknowledgeth onely two and twenty bookes of the Old Testament. ^q *Athanasius* likewise numbred the books of the Canon in the same sort, and addeth, There are also certaine other books which are read only to the Catechumens, and novices. ^r *Hilarius* saith, the law of the old Covenant, is contained in two and twenty bookes, answerable to the number of the Hebrew letters. ^s *Nazianzene* also, is of the same opinion, and ^t *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, only he addeth the booke of *Baruch*, thinking it to be a part of *Jeremies* Prophecies: but suffereth not any other to be added, saying, The Apostles and first Bishops which delivered these only, were wiser, and much more to be esteemed, than such as now goe about to adde others. Of the same judgement are ^u *Epiphanius*, ^v *Ruffinus*, ^w *Hierome*, and ^x *Gregory*. And ^y *Josephus* confirmeth the opinion of these Fathers saying, that from the time of *Artaxerxes*, till the age wherein hee lived, all things were committed to writing, which concerned the state of Gods people and Religion: but that they were not of equall authority, with those, which were formerly written, because after that time the indubitate succession of the Prophets ceased.

^o Eusebius l. 4. cap. 25.

^p Eusebius 6. cap. 24.

^q In Synopsi.

^r In prolog. explanat. Psalmorum.

^s De genuinis scripturæ libris, & cygneorum carminum lib. ad Seleucum de recta educatione.

^t 4. Catechesion.

^u Contra Epicur. hæres. 8. & de mensuris, & ponderibus.

^v In expositione Symboli.

^w In prolog. Galeato.

^x In Job. l. 19. cap. 17.

^y Eusebius l. 2. cap. 10.

Unto

^b De lib. Canonis, l. 3. pap. 289.

^c Præfatio in lib. Solom. Ep. Chromatium & Heliodorum.

^d In præfat. in lib. Judeth.

^e Panopliæ l. 3. cap. 3. Si Nicæna Synodus olim hunc Judeth libr. cum aliis, in Canonem redegerat, cur annis 80. post eam non recenset Laodicea? cur Nazianz. ejus non meminit? sed legitur computasse ait Hier. quod mihi dubitantis suspicionem subindicare videtur. ^f Laodicenſe Concilium manifestè confirmatum est à Synodo Trullana: Canus lib. 2. cap. 9. ^g Lib. 2. cap. 9. ^h Quod acta 6. Synodi parengrapha sint Alberti Pighii Diatribæ. ⁱ Moral. lib. 19. in cap. 39. Jobi 1. 17. ^k Lib. 4. cap. 18. Orthodoxæ fidei. ^l Eruditionis Didascalicæ, lib. 4. cap. 2. ^m Exceptionum lib. 2. cap. 9. ⁿ De auctoritate Veteris Testamenti, folio 25. ^o In præfat. in lib. Tobie. ^p Prolog. in Ecclesiasticum. ^q In Prolog. in Ecclesiasticum. ^r In summa theologia. 1. part. quæst. 89. art. 8. ad. 2. ^s Dialog. lib. 3. tractatus part. 3. cap. 16. ^t Theoremata. 5. ^u Doctrinal. fidei, lib. 2. art. 3. cap. 22. ^x Lib. 19. cap. 19. in quæst. Armeniorum. ^y De Eccles. dog. lib. 1. cap. ult.

Unto these authorities of the Fathers, some of our adversaries (as ^b *Andradius* and others) doe answer, that they speake of the Canon of the Hebrewes, and not of the Canon of the Church; so not denying absolutely these bookes to bee canonicall, but that they are not so esteemed by the Jewes: but this answerere the wordes of *Hierome* doe most clearly refute. As (saith hee) the Church, not the Synagogue of the Jewes, readeth the bookes of *Judeth*, *Tobias*, and the *Macchabees*, but receiveth them not as Canonicall Scriptures: so likewise it may reade these two bookes of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* for the edification of the people, but not for confirmation of doubtful poynts of doctrine. And therefore *Bellarmino*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and others, clearly confesse, that this answer of *Andradius* is insufficient.

They therefore adde another, to wit, that the Canon was not perfectly knowne, and confirmed, in the time of those Fathers. We aske them when it was confirmed. If they say, in the Councell of *Nice*, which (as ^c *Hierome* saith some report) received the booke of *Judeth*, as Canonicall, though ^d *Lindan* say it is not likely it did, and that *Hierome* did not say it did so, but that some reported so; we aske how it came to passe, that so many Catholike Divines, after the Nicene Councell, rejected these bookes as they did before. If they say, they were confirmed in the Councell of *Carthage*, that was but a provinciall Councell, as was that of *Laodicea*, in which they are not mentioned. If they say the Councell of *Carthage* was confirmed in the sixt generall Councell holden at *Trullo*; wee answer, first, that it was no more confirmed there, than that of *Laodicea*: and as ^e *Canus* noteth, the sixt Councell doeth not expressly name the third Councell of *Carthage*, but onely speaketh of Canons agreed upon in new *Carthage*. ^f Secondly, we say, that those Canons of the sixt Councell, wherein this pretended confirmation is found, are of no credit with the Romanists; so that it is cleare, that neither the *Nicene* Councell, nor this other, did confirme the authority of the bookes questioned, as appeareth by the consent of almost all the worthiest Divines in the Church, after those Councells till our age, as ^g *Gregory*, ^h *Damasceus*, ⁱ *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, ^m *Ricardus de Sancto Victore*, ⁿ *Petrus Cluniacensis*, ^o *Lyranus*, ^p *Dionysius Cathusianus*, ^q *Hugo Cardinalis*, ^r *Thomas Aquinas*, ^s *Occam*, ^t *Picus Mirandula*, ^u *Waldensis*, ^x *Armacanus*, ^y *Driedo*, *Cajetane*, and others.

CHAP. 24.

Of the uncertainty and contrariety found amongst Papists touching bookes Canonick and Apocryphall now controverted.

BUt let us come particularly to the bookes controverted, and see how sweetely our adversaries agree with themselves, in admitting or rejecting them. First, touching the booke of *Baruch*, though the Councell of *Florence* and *Trent*, have confirmed it to be Canonicall: yet ^a *Melchior Canus* saith, it is doubtful, whether it be or not; and yet saith, if it bee not Canonicall, the Councels of *Florence* and *Trent* have erred, and the people of God beene long abused, and the Church in grievous error. ^b And elsewhere againe he saith, the Church hath not certainly resolved, that it is Canonicall, and that it yeeldeth no certaine, cleare, and indubitate prooffe in mat-
ters

^a Lib. 2. cap. 9.

^b Lib. 12. cap. 6.

ters of faith. ^c *Driedo* denyeth it to be canonicall, & faith, *Cyprian Ambrose*, and others of the Fathers cited the Booke of *Baruch*, as also the third and fourth of *Esdras*, not as Canonicall, but as containing matter of good instruction, not contrary, but consonant to the faith. The additions of the booke of *Hester*, *Sixtus* ^d absolutely rejecteth, as vaine and foolish, contrary to the judgements of the Papists; yet admitteth the additions to *Daniel*. These also ^e *Driedo* rejecteth, notwithstanding the decree of the *Tridentine Councell*, ^f as the author of the booke *De mirabilibus Scripturae* did long before, calling the story of *Bel and the Dragon* a fable. ^g *Melchior Canus* professeth hee dareth not pronounce it hereticall, to deny any, or all of the controverted bookes of the Old Testament, and yet confidently pronounceth it hereticall to deny any of the bookes of the New Testament, which were sometimes doubted of; so that it seemeth a man may dissent from a generall Councell, and not be an Hereticke, and that the Councell of *Trent* proceeded not upon so good grounds of reason, in approving the one, as the other, contrary to their judgment, who say, we may as well doubt of the Bookes of the New Testament, whereof some doubted in former times, as of these of the Olde.

But it is easie to shew their error who so thinke, and to confirme the opinion of *Canus*, that there is not so great reason, why we should doubt of the one, as the other. For first, the Bookes of the New Testament were never doubted of, but by some few, in comparison of them that received and approved them: the most and most renowned for piety, learning, and right judgement, ever receiving them. For, to begin with those, of which there hath beene most doubt, *The Epistle to the Hebrewes*, and the booke of the *Revelation of S. John*. ^h *Hierome* witnesseth, that they never wanted the approbation of the worthiest and greatest parts of Gods Church. *Illud* (saith he) *nostris dicendum est, hanc epistolam quae inscribitur ad Hebraeos, non solum ab Ecclesiis Orientis, sed ab omnibus retrò Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus, quasi Pauli Epistolam suscipi, licet eam plerique vel Barnaba, vel Clementis, arbitrentur esse, &c.* Let our men know, that the Epistle to the Hebrewes, is not onely received, & approved, by all the Churches of the East, that now presently are, but by all Ecclesiasticall writers of the Greeke Churches, that have beene heretofore, as the Epistle of *Paul*: though many thinke it rather to have beene written by *Barnabas* or *Clemens*: and that it skilleth not who wrote it, seeing it was written by an Authour approved in the Church of God, and is dayly read in the same. If the custome of the Latines receive it not among the Canonicall Scriptures, no more doe the Greeke Churches admit the *Revelation of Saint John*: and yet we following the authority of the Auncient, receive them both. Secondly, the Churches of the Gentiles, to which the Bookes of the New Testament were delivered, were in parts of the world farre remote one from another, and did not immediatly all of them receive all the parts of these divine bookes, from the Authors of them, but from those particular Churches, to which they were specially directed, or in the middest whereof the writers of them remained, at the time of the writing of them. And therefore it is not to bee marvelled at, if being delivered and transmitted from one to another, some received them sooner, and some later. But the Bookes of the Olde Testament were delivered to one nationall Church only, and yet these now controverted were never received by it. Thirdly, these Bookes of the New Testament, whereof some in former times did doubt, were written in the Apostles times, whom GOD honoured with the first, immediate, and undoubted revelation of Divine trueth: these, after the succession of the Prophets were ceased. Fourthly, the bookes of the Olde Testament now controverted, were not written in the Hebrew, but in Greeke, by such of the Jewes as were of the dispersion, and therefore never received by the Hebrewes, nor counted amongst the sacred Bookes of the Canon; which they divi-

c In catal. scriptur. lib. 1. c. 4.

d Biblioth. 1. 1. p. 19.

e In catal. scriptur. lib. 1. c. ult.

f Lib. 2. cap. 32.

g Lib. 2. cap. 9.

h In epist. ad Dardanum de terra promissionis.

Aug. li. 2. cont
epist. Gauden-
tij, c. 23. scrip-
turam quam
appellant *Mac-*
cabaorum, non
habent *Judaei*,
sicut *Legem*, &
Prophetas &
Psalms, qui-
bus Dominus
testimonium
perhibet tan-
quam testibus
suis, *Lucæ* 24.
44. *Sixtus Bi-*
bliothecæ San-
ctæ li. 1. de va-
ria paratione
librorum cano-
nicorum.
Euseb. l. 7. c. 24
Heret. 5. 1. 75.
De præscrip-
tionibus.
Lib. 4.
Lib. 1. cap. ult.
Dialog. cum
Triphone.
Conc. Anci-
ran. cap. ult.
Græcos qui
Hier. teste, A-
pocalypsin non
recipiebant, &
paucos & ob-
scuros fuisse
necesse est.

Bellar. de ver-
bo Dei. l. 1. c. 19
Canones A-
postolorum,
can. 84. *Tobi-*
am, *Judeth*, &
Ecclesiasticum
inter canonicos
non numerant.
Geladius Papa
cum concilio
70. Episcopo-
rum nullam 2.
Maccabzorum
mentionem fa-
cit.

Genebrard.
in Chronolog.
pag. 94. *Eldra*
ad canonem
pertinere vult.
Bellar. de verbo
Dei, lib. 1. c. 20.
ubi ostendit du-
bium esse quid
multi senserint
de 3. *Eldra*.
Cajetan: Lu-
ther.

divided into the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Psalms*; to which Christ giveth testimony in the Gospel. Lastly, the reason moving some, to doubt of the bookes of the new Testament, was the uncertainty of the names of the authors, or something mistaken, misconstrued, or not understood in the bookes, which in time was cleared, and they afterward generally received. But the Apochryphall bookes of the old Testament, were rejected, as being written, when there was no more undoubted succession of Prophets, by the whole Church of the Hebrewes, and ever after by the best and worthiest guides of the Christian Churches.

That the bookes of the newe Testament, called in question by some, were doubted of upon such weake reasons, as hath beene said, will easily appeare. The Epistle to the Hebrewes was therefore doubted of by some, because the difference, and diversity of the style, made them thinke it not to be *Pauls*, whose name it carried, and by others, because the author of it seemed to them, to favour the error of the *Novatians*, in denying the reconciliation of such, as fall after baptisme. The second Epistle of *Peter* some doubted of, because of the diversity of the style, which *Hierome* rejecteth. The Epistle of *James*, because of the uncertainty of the author, it being doubtfull, which *James* was the author of it. The Epistle of *Jude*, because the author of it, alleageth the authoritie of an Apocryphall booke of *Enoch*, as they imagined. The second and third of *John*, because they are said to have beene written by *John the elder*, some denied to bee the Epistles of *John* the Apostle, ascribing them to another *John*. The *Revelation* was doubted of, first, because of the doubtfulnesse of the Title of *John* the Divine; secondly, because of the difficultie, and obscuritie, of the words of this Prophecie, or Revelation; and lastly, because the author of this booke, seemeth to favour the heresie of the *Millenaries*. But the Latine Church received this booke, as Canonically, as also the best and most learned of the Greeke, as *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, though hee deny it to have beene written by *John* the Evangelist: *Epiphanius* condemneth the *Alogi*, as heretickes, because they denie the Gospel, and Revelation of Saint *John*. *Tertullian* reckoneth it among the errors of *Cerdon*, that hee rejected the bookes of the *Aetes*, and the *Revelation*: and writing against *Marcion*, hee sheweth, that he also did denie the same booke. *Irenæus* saith, this Revelation was manifested unto *John*, and seene of him, but a little before his time. *Iustinus Martyr* doth attribute this booke to *John*, and doth account it a Divine Revelation. *Origen* in his preface before the Gospel of *John*, sayth, that *John* the sonne of *Zebedee*, saw in the Revelation, an Angell flying thorow the middest of heaven, having the eternall Gospel. The Councell of *Ancyra* pronounceth it to bee sacred, and that *John* was the author of it. Thus then I hope it doth appeare, that there is not so much reason to doubt of the bookes of the newe Testament, called sometimes in question, as of those of the old: seeing the former were never doubted of, but by some fewe, upon reasons frivolous, the weakenesse whereof being discovered, all Catholike Christians, with one consent received them, accounting them no better than Hieretickes, which either doubted of them, or denied them; whereas the later were rejected by the whole Church of the Iewes, by all antiquity, and the whole current of Gods Church, some fewe onely excepted, being ignorant of the tongues, and not exactly looking into the monuments of antiquity, and divided amongst themselves, some admitting more, and some not all those, which our adversaries now receive.

Wherefore as wee cannot but condemne the inconsiderate rashnesse, of such either of the Romish. or reformed Churches, as in our time make question of any of the bookes of the newe Testament, that are, and have beene, long read in the Churches of God, as Canonically, throughout the whole world; so likewise wee thinke their boldnesse inexcusable, who in these last ages make

make those bookes Canonically, which never were so esteemed by Gods Church before; and goe about to binde all mens consciences so to receive them, against the current of antiquity and the judgement of the best learned, in every age, even to our times.

C H A P. 25.

Of the divers Editions of the Scripture, and in what Tongue it was originally written.

THus having shewed, that the Scripture containeth a perfect rule of our faith, and having likewise made it appeare, what Bookes they are which are Canonically, and containe this rule of our Christian Faith and Religion; it remaineth that wee search out, what Editions there are of these Scriptures, and which are authentically, and of indubitate authoritie and credit. The whole Scripture of the old Testament, was written in *Hebrew*, save that some few things, were translated into the Bookes of *Esdra*s, and *Daniel*, out of the publick records, and monuments of the *Chaldees* in that Tongue, as the copies of letters, and publick acts and proceedings, all things which the Spirit of God did absolutely deliver, being expressed unto us in the same bookes in *Hebrew*.

The opinion of some hath beene, that the whole Scripture of the old Testament perished, and was lost in the time of the captivity of *Babylon*, and that it was newly composed by *Esdra*s. To which purpose they alleadge the authoritie of *Basil* who seemeth to say some such thing: and likewise the testimony of the Author of the fourth booke of *Esdra*s, where it is said, that the bookes of the Law being burnt, God sent the Holy Ghost into *Esdra*s, separated him from the people, for the space of fortie dayes, caused him to provide boxe tables, and men writing swiftly, and that in forty dayes they wrote two hundred and foure bookes; but this booke being Apochryphall, and full of Cabalisticall vanity, doth rather weaken, than strengthen this opinion. That which is alleadged out of the second of *Esdra*s, and the eighth, doth not prove, that *Esdra*s did newly compose the bookes of Scripture, but only that he brought them forth: which implieth, that they were not utterly lost, nor did wholly perish. Neither indeed is it likely, though that Scripture which was kept in the Temple was burnt, that *Ezechiel*, *Daniel*, *Ieremie*, *Haggai*, *Zacharie*, *Mardocheus*, and *Esdra*s himselfe, were so negligent, as not to preserve the bookes of the Scripture. So that all that *Esdra*s did, was nothing else, but the bringing together, and putting into order the scattered parts of this Scripture, and the correcting of such faults as in time by the negligence of the Writers, were crept into the severall Copies of it. This point is handled at large by *Bellarmino*, and excellently cleared by him, and therefore it is needlesse to insist upon it longer. So then the same Scripture, which *Moses* and the Prophets delivered, *Esdra*s sought out, and religiously commended unto the people.

Onely *Hierome* is of opinion; that hee found out new *Hebrew* Letters, and left the old to the *Samaritans*, which *Bellarmino* out of *Hierome* confirmeth, because the last letter of the *Hebrew* Alphabet, was like the *Greeke* τ , and had a similitude of the Crosse, as that of the *Samaritans* now hath, but that now hath no similitude with it. *Picus Mirandula* professeth, that having conferred with sundry *Iewes* about this matter, they all constantly denied this alteration of letters. And to what purpose should *Esdra*s alter the forme of letters, which *Moses* and the Prophets had used? Neither doth *Hierome*, in the place cited by *Bellarmino*, speake of the *Greeke* τ , but saith

In epist. ad Chilonem, ep. 181. in monte Carmelo fecerunt facto, Esdras omnes divinos libros ex mandato Dei erudit.

Bellar. l. 2. c. 1. de verbo Dei.

In prolog. Galeato.

Epist. ignoto amico, 5 d.

onely, that the last of the ancient *Hebrew* letters, had a similitude of the Crosse, as now that of the *Samaritans* hath.

But this being a matter of no great moment, let every man judge as he thinketh best. This then we constantly hold, that as the whole Scripture of the Old Testament was written in *Hebrew*, so the same never perished wholly, in any of the Captivities of the *Jewes*, but was religiously preserved, even the same which *Moses* and the Prophets delivered to the people of God.

After the returne of the people from *Babylon*, their Tongue and Language was mixed of the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*, and named the *Syriack* Tongue, from the Region or Countrey where it was used; in which Christ made all his Sermons to the people, as being best understood of them. Yet were not the bookes of the New Testament written in this Language, but in *Greeke*, because they were to bee made common to the Churches of the *Gentiles*, among which, the *Greeke* Tongue was most generally understood.

Hugo de S. Victore erudit. theologicæ in speculum Ecclesiæ de celebratione missæ cap. 7.

There are three Tongues most famous in the world, as *Hugo de Sancto Victore* noteth: the *Latine*, *Greeke*, and *Hebrew*, propter regnum, sapientiam, legem: the first, because of the Monarchy of the *Romans*, who, as they subjected the people which they did conquer, to their lawes and customes, so they did force them to learne their Language: the second, because in it the great Philosophers and wise men of the world, left the monuments of their wisdom, and learning to posterities: the third, because in it God delivered his Law, and the interpretation of it, by *Moses*, and the Prophets, to the people of *Israel* his chosen. Amongst all these, the *Greeke* was most generally understood by the learned of all Nations, because in it all the renowned wise men of the world had written, and all that were studious learned it, that they might understand their writings.

Hence it came, that the bookes of the new Testament were written in *Greek*, because God would not honour one Nation of the world more than another, nor force his people to borrow the bookes of Scripture one from another.

Onely some doubt there is touching the Gospel of *Mathew*, and the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, which are supposed to have bin written in *Hebrew*, and the Gospel of *Marke* written, as some say, in *Latine*. That the Gospel of *Mathew* was written in *Hebrew*, *Hierome*, and others affirme. *Guido Fabritius* saith, it was written in *Hebrew*, but in vulgar *Hebrew*, which is the *Syriack*, that they of *Hierusalem* did speake: which opinion ^k others seeme to incline unto, the Gospel in *Hebrew* which some bring forth, being of no credit. The Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, ^l some say was written in *Hebrew*, and translated by *Luke*, or *Barnabas* into *Greeke*. ^m The *Syrians* say, the Gospel of *Marke* was first written in *Latine*, and that afterward he translated both it, and the whole new Testament beside into *Syriack*, which they say, they have preserved to this day. This *Syriack* Translation of the new Testament, was not knowne in these parts of the world, till our age, as ⁿ *Fabritius Boderianus* noteth: who thereupon breaketh out into the praises of our times, if the men of this generation either knew the happinesse thereof, or how to use it. Howbeit that *Marke* was Authour of this *Syriack* translation, which the *Syrians* in this age have delivered unto us, ^o wee cannot perswade our selves, because none of the Fathers that lived in *Syria*, and *Egypt*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Athanasius*, *Theophilus*, *Ephiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Cyriel*, *Theodoret*, and *Damascen* make no mention of it: and besides, it is apparantly defective in divers things, as the Learned note. So then, the indubitate originalls of these parts of the new Testament in *Hebrew* or *Syriack*, if they were written at first in these Tongues, being lost, and the Church deprived of them, the *Greeke* is holden to be originall, in respect of all the books of the New Testament. For that, either they were all written in it, or translated into it, by the Apostles, or Apostolick men.

^b In Cæl. Script. Eccles. de Matthæo verba faciens.

^c In præf. Novi Test. Syriaci Transl.

^d Bellarm. l. 2. de verbo Dei c. 4.

^e Andrad. de lib. canon. l. 3. fol. 320.

^f Euseb. lib. 6. c. 13. l. 3. c. 33.

^g Guido Fabritius in præf. prædicta.

^h The originall *Latine* Text of *Marke* is said to be kept at Venice till this day.

ⁱ Eadem præf.

^j Bellarm. l. 2. de verbo Dei c. 4.

CHAP. 26.

Of the translations of the old Testament out of Hebrew into Greeke.

THus hauing deliuered, in what tongues the Scriptures, and bookes of God were written, it remayneth that we enquire, what the principall translations of them haue bene, and whether the indubitate verity of them, be in the originals, or in the translations. * There was, as some suppose, a translation of the old Testament out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, before the time of *Alexander* the great: but the first that was in note, and remayned long in esteeme in the world, was that of the *Septuagint*, in the time of *Ptolomaeus Philadelphus*; who, intending to furnish a Librarie at *Alexandria*, with all the choicest bookes the world would afford, amongst other places, sent to *Hierusalem*, to the rulers & guides of the people there, who sent vnto him, the bookes of *Moses* and the Prophets, written in *Hebrew*, in letters of gold, which hee not vnderstanding, sent the second time, for interpreters, and they sent vnto him 72. in imitation of *Moses*, who when hee went vp to the Mount to receiue the Law, being commanded to take with him 70. of the Elders of *Israel*: added two to the number prescribed, lest taking six out of some Tribes, and but five out of other, some dislike might haue grown amongst them. These in 70 dayes translated the whole old Testament, out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*. For though *Iosephus* and the *Iewes* say, they translated onely the bookes of *Moses*, yet the consenting voyce of all the Fathers, affirming that they translated the whole, moueth vs rather to thinke, the whole was translated by them, then onely the bookes of *Moses*; vnlesse wee say with *Iunius*, for the reconciling of this difference, that onely the bookes of *Moses*, were translated by the first 72, sent to *Ptolomie*, and the rest afterwards, by 72 also, though not the same.

That which some report, that they were shut vp in severall cells, which long after were to be seene at *Alexandria*, *Hierome* rejecteth as a fable; shewing, that no such thing is reported by *Aristeus*, that was present at the businesse, and that no remaynder of any such cells, was to be found at *Alexandria*, but that they met in one place, and conferring together euery day, till the ninth houre, in 70 dayes, perfected the whole worke; and *Augustine* leaveth it doubtfull. This fable is vrged by some to proue, that these translatours were guided by a propheticall spirit, and so could not erre: which false and absurd conceits, *Hierome* condemneth likewise.

The second translation of the old Testament, out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, was that of *Aquila*, in the time of *Adrian* the Emperour: the 3. of *Theodotion*, in the time of *Commodus*. The fourth, of *Symachus*, in the time of *Senerus*. The fifth, without name of author, was found in the City of *Hiericho*, in the time of *Antonius Caracalla*. The sixth, in *Nicopolis* in the dayes of *Alexander* the son of *Mammea*. The seventh, of *Origen*, who translated not, but corrected the translation of the *Septuagint*, adding some things out of *Theodotions* translation, which additions he noted with the marke of a shining starre, detracting other things, which he pearced through with a spitte. * The eight, of *Lucian* the Martyr, was not a translation, but a correction only of such faults, as were crept into the translation of the *Septuagint*. This was found at *Nicomedia*, in the time of *Constantine*, *Lucian* being martyred long before, in the dayes of *Dioclesian* the Emperour.

The ninth, of *Hesichius*, was likewise but a correction of such things as were amisse in the vulgar editions of the *Septuagint*. It appeareth by *Hierome*, in his preface before the bookes of *Chronicles*, that they of *Alexandria* & *Egypt*,

Bellar. l. 2. de verbo Deic. 5: ostendit aliquas ita sensisse. Epiphanius de mensuris & ponderibus. Bellar. de verbo Dei, l. 2. c. 6. d. Iunius in Bellar. contro: 1. lib. 2. cap. 6. Hiero: in Pentateuchum Mosi praefat. De doctrina Christiana, l. 2. c. 15. Aug. s. 2. p. ac sapius 72 prophetas appellat, et eodem quo prophetae, spiritu incitatos illi etiam scripsisse, in quibus ab Hebraea oratione dissentiant, confirmat. Andrad de vulgatae editionis auctoritate l. 4. fol. 355. Epiphanius de mensuris & ponderibus. Hiero: ad Aug. ep. & praefat. lib. Iob. Epiphanius de mensuris & ponderibus. Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 6. Hiero: in li. 16. comment. Bellar. ad Eusebium proem de illis verbis, sepulchrum patrum est gustatorum, aut non haberi in Hebraico, nec esse in 70 interpretibus, sed in editione vulgata, quae communis dicitur, & in toto orbe diversa est.

used that edition of the *Septuagint*, which *Hesichius* corrected: they of *Constantinople*, that of *Lucian* the Martyr: and they of the Provinces, and Countreys lying betweene these, that which *Origen* corrected.

^m Hiero. in Epist. ad Suniam & Fretellam.
ⁿ Epiphanius de mensuris & ponderibus. Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 16.

The *Greeke* translation found to neede correction, and corrected by these, as it seemeth, was called by the name of the common edition, not as being a different translation, from that of the *Septuagint*, but as being that, which was common in all mens hands, and much altered, and corrupted, from the originall purity which these worthy men endeavoured to restore it to againe.^m And was so named, because there was another, preserved in greater purity, in that worthy worke of *Origen*, that filled all the famous Libraries in the world, in those times; in which first dividing every page into sixe columnes, or pillars, in the first, hee put the *Hebrew* in the *Hebrew* Characters; in the second, in *Greeke*; in the third, the interpretation of *Aquila*; in the fourth, of *Symmachus*; in the fifth, of the *Septuagint*; in the sixth, of *Theodotion*, and named the volumes thus disposed in respect of the foure translations, *Tetrapla*, a foure-fould worke; in respect of these translations, and the *Hebrew* in two kinde of Characters, placed in two severall pillars or Columnes, *Hexapla*, a sixe-fould worke; to which afterwards adding in two other pillars, or columnes, the fifth and sixth translations, before mentioned, found in *Hiericho*, and *Nicopolis*, he named the whole *Octapla* an eight-fould worke.

C H A P. 27.

Of the Latine Translations, and of the authority of the vulgar Latine.

^a De doctrina Christiana l. 2. cap. 11.

^b Ad Leandrum episcopum in expositionem beati Iob. epist. cap. 5. novam translationem differo, sed ut comprobationis causa exigit, nunc novam nunc veterem per testimonia assumo: Sedes apostolica utraque utitur.
^c In Esaie cap. 49.

^d In a place above cited.

^e Bellar. l. 2. c. 9. de verbo dei.

THUS having delivered what translations there are, and have beene of the old Testament out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, let us see, what translations there are, and have beene of the old, and new Testament, into *Latine*. They, saith ^a *Augustine*, that translated the olde Testament, out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, may easily be numbred; but they that translated the old and new Testament out of *Greeke* into *Latine*, cannot bee numbred. Yet amongst so many and diverse translations, it seemeth there was one more common then the rest called by ^b *Gregory*, the olde translation, and by *Hierome* upon *Esay*, the vulgar; who disliketh it, & preferreth the translation of *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, before it, in the interpretation of the place of the Prophet he there expoundeth. The first that translated the olde Testament out of *Hebrew* into *Latine* was *Hierome*, and the last, till our age; whereupon great exception was taken to him for it, as appeareth by his severall Epistles, wherein he excuseth and defendeth himselfe. Yet notwithstanding all these dislikes, and exceptions, it appeareth by ^c *Gregory*, that a new translation beganne to be in use in the Church, not long after *Hieromes* time: which is thought to be that, we now call the *vulgar*. Whether this translation be *Hieromes*, or not, there is great variety of judgement. Some, as *Pagnine*, and *Paule* Bishop of *Forosempronium*, deny it to be *Hieromes*: others, as *Augustinus Eugubinus*, and *Picus Mirandula*, affirme it to be his: Other, as *Driedo*, and *Sixtus Senensis*, thinke it to be mixed of the old and new.

Bellarmino delivereth his opinion in certaine propositions, whereof the first is, that we have the *Latine* text of the new Testament, not of *Hieromes* translation, but of his correction onely: the second, that we have the *Psalmes* of the old translation, formerly in use: the reason whereof is thought to bee, because the Church fearefull to give an offence to the weake, would not admit any alteration in them, being daily read, and sung in the assemblies of the faithfull: the third, that we have the bookes of *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom*, and the *Maccabees*, of the old translation, the author whereof is not knowne: the fourth, that we have all the rest of *Hieromes* translation.

This

This translation some thinke so perfect, as that it is not to bee corrected according to the Originals, if in any thing it dissent from them, but that rather they are to be holden corrupt, in all such places of difference. Now because this Translation in many places, and sundry things, is found to dissent from the Originals, therefore they inferre a great corruption of the Originals. This is the erroneous conceit of *Lindan*, *Canius*, and others of that sort, against whom in the *Lib. 2. cap. 13.* just defence of the truth of the Originals, the best learned in the Church of *Rome* oppose themselves, as *John Isaack*, *Arias Montanus*, *Driedo*, *Andrad*, *Arias Montanus de varia* *dim*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and many more. The chiefest Argument of the adverse part in Hebraicis is, for that if this Translation be not pure and faultlesse, the Church had not the lib. lectione, ac word of God so long as it used this translation onely. For answer hereunto, *Andrad* demandeth, if the Church were not as perfect, and as assuredly possessed ratione & usu of the truth, before this translation of *Hierome*, as since; if it were, he demandeth, if they that lived in those times did not as much admire the Translation of *Andrad* in his the *Septuagint*, and the *Latine* translations out of it, as they do the vulgar. Now, 4 booke intre- that they did, he proveth at large out of sundry of the Ancient, who held, that ring of the au- the *Septuagint* were led in translating, with a prophetieall spirit, freeing them shority of the venturing to translate after them, as if he could correct any thing that they had vulgar transla- done. Yea so great opposition did he finde, that he was forced to give way to tion, sheweth the clamours, and out-cries of his adversaries, to attribute much unto them, and on, as also the judgement of to make shew, that hee would never have begun this worke of a new transla- John Isaack, tion, if that of the *Septuagint* had remained, and beene preserved in originall and *Driedo* for the justification of things of purpose, mistooke many things of ignorance, and suppressed other, of the Originals. Now (saith *Andrad*) I would know, whether in all the places wherein Præfat. in Pa- the translations then in use, differed from the originals; the originals were cor- talip, &c. scri- rupted. If they were, then our translation, which commeth neerer to the origi- bit: Si versio- nals, and leaveth the former translations is corrupt, and so while these men en- 70. integra li- deavour to defend; they overthrow the authority of the vulgar translation. But beretur ut ab- some perhaps will demand, whether the Church of God in those times had not iis edita fuit, se- the true Scriptures of God, and whether the Church of God at any time have frustra labora- beene without an approved translation. Hereunto *Andrad* answereth, that turum in Bi- rendis. In 2. & 8. ca: the Church doth approve of translations, not pronouncing that there is nothing Eiaiz, & 17. le- amisse in them, or that they depart not from the true sense, and right meaning of remiz, alia any particular place, but that the Divine Mysteries are therein truly delivered, Christi adven- and nothing that concerneth faith, religion, or good manners, ignorantly, or frau- tum interpreta- dulently suppressed. ti sunt nequa-

The Councell of *Trent* defined, that the vulgar *Latine* translation shall bee holden as authentical; but hee saith, *Andreas Vega*, who was present at the Councell, reported, that the Fathers of the Councell meant not to determine, quam perce- that it is not defective nor faulty, but that it is not erroneous and faulty, in such pisse, alia, ne- gentis suæ glo- that it is not hurtfull, or pernicious opinion in matters of faith, or manners, riam obscura- tent, noluisse sub Egyptio- may necessarily bee deduced from it. And that this was the meaning of the Cardinall of *Andrad*. 1. 4. de- rum oculos subicere: Councell, he saith, *Andreas Vega* alleadgeth the authority of the Saint Crosse, afterwards Pope, who delivered so much unto him. So that the sens. fid. Tri- Church of God doth not receive any translation, as free from all error, and in Ibidem. that sense authentical, but thinketh that to be the peculiar excellencie of the originals, which are by some unjustly disgraced, and called in question, as if they were so corrupted, that translations should be preferred before them.

C H A P. 28.

Of the truth of the Hebrew Text of Scripture.

FOr first, touching the Hebrew Text, which some suppose hath beene corrupted by the *Jewes*, it is not likely that of purpose they would corrupt it: for then they would specially have corrupted those places, which make most clearly against them, and for the Christians; but those places are not corrupted, as *Andradus* sheweth, and proveth by the testimony of *Iohn Isaack*, who was wonne to Christianity, by the pregnancie of a Chapter of *Esayes* Prophecie in Hebrew.

^a Aug. lib. 19 de Civitate Dei, cap. 13.

^b Ipsa prophetia quid aliud nisi a nostris putaretur conficta, si non inimicorum codicibus probaretur. Ideo ne occideris eos, ne ipsius, entis nomen extingueris, ne quando obliviscantur legis tuæ; disperge illos in virtute tua: Si enim in uno loco essent rerarum, non adjuvarent testimonio predicationem Evangelii quæ fructificat in toto orbe terrarum: adeo disperge illos in virtute tua, ut eis ipsius, qui fuerunt negatores, persecutores, interfectores, ubique sint testes per legem, &c. Aug. Paulino epist. 59. ^c Lib. 4 defensionis fidei Tridentinæ. ^d Lib. 2. de verbo Dei, cap. 2.

Neither is it likely, ^a *dum aliis inviderent auctoritatem, sibi abstulisse veritatem*; that while they were unwilling that we should have any authority, for confirmation of our faith in their Scriptures, they would deprive themselves of the truth of them, which they ever held the richest treasure in the world. ^b Especially seeing it hath ever beene thought by the wisest in Gods Church, that God in his providence, hath therefore preserved these forlorne, and forsaken Creatures, and dispersed them into the severall Nations and Kingdomes of the World, that they might give testimonie to the truth of our faith, by those monuments of *Moses*, and the Prophets, which they honour and embrace, as received from God himselfe.

Thus then, wee are perswaded, that there is no great nor generall corruption of the Hebrew Text of Scripture, and that the faults which by negligence, in time crept into it, are but few, and such as by helpe of the *Maxarab*, may easily bee amended. But because ^c *Andradus*, ^d *Bellarmino* and other of our Adversaries, have undertake the defence of the truth, and confirmation of their fellowes error in this point, I will no longer insilt upon it: let us come therefore to the new Testament.

C H A P. 29.

Of the supposed Corruption of the Greeke Text of Scripture.

^a Bibliotheca lib. 7. hæref. 1. ^b Ad Suniam & Forcellam.

IN the new Testament, saith ^a *Sixtus Senensis*, out of ^b *Hierome*, if any question arise amongst them that reade the Scriptures in *Latine*, and there appeare difference and variety amongst the translations, we must have recourse to the *Greeke* as to the fountaine, assuring our selves, that there were ever some incorrupt and true Copies of the new Testament, found amongst them that reade the same in *Greeke*, out of which the *Latine* might bee corrected; and that if some faults bee found in the *Greeke* Copies, by the negligence, or mistaking of them that wrote them out, they may easily bee discerned, by laying together sundry Copies, casually corrupted, it so falling out, that what in one booke is depraved by the fault of the Writers, in another is found right. Now saith hee, whereas certaine Hereticks did say, that either *Hierome* did not translate the same *Greeke* that now is, or that he translated it very ill, it is to be answered, that the *Greeke* is the same, which all Christians read and translated, before and after *Hierome*; but that hee translated it not, but onely in some things corrected the old translation, hee found in use before, and that yet notwithstanding, that vulgar and old translation is not wholly to bee abandoned and rejected: for that, though it doe not exactly agree with the *Greeke*, which is the originall, yet it omitteth nothing in matter of faith, or truth of story, nor hath any thing contrary to the truth of Religion.

The

The Romanists, to prove that the Greeke Text of the new Testament is corrupted, and consequently that it is not safe to correct the Latine Translations by it, alleadge certaine places, which they presume, they can easily demonstrate to bee corrupted. ^c Bellarmine giveth instance in these that follow. In the 1. Cor. 15. the Greeke that now is, hath in all Copies, *The first man was of the earth, earthly, the second man is the Lord from heaven*: the later part of this Sentence, ^d Tertullian supposeth to have beene corrupted, and altered by the Marcionites, in stead of that the Latine Text hath, *The second man was from heaven, heavenly*, as ^e Ambrose, ^f Hierome, and many of the Fathers read also. Touching this place wee answer, that not onely the Greeke Copies now extant have it, as we read and translate, but the Syriack and Arabick also, and that ^g Damascene de orthodoxa Fide readeth in the same sort.

Lib. 2. cap. 7.
de verbo Dei.

Lib. 5. contra
Marcionem.

In 1 Cor. 15.

In eundem
locum.

De Orthodoxa
fide, lib. 3.
cap. 12.

Lib. 7. 31.

Contra Ju-
dæos, l. 2. c. 8.

Expos. in ep.
Iohann. tract. 6.

Lib. 1. loqui-
tur de latinis
codicibus, & in
illis ait legi, *Di-*

visa est mulier

& virgo: quod

quingquam ha-
beat suum sen-

suum, & a se

quoque pro

qualitate loci

hic edisseritum

fit, tamen non

esse Apostolicæ

veritatis pro-

nunciat.

Lib. 2. contra
Pelagianos.

Sixtus Bib-
liothecæ, l. 1. de

ordine libro-
rum novi Te-
stamenti.

Notwithstanding, because many of the Fathers both Greeke and Latine, fol-
low the other reading, wee thinke it very doubtfull which is the originall ve-
rity. This difference of the reading of the Apostles words, is a matter of no
great moment, seeing neither of them containe any thing contrary to the rule
of faith, or verity of Christian Religion. The second place they produce, is
1 Iohn 4. 3. Where the Greeke hath, *Every spirit that confesseth not, &c.* but the
Latine, *Every spirit that dissolveth Iesus*. It is true, that Socrates in his history
saith, that the ancient Greeke Copies had as the Latine now hath, and that
these words were put out by such as divided the person of Christ: yet seeing
not onely all Copies of the Greeke Text, but the Syriack Translation also hath,
Every spirit that confesseth not, &c. and ^h Cyprian so citeth the place, and ⁱ Au-
gustine readeth and interpreteth both; wee thinke it likewise very doubtfull,
which is the originall verity.

The next place is the 1 Cor. 7. where in the vulgar Latine wee read in this
sort: *Hee that is with a wife, is carefull for the things of the World, how he may*
please his wife, and is divided, that is, distracted with many cares: but in the
Greeke it is thus, *Hee that hath a wife is carefull for the things of the world, how*
to please his wife; there is a difference betwene a wife and a virgine, for they are di-
vided one from another. That the former is the true reading of the Apostles
words, Bellarmine proveth, because Hierome against ^j Iovinian affirmeth it to
be so, and some other of the Fathers follow the same.

But hee should know, that not onely the most part of all the Greeke Copies
have as wee translate, but the Syriack, and Arabick Translations also. Besides,
^k Basil, the Greeke Scholiast, ^l Theophylact, and Hierome himselfe against Helvi-
dus, and to ^m Eustachium de Custodiâ Virginicitatis. So that this prooffe of the
corruption of the Originall, proveth too weak. The next allegation concer-
ning the 12. to the Romans, *observing the Lord, and serving the time*, is much
weaker. For ⁿ Beza sheweth, that some Greeke Copies have, as the vulgar hath,
and as Bellarmine saith, the truth is, *serving the Lord*. That the story of the
Adulteresse in the eighth of Iohn is not found in many Greeke Copies, doth not
prove the generall corruption of the Greeke Text, which is the thing our Ad-
versaries undertake to prove. For if it did, the Latine also should bee rejected,
as corrupted and false. For as ^o Hierome witnesseth, many of the Latine Copies
wanted this storie, as well as the Greeke. Some of the Ancient were of opi-
nion, that this storie was first found in the Apocryphall Gospel, according to the
Hebrewes. But whatsoever wee thinke of it, it maketh nothing against the
authority of the Greeke Text, seeing it was ever found in some Greeke Copies,
though not in all.

The Rhemists, to disgrace the Greeke, alleadge sundry places, where they say,
our Translators choose rather to follow the vulgar Latine, than the Greeke,
thereby acknowledging, that it is corrupt. But if wee examine the particulars,
wee shall finde, that this their allegation is nothing else, but a lying and false
report. For they ever follow some, and those the best and most incorrupt

Greeke

In their pre-
face before the
new Testament
translated by
them.

• In his annotations upon the severall places objected by the Rhemists.

Greeke Copies, as *Beza* sheweth. Wherefore failing in this allegation, they betake themselves to another, not of falsehood, but of superfluitie: the first instance whereof that they give, is the sixth of *Mathew*, where the Lords Prayer in the vulgar *Latine*, endeth with that petition, *deliver us from evill*, leaving out *for thine is the Kingdome, the power, and the glory*, which they suppose to be superfluously added in the *Greeke*. But these men should know, that though it were granted, that these words were superfluous, yet nothing is thereby derogated from the *Greeke*, seeing some *Greeke* Copies, and they very ancient, omit them, as *Beza* sheweth. Their next instance, is *Rom. 11.* where the vulgar *Latine* hath, *If of grace, not of workes: otherwise grace should be no more grace:* to which is added by way of *Antithesis*, and opposition in the *Greeke*, *If of workes, not of grace, otherwise workes should be no more workes.* It will bee very hard for our Adversaries to prove, that these later words are superfluously added, being found not onely in the most *Greeke* Copies, but in the *Syriack* translation. But if it were granted, yet there is one *Greeke* Copie of great antiquity, that omitteth these words, as well as the vulgar *Latine*. The next instance is the sixth of *Marke*, and the 11. *Verely I say unto you, it shall be easier for Sodome and Gomorra, &c.* If it were granted, that these words were superfluously added, which yet there is no reason to doe, seeing besides very many *Greeke* Copies, the *Syriack* translation hath them also, yet would this make nothing for the improving of the credit of the *Greeke*, seeing as *Beza* professeth, there are three *Greeke* Copies that omit them. The like may bee said, touching the next allegation of *Mathew*, the 20. 22, 23. where these words, *and be baptized with the baptisme that I am baptized with*, are supposed to be superfluous; for there are some *Greeke* Copies that omit them, as well as the vulgar.

Thus having examined the severall allegations of our Adversaries, against the authority and credit of the *Greeke* Text of the New Testament, wee see that they faile in them, neither being able to convince it of falsehood, nor superfluitie. Wherefore, to conclude this matter, wee say with *Hierome*, that the *Latine* editions are to bee corrected by the *Greeke*; and that by the providence of GOD, the verity of the Scriptures of the New Testament, hath ever beene preserved in the originall: That those faults and errors which are crept into some Copies, may easily by the helpe of others, bee corrected, and that there is no difference in matter of substance, in so great varietie of Copies, as are found in the world. If any man say, the *Greeke* hath beene corrupted since the dayes of *Hierome*, and that therefore, though hee in his time thought the translations might bee corrected by the Originalls, yet now wee may not take the same course; wee answer, it may easily bee proved, that all those supposed corruptions, which they now finde in the *Greeke*, were found in it in *Hieromes* time. For there are but two places, to wit, *1 Corinth. 15.* and *1 Iohn 4. 3.* where all *Greeke* Copies, have otherwise than they say the truth is, and these places were corrupted, (if there bee any error in the present reading) before *Hieromes* time. Thus much touching the sufficiencie of the Scriptures, and the editions wherein the authentick verity of the same is to bee sought.

CHAP.

CHAP. 30.

Of the Power of the Church in making Lawes.

NOW it remaineth that wee come to the next part of our division touching the power of the Church, in making lawes. As the will of God, willing and purposing the being of each thing, is the first, and highest cause, of things: so the same will of God, determining what is fitte to bee, what, of what kinde, in what sort, each thing must bee, that it may attaine, and possesse, the uttermost degree of perfection, the orderly disposition of things, requireth, to bee communicated to it, is the first and highest lawe to the whole world. And as the will of God determining what is fitt, defining what ought to bee, and what must bee, if the Creatures attaine their highest perfection, is a generall lawe to all Creatures: soe when hee maketh knowne to creatures rationally, and of an understanding nature, which have power to doe or omitte things thus fitte to bee done, that though hee leave it in their power, and freedome of choise, to doe, or omitte them, yet they shall be tyed, either to doe them, or to loose the good they desire to enjoy, and incur the evils they would avoyd: It is more specially named a lawe of commandement, precept, or direction, binding them upon whom it is imposed, to the performance of that it requireth.

*Cameracensis
in principio in
primum sen-
tentiary.*

The Precepts and Commandements of Almighty God, are of two sorts: for either they are such, as in respect of the nature and condition of the things themselves, are good, and so binde all men, at all times: or else they are positive, prescribing things variable according to the diversities of times, and the different condition of men living in them. The former kinde of Lawes, God imposed upon men, in the day of their creation, or redemption, and restauration, together with the very nature, and being, which hee gave them: the later prescribing things not naturally and perpetually good, but good onely at some time, to some men, and to some purposes and uses, to which they serve, were not imposed at first, together with the institution of nature, or the restauration of the same by grace, but are then imposed, when the things they prescribe are judged good, and beneficiall. So God prescribed, before the comming of Christ his sonne, those sacrifices, and offerings, which now hee regardeth not: and hath now instituted those Sacraments, Ceremonies, and rites of Religion, which before were not knowne in the World.

Thus wee see, that the originall of all lawes is the will of God: who, as hee reserveth for himselfe, the honor of being the supream, first, and highest cause of all things, and yet communicateth part of his Divine power, to subordinate and inferiour causes: so though hee alone be the great lawgiver to every creature, yet hee communicateth part of his authority, to such among the sonnes of men, as he is pleased to make greater than others, giving them power to command, and prescribe lawes unto them.

Touching this matter thus generally delivered, there is noe difference betwene us, and our adversaries. For it is confessed on both sides, that God who is the great lawgiver to the whole world, hath chosen out some from amongst the rest of the sonnes of men, whom hee hath beene pleased to honour with his owne name, to set upon his owne seat, and to make rulers and lawgivers unto his people: but the question is, within what bounds this power is contained, and how farre the band of lawes, made by such authority extendeth.

C H A P. 31.

Of the boundes, within which, the power of the Church in making lawes is contained, and whether shee may make lawes concerning the worship of God.

Controver 9.
de potestate ec-
clesiæ circa cul-
tum religionis
quæst. 6. art. 1.
in explicatione
articuli.

Touching the first, the question is vsually proposed, whether the Rulers of Gods Church and people, may make lawes concerning Gods worshippe and seruice. For the clearing whereof, *Stapleton* distinguisheth the things pertayning to the worshippe and service of God, into three sorts. The first, such as are seales, assurances, and in their sort, and kind, causes of grace; as the sacrifices in olde time; and the sacraments now: the second, such as remoue the impediments of grace, dispose to the receipt of it, and worke other spirituall and supernaturall effectes, though they giue not grace in so high degree as the first; as the signing with the signe of the Crosse, sprinkling with holy water, and the like: the third, such as are vsed onely for order, and comlinesse, in the performance of the principall, and essentiall duties of Gods worshippe and seruice. These being the diuerse sorts of things, pertayning to the Worshippe and seruice of God, the question and controuersie betweene us and our aduersaries, is onely touching things of the second ranke. For, they confesse, the Church hath no power, to institute things of the first sort. and wee willingly grant unto it, a most ample power, in things of the third sort. Let vs first therefore lay downe their opinion, and then examine the trueth, or falshood of it.

Their opinion is, that the Church hath power to institute Ceremonies, and obseruations, though not to iustifie, and giue grace, as doe the Sacraments, yet to cure diseases, driue away deuils, purge out veniall sinnes, and to worke other the like spirituall, and supernaturall effects; and that not onely by way of impetration, and by force of the prayers of the Church, which hath prayed, that they that vse such things may enjoy such happy benefites, but *ex opere operato*, by the very worke wrought, the vse of these things, applying the merits of Christ, to the effecting of these inferiour effects, as the Sacraments doe, to the effects of Iustification and remission of sinnes.

De imaginib.
Sanctorum l. 2.
cap. 30.

The signe of the Crosse, sayth *Bellarmino*, driueth away Diuels, three wayes; first, by the deuotion of them that vse it, it being a kind of invocation of his name, that was crucified for the redemption of the world, expressed not by words, but by this signe: Secondly, by the impression of feare, which the verie sight and apprehension of it worketh in the diuell, as being the thing whereby Christ wrought his overthrow: Thirdly, *ex opere operato*; in which sort Infidells vsing this signe, haue wrought these effects.

The *Rhemists* vpon 1. *Tim.* 4. 5. *Euery Creature is good, &c.* haue these obseruations: First, that euery creature is by nature, and condition of creation good: Secondly, that Sathan vniustly vsurpeth vpon these creatures, in, & by them, seeking to hurt the bodies, and soules of men: Thirdly, that by prayer, and inuocation of Gods name, notwithstanding the curse vpon all creatures, & Sathans readinesse to doe vs harme, they are good and comfortable to vs, so that in them wee taste the sweetenesse of Diuine goodnesse: Fourthly, that the blessings of Gods Church, and her Ministers, doe not onely stay and hinder Sathans working, remoue the curse, and make the creatures serue for our good, accordingly as at the first they were appointed, but apply them also to so sacred vses, as to be instruments of remission of sinnes, iustification, and infusion of grace; as appeareth in the Sacraments instituted by Christ: Fifthly, that besides, and out of the vse of Sacraments, the prayers and blessings of the Church, doe sanctifie diuers creatures, to the working of spirituall, and supernaturall effects, as to expell Diuels, cure diseases, and remitte veniall sinnes; and that not only,

as sanctified things are wont to doe, in that they stirre up, and increase devotion, and the fervour of piety, but in that the Ministers of the Church, by their soveraigne authority, have annexed to the use of them, power to worke such effects. This last proposition containeth the whole matter of difference betweene them and us; for touching all the former, wee consent and agree with them.

For clearing of this point, wee lay downe these Propositions: First, that by ordinary prayers, the Creatures of God are sanctified to ordinary uses. Secondly, that the presenting them, or some part of them, in holy places, and to holy persons, to be blessed of them, maketh the use of them more comfortable than the former blessing, but addeth no supernaturall force, efficacie, or grace unto them. Thirdly, that Christ appointed, and the Church daily sanctifieth the Creatures of God, and elements of this world, to bee the matter of his Sacraments. Fourthly, that bread being appointed to bee the matter of the Sacrament of the body of Christ, and water of Baptisme, the Christians in ancient time held that bread, which had beene offered and presented at the Lords Table, (out of which a part was consecrated for the use of the Sacrament) more holy than other bread: And this is that bread, *Augustine* saith, was given to the *Catechumens*: as also they religiously kept of that water, which had beene hallowed for the use of Baptisme, and by the use of it, strengthened their assurance, of enjoying the benefits which are bestowed in men in Baptisme. Neither can our Adversaries clearely prove, any separate sanctifying of water to have beene used in the Primitive Church. If they could, it were nothing else but the bringing of some part of this element, into holy places, with humble desire, that they which in memory of Baptisme, should use it, and so have their faith strengthened, might more and more receive the effects of saving grace, as the Christians of *Russia*, and *Ethiopia* unto this day, on the *Epiphany*, on which day they remember the Baptisme of Christ, goe into the water, praying unto God, that the effects of the Sacrament of Baptisme, may more and more bee seene and appeare in them. Fifthly, that the Church consecrateth sundry outward things, to the use of Gods service, not giving them any new quality, force, or efficacie, but onely praying, that God will bee pleased to accept that which is done in, or with them, and to worke in us, that the use of them importeth. Sixthly, holy men having the gift of miracles, did use sometimes water, sometimes oyle, sometimes other things, and gave them to bee used by other, for the working of miraculous effects, after the example of *Elizena*, and Christ himselfe: of which sort is that of *Ioseph*, mentioned by *Epiphanius*, who filling a vessell with water, signing it with the signe of the Crosse, and casting it into a certaine fire, caused it to burne, though *Sathan* hindered it before, that it could not burne; as likewise that of *Hilarion*, who gave a kind of hallowed oyle to certaine, who, by using it, were cured of their diseases. But the consecrating of oyle, salt, water, and the like things, by men not having the gift of miracles to drive away Devils, cure diseases, remit veniall finnes, and worke other spirituall and supernaturall effects *ex opere operato*, by application of the merits of Christ, was never knowne in the primitive Church, nor any such forme of exorcising or blessing as they now use.

That which the *Rhemists* alleadge, touching the Liver of a Fish used by *Tobias*, the piece of the holy earth where Christ was buried, preserving a mans chamber from the infestation of Devils, and the force of holy reliques, tormenting them, maketh nothing to this purpose, all these examples being miraculous. Touching the harpe of *David*, quieting *Saul*, there is a reason for it in Nature, though the repressing of *Sathans* rage were miraculous. That Infidels have sometimes driven away Divels by the signe of the Crosse, it was by the speciall dispensation of Almighty God, who would thereby glorifie his Sonne; whose Crosse the world despised; and not as if this Ceremonie had force,

Lib. 2. de
peccatorum
meritis & remis.
cap. 26.

d Damianus
Agoes de mo-
ribus Ethiop.

Hæres. 30.

f Hier. in Hilar.
vit.

h 1 Sam. 16. 23

Epist. lib. 3. in-
dict. 12. cap. 30.
lib. 7. indict. 1.
cap. 34.

k These were of
ten accompani-
ed with mira-
culous effects
in those times,
as appeareth by
Gregory in the
places cited.

l Canon. 24.
m Canon. 3.

n Canon. 28.

ex opere operato, to worke such effects. That the name of *Iesus* did miraculously cast out Devils, in the primitive Church (which is the next allegation) who ever made doubt ? but what maketh this to the purpose ? That which they alledge, that Saint *Gregorie* did usually send his benediction, and remission of sinnes, in, and with such tokens, as were sanctified by his blessing, and touch of the Martyrs reliques, as now his successours doe the like hallowed remembrances of religion, is very vaine. For *Gregory* did not send any such blessing of his owne, or remission of sinnes, by force of it, as now his successours doe, but onely certaine things, that had pertained to Christ or his Apostles : as part of the wood of the Crosse of Christ, or of the chaines wherewith the Apostles were bound, and with them the blessing of Christ and those Apostles, to such as should conforme themselves, to his sufferings, or their faith. That which they alledge out of the third Councell of *Carthage*, touching the blessing of milke, honey, grapes, and corne, bewrayeth their ignorance. For that Canon speaketh not of any such blessing ; but forbiddeth any thing, besides bread and wine mingled with water for the matter of the Sacrament, and grapes and corne to bee presented on the Altar. The Canon of the Apostles is to the same effect, forbidding any thing, but new grapes, and corne in their season, and oyle for the lights, and incense to be used, in the time of the oblation, to bee presented on the Altar, willing the first fruits to bee carried to the Bishops house, and prescribing what shall be done with such presents. The sixth general Councell, finding that some did give to the people, with the Sacrament, these grapes, &c. forbade it, and prescribed, that being blessed, they should be delivered privately to the *Catechumens*, and others, that they might praise God, who hath given so good and pleasing things, for the nourishment of mens bodies ; but speaketh nothing of blessing of them, to be instruments of remission of sinnes, and of the like spirituall and supernaturall effects.

Thus wee see, our Adversaries cannot prove, that the Church hath power to annex unto such Ceremonies, and observations, as shee deviseth, the remission of sinnes, and the working of other spirituall, and supernaturall effects, which is the onely thing questioned betweene them and us, touching the power of the Church. So that all the power the Church hath, more than by her authority, to publish the Commandements of Christ the Sonne of God, and by her censures, to punish the offenders against the same, is onely in prescribing things that pertaine to comelinesse and order.

Comelinesse requireth, that not onely that gravity, and modesty, doe appeare in the performance of the workes of Gods service, that beseemeth actions of that nature, but also that such rites, and ceremonies, bee used, as may cause a due respect unto, and regard of the things performed, and thereby stirre men up to greater fervour and devotion. *Ceremonia*, Ceremonies, are so named, as *Livie* thinketh, from a Towne called *Care*, in the which the *Romans* did hide their sacred things, when the *Gaules* invaded *Rome*. Other thinke, Ceremonies are so named *a Carendo*, of abstaining from certaine things, as the *Jewes* abstained from Swines flesh, and sundry other things, forbidden by God as uncleane.

Ceremonies are outward acts of Religion, having institution either from the instinct of nature, as the lifting up of the hands and eyes to heaven, the bowing of the knee, the striking of the brest, and such like : or immediately from God, as the Sacraments, or from the Churches prescription, and either onely serve to expresse such spirituall and heavenly affections, dispositions, motions, and desires, as are or should be in men ; or else to signifie, assure, and convey unto them such benefits of saving grace, as God in Christ is pleased to bestow on them. To the former purpose, and end, the Church hath power to ordaine Ceremonies ; to the later God onely.

Order requireth, that there bee set houres for prayer, preaching, and mini-
string

o Lib. 5. & Val-
lerius Maxi-
mus, lib. 1. c. 1.

string the sacraments, that there be silence and attention, when the things are performed, that women bee silent in the Church, that all things be administred according to the rules of discipline. Thus we see within what bounds, the power of the Church is contained, and how farre it hath authority to command, and prescribe, in things pertaining to the worship and service of God.

C H A P. 32.

Of the nature of Lawes, and how they binde.

NOW it remaineth that wee examine, how farre the band of such lawes extendeth, as the Church maketh, and whether they binde the conscience, or onely the outward man. For the clearing whereof, first wee must observe, in what sense it is, that lawes are layde to binde; and secondly, what it is, to binde the conscience. Lawgivers are said to binde them, to whom they give lawes, when they determine and sette downe, what is fitte to bee done, what things they are, the doing whereof they approve, and the omission whereof they dislike, and then signifie to them whom they command, that though they have power and liberty of choyse, to doe, or omitte, the things prescribed, yet that they will see, and in such sort, limite them, in the use of their libertie, as that either they shall doe that they are commanded, or bee deprived of the good they desire, and incur the evils they would avoyd. None can thus tie and limit men, but they that have power to deprive them of the good they desire, and bring upon them the contrary evils. So that no man knowing what hee doth, prescribeth, or commandeth any thing, under greater penalties, then he hath power to inflict, nor any thing but that whereof hee can take notice, whether it bee done or not, that so hee may accordingly reward or punish, the doing, or omission of it.

Hence it followeth, that mortall men forget themselves, and keepe not within their owne boundes, when either they commaund, under paine of eternall damnation, which none but God can inflict, (according to that of our Saviour, *Feare not them, that can kill the body: but feare him rather, that hath power, to cast both body and soule into hell fire,*)^a or take upon them to prescribe inward

^a Math. 10. 28.
^b Gerf. de vita
spiritualy ani-
ma lect 4. Co-
rollar. 1. 2.

ons, of the soule or spirit, or the performance of outward actions, with inward affections; whereas none but God that searcheth the heart, can either take knowledge of things of this kind, or convent the offenders, and judge and trye them. Thus then we see, what it is to binde, and that none can binde men to the performance of any thing, but by the feare of such punishments, as they have power to inflict.

C H A P. 33.

Of the nature of Conscience, and how the Conscience is bound.

IN the next place wee are to see, what the nature of Conscience is, and how the Conscience is bound. Conscience is the privy, the soule hath, to things knowne to none, but to God and her selfe. Hence it is, that conscience hath a fearefull apprehension of punishments for evils done, though neither knowne, nor possible to bee knowne, to any, but God, and the offender alone. The punishments that men can inflict, wee never feare, unlesse our evill doings be known to them. For though we have conscience of them, & be privy to them

them, yet if they bee hidden from them, wee know they neither will, nor can punish us. To binde the conscience then, is to bind the soule and spirit of man, with the feare of such punishments (to bee inflicted by him that so bindeth) as the conscience feareth, that is as men feare, though none but God, & themselves be privie to their doings. Now these are onely such as God alone inflicteth: & therefore seing none have power to binde but by feare of such punishments, as they have power to inflict, none can binde the conscience, but God alone.

a Quamvis peccet quis transgrediendo leges humanas, non tamen ligant conscientiam: patet per simile de preceptis medicorum, quæ despiciere quis non potest sine peccato, & tamen non ligant conscientiam. Gers. de vita spirituali anim. lect. 4. corol. 5. ubi reprehendit eos qui fulminant & tot condunt leges, quot nunquam legere possumus.

b Acts 4. 19.

c Stapleton contrav. 5. de potest. ecclæs. circa leges mor. quest. 7. art. 2. in explic. art. 4. Gers. de aufferibilitate Papæ considerat. 8. æquali tenore queritur observari lex humana, sive sit illa canonica, secularis, vel civilis, quemadmodum custodiri divinam absque ulla variatione necesse est: inde venit illa Christi questio Math. 5. Irritum fecistis mandatum Dei propter traditiones vestras.

Neither should the question be proposed, whether humane lawes binde the conscience, but whether binding the outward man, to the performance of outward things by force, & feare of outward punishments, to be inflicted by men, the not performance of such things, or the not performance of them with such affections as were fit, be not a sinne against God, of which the conscience will accuse us, hee having commaunded us to obey the Magistrates and Rulers hee hath set over us. For answer whereunto wee say, there are three sorts of things commaunded by Magistrates. First, evill and against God. Secondly, injurious in respect of them to whom they are prescribed, or at least unprofitable to the Common-wealth in which they are prescribed. Thirdly, such as are profitable, and beneficiall to the society of men, to whom they are prescribed. Touching the first sort of things, God hath not commaunded us to obey, neither must we obey, but rather say to them that command us such things, with the *b* Apostles, whether it bee fit to obey God, or men, judge you. Yet wee must so refuse to obey, that wee shew no contempt of their office, and authoritie, which is of God, though they abuse it. Touching the second sort of things, all that God requireth of us, is that we shew no contempt of sacred authoritie, though not rightly used, that we scandalize not others, and that wee be subject to such penalties, and punishments, as they that commaund such things, doe lay upon us; so that God requireth our willing, and ready obedience, onely in things of the third sort. The breach and violation of this kinde of lawes, is sin, not for that humane lawes have power to binde the conscience, or that it is simply, and absolutely sinfull to breake them, but because the things they commaund, are of that nature, that not to performe them, is contrary to justice, charitie, and the desire wee should have, to procure the common good of them, with whom wee live. Wee are bound then sometimes to the performance of things prescribed by humane lawes, in such sort that the not performance of them is sinne; not *ex sola legislatoris voluntate*, sed *ex ipsa legum utilitate*, as *Stapleton* rightly observed. But some man will say, What doe the lawes then effect? seing it is the Law of Justice, and charitie that dorth binde us, and not the particularitie of Lawes, newly made. To this wee answer, that many things are good and profitable, if they be generally observed, which without such generall observation, will doe no good: as for one man to pay tribute, or for one man to stay his goods from transportation, is no way, beneficiall to the Common-wealth; which would bee very profitable, if all did so. Now the Law procureth a generall observation: whence it commeth that a man is bound by the Law of charity, and justice, to that, after the making of a Law, which before hee was bound unto.

And this is it that *Stapleton* meaneth, when hee saith, that humane Lawes doe binde the conscience, not *ex voluntate legislatoris*, sed *ex ipsa legum utilitate & ratione*. Not because they prescribe such things, but because the things so prescribed, if they bee generally observed, are profitable to the Common-wealth.

By this which hath beene said, it appeareth, that they doe impiously usurpe, and assume to themselves that which is proper to God, who will have all their Lawes taken for divine Lawes, and such as binde the conscience no lesse then the Lawes of GOD, who publish all their Canons and constitutions in such sort, that they threaten damnation to all offenders: Whereas

Whereas no creature hath power, to prescribe, commaund or prohibite any thing, under paine of sinne, and eternall punishment, unlesse the partie so commaunded, were formerly either expressely, or by implication, either formally, or by force and vertue of some generall dutie, bounde unto it by Gods lawe before; because God onely, hath power of eternall life or death.

The soule of man, as it receiveth from God onely, the life of grace, so it loseth the same, when hee for the transgression of his lawes, and precepts, forsaketh it. For as none but hee, can give this life, so none but hee, can take it away: hee onely hath the keyes of *David*, he openeth, and no man shutteth, hee shutteth and no man openeth. Hence it followeth, that no lawgiver may commaund any thing, under paine of eternall punishment, but God onely, because he onely hath power to inflict this kinde of punishment. And that no man incurreth the guilt of eternall condemnation, but by violating the lawes of God. Whereupon *Augustine* defineth finnes, to be thoughts, words, and deedes, against the law of God.

That men doe sinne, in not keeping, and observing the lawes of men, it is because, being generally bound by Gods lawe to doe those things, which set forward the common good, many things being commanded, and so generally observed, grow to bee beneficiall, which without such generall observation, flowing from the prescript of law, were not so: and so though not formally, yet by vertue of generall duety, men are tyed to the doing of them, under paine of sinne, and the punishments that deservedly follow it.

CHAP. 34.

Of their reasons, who thinke, that humane Lawes doe binde the Conscience.

THe reasons which *Bellarmino* and other of that faction bring, to prove that humane lawes doe binde the conscience, are so vaine and frivolous, that they deserve no answer: yet least our adversaries should thinke, wee therefore passe them over without examination because we feare the force and weight of them, I will breiefely take a view of them, and let the Reader see their weakenesse. To binde, saith *Bellarmino*, is either the essence or essentiall property of a lawe; therefore all lawes, whether they bee of God, or of men, doe binde in the same sort. Hee should have said, therefore all lawes doe binde, whether they bee of God, or of men. For to say, It is the essentiall property of a lawe to binde, therefore all lawes doe binde in the same sorte, is as if a man should thus reason, It is essentiall to all naturall bodies to have motion, therefore the same kinde of motion; whereas yet the fire goeth upward, and the earth downewards, thinges without life moove but one way, either towards, or from the center of the worlde; thinges living every way. His next reason is more childish then this: for hee reasoneth thus, If lawes doe binde onely in that they are divine, then all divine lawes should equally binde. This reason concludeth nothing against us. For first, no man saith, that lawes binde onely, because divine, (for it is essentiall to every lawe to binde) but that they binde the conscience, because they are divine. And secondly, wee adde, that all divine lawes, doe equally binde the conscience. For the conscience doth as much feare Gods displeasure, and eternall punishment, for one sinne, as for another, though not so great displeasure, nor so grievous punishment. And so they equally binde the conscience; though there bee no equality, either of the finnes, or of the punishment, the conscience feareth, and seeketh to decline.

Bellar. 1. tom. contr. 5. 1.3. de laicis c. 11.

His third reason, that Gods commandment maketh those actions that were before indifferent, to be actions of vertue, therefore men by their precepts, doe so likewise, is very strange, and therefore hee endeavoureth to confirme it. The reason (saith hee) why Gods precepts, and commandments, make actions that were indifferent, as to eate swines flesh, or not to eate it, to bee actions of vertue, is because they are rules of mens manners and conversation, but mens lawes likewise are rules of mens lives, manners and conversation, therefore they in like sort make those actions that were before indifferent to bee actions of vertue. To this wee answer, that there are many great differences, betweene these two rules. First, for that, the one containeth; a certaine, and infallible direction; the other oftentimes leadeth out of the way. Secondly, that the lawes of God, are rules in such sort, that the very thoughts of the heart, diverting from that, which they prescribe, are sinfull; but mens lawes are kept and fulfilled, with how bad affections soever, the things bee done, that are prescribed. Thirdly, because the use of nothing being lawfull unto us, in respect of conscience, longer, nor farther, then God the supreme Lord of all, alloweth the same; it is an action of vertue, to abstaine from things, denyed unto us by God, either in the first institution of nature or by his positive lawe: but men having no such power, no such thing is consequent upon their commandments, or prohibitions. Lastly, Gods lawe, both that which is naturall, that is, given when nature was first intituted, and that which is positive, is the rule of mens lives absolutely: which if they bee conformed unto, they are morally good; if they varie from, they are evill and wicked: but the lawes of men, are rules onely in respect of outward conversation, framing it to the good of the commonwealth. So that a man, even according to the rules of Philosophy, may bee a good Cittizen, that is not a good man. His next reason is taken, from the comparision of a King and his Viceroy, the Pope, and his Legate, and the lawes, and edicts of these binding in the same sort.

To this wee answer, that the comparision holdeth not: first, because the King, and his Viceroy, command the same things, and to the same ends; but if wee compare God, and men, the lawes of God, and the lawes of men, wee shall finde a great difference betweene them, both in the things they commaund, and the ends for which they command; the one requiring inward actions, and the performance of outward with inward affections; the other outward onely. Secondly, because both the King, and his viceroy, have power to take notice of all kind of offences, committed against both the one and the other, and to punish them with the same kind of punishment; but there are many offences committed against God, by every man, whereof men can take no notice; and if they could, yet have no power to inflict such punishments, as God doth. His last reason is taken from that place of the Apostle, where he requireth us to bee subject, to power and authority, for conscience sake. To this wee answer, first that it is a matter of conscience, to be subject in all things: for subjection is required generally, and absolutely, where obedience is not. Secondly, wee say, that it is a matter of conscience, to seeke and procure, the good of the commonwealth; and that therefore, it is a matter of conscience to obey good, and profitable lawes, so farre, as we are perswaded, our obedience is profitable. Thus have we breiefely examined their reasons, who thinke, that humane lawes binde the conscience, the weaknesse whereof, I hope all men of any judgement will easily discern.

That which Bellarmine hath, that faultes and punishments are relatives, and that therefore none can subject a man to punishment but he that can binde him to the doing of that under paine of sin a-

gainst God for the not doing whereof he is punishable, is too childish a paralopisme. For it is true, that faultes and punishments are relatives, but proportionably: faultes against God and punishments inflicted by him: and faultes against men and the punishments, men are wont to inflict: Wee may therefore conclude, that wheresoever there is any punishment some fault went before: the reproofe that an unskillfull Paynter is subject unto is a punishment of his fault in paynting ill: but not of his sinne against God: for defect, in this kind are not breaches of his lawe.

Wherefore

Wherefore to conclude this matter, touching the Churches power in making lawes, there are three things which wee dislike in the doctrine, & practise of the Romane Church. First, that they take upon them to prescribe Ceremonies, and observations, having power to conferre grace, for the remission of veniall finnes, and the working of other spirituall & supernaturall effects. Secondly, that they assume unto themselves that which is proper unto God, & seeke to rule in the conscience. Thirdly, that by the multiplicite of lawes, they dangerously intnare the consciences of men, and oppresse them with heavy burdens. To this purpose, is the complaint that *Gerson* long since made, that the Lawes of the Church were too many, and in a great part childish and unprofitable, bringing us into a worse estate then that of the *Iewes*, as *Augustine* to *Ianuarinus* complained, when things were much better than in latter times they have beene. Neither sayth *Gerson*, are they content to burden us with the multiplicite of their lawes; but as if they preferred their owne inventions before the Lawes of God, they most rigorously exact the performance of the things their owne lawes prescribe, and neglect the Lawes of God, as Christ told the Pharisees, and hypocrites of his time, pronouncing against them, that by their vaine traditions, they made the lawes of God of none effect. To shew how unjust and unreasonable the Romane Lawgivers are, in burdening men with so many traditions, the same *Gerson* fitly observeth, that *Adam* in the time of his innocencie, had but one commaundement, which yet unhappily he brake: and that therefore, they seeme to have no sense of mans miserable and wretched condition, nor any way to compassionate his infirmitie, that charge him with so many precepts, besides those of God and Nature. Whereupon he gravely and wisely concludeth, that he supposeth, that the wisest, and best, amongst the guides of Gods Church, had not so ill a meaning, as to have all their constitutions, & ordinances taken for lawes, properly so named, much lesse strictly binding the conscience; but for threatnings, admonitions, counsailes, and directions onely. And that, when there groweth a generall neglect, they seeme to consent to the abolishing of them againe. For seeing, *lex instituitur, cum promulgatur, vigorem habet, cum moribus utentium approbatur*, Lawes are made, when they are published by such as have authority, but have life, force, and vigour, when the manners of men receiving, and obeying them, give them allowance. Generall, and long continued disuse, is, and justly may be thought, an abolishing, & abrogating of humane lawes: Whereas contrarywise, against the Lawes of God, and Nature, no prescription, or contrary use, doth ever prevaile; but every such contrary custome, or practise, is rightly judged a corruption, and fault.

c De vita spiri-
tuali animæ: &
in eodem loco
ait hanc fuisse
querelam quam
olim ad beatum
Bernardum de-
vulerunt quidam
ex Monachis,
& propter quam
compescendam
scripsit volu-
men pulcherri-
mum de præ-
cepto & dispen-
satione: & idem
de Urbano 5.
inquit, quod
gloriabatur se
Papam esse ob
hanc causam
præcipue, quod
nullis pœnis
excommunicationum & irre-
gularitatum ef-
fet obnoxius,
qui si dilexisset
proximos sicut
seipsum & hoc
advertisset, re-
laxasset fortas-
sist tot laqueos,
tot onera, tot
pericula.

d Scorus l. 3. d. 40. q. 1. Quantum ad cæremonialia, lex nova est longè facilior quàm vetus, in quantum à Christo data est: & in margine, Pondera hoc contra præsumptuosos Prælatos, statuta in laqueum damnationis subditorum quotidie multiplicantes, e De vita spirit animæ lect. 2.



THE FIFTH BOOKE
OF THE CHVRCH:

TOGETHER WITH AN AP-
PENDIX, CONTAINING A DE-
FENCE OF SVCH PARTS AND
PASSAGES OF THE FORMER
BOOKES, AS HAVE BEENE EI-
THER EXCEPTED AGAINST, OR
WRESTED, TO THE MAIN-
tenance of Romish errors.

By RICHARD FIELD, Doctour
of Divinity.

OXFORD,

Printed by WILLIAM TURNER, Printer to
the famous Vniversitie, Ann. Dom. 1635.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF OXFORD

OF THE
CITY OF OXFORD

TOGETHER WITH
A HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF OXFORD
FROM THE
FIRST
SETTLING OF THE
CITY
TO THE
PRESENT
TIME

By Richard Fitz-Stephen
of Oxford

OXFORD

Printed by William Thomas
the Printer, And Sold by



The Epistle to the Reader,



S in the dayes of *Noe* they all perished in the waters, that entred not into the Arke prepared by Gods owne appointment, for the preservation of such as should escape that fearefull and almost universall destruction: So is it a most certaine and undoubted truth, good Christian Reader, that none can flie from the wrath to come, and attaine desired happinesse, but such as enter into that society of men which we call the Church, which is the chosen multitude of them whom God hath seperated from the rest of the world, & to whom he hath in more speciall sort manifested himselfe by the knowledge of revealed truth, then to any other. So that nothing is more necessary to bee sought out and knowne, then which, and where this happy society of holy ones is, that so wee may joyne our selves to the same, and inherit the promises made unto it: according to that of the holy Patriarch *Noe*: Blessed be the God of *Sem*, and let *Chanaan* bee his servant: the Lord perswade *Iaphet* to dwell in the tents of *Sem*. The consideration whereof moved me, when I was to enter into the controversies of these times, first and before all other things, carefully to seeke out the nature and being of this Church, the notes whereby it may bee knowne, which it is amongst all the societies of men in the world, and what the priviledges are that doe belong unto it: of all which things I have treated in those foure Bookes of that argument, which not long since I offered to thy viewe and censure. Now it remaineth that in this insueing Booke then promised I shew in what sort almighty God, who sitteth betweene the Cherubins in this his holy Temple, revealeth himselfe from off the mercy seate, to such as by the calling of grace he hath caused to approach & draw neare unto himselfe, & how he guideth, and directeth them, to the attaining of eternall felicity. Many & sundry waies did God reveale himselfe in ancient times, as it is in the Epistle to the Hebrewes. For sometimes he manifested himselfe to men waking, by visions: sometimes to men sleeping, by dreames: sometimes he appeared in a pillar of a cloud: sometimes in flaming fire: sometimes he came walking a soft pace among the trees of the garden, in the coole of the day: sometimes hee rent the rocks, and clave the mountaines in sunder: sometimes he speake with a still and soft voyce: sometimes his thunders shooke the pillars of heaven, and made the earth to tremble, as in the giving of the law, when hee came downe upon Mount *Sinai*; what time the people by *Moses* direction went forth to meete him: but when they heard the thunders, and the sound of the trumpet, and saw the lightnings, and the mountaine smoaking, they fled & stood a farre off, & said unto *Moses*, Talke thou with us, and we will heare thee, but let not God talke with us, lest we die. This their petition Almighty God mercifully granted, and knowing whereof they were made, resolved no more to speake unto them in soe terrible and fearefull manner, but rather to put heavenly treasures into earthen vessels, that

that, is to enlighten the understandings, and to sanctifie the mouthes & tongues of some amongst themselves; and by them to make knowen his will & pleasure to the rest. In this sort after the giving of the law hee imployed the Priests & Levites in a set and ordinary course, appoynting that the people should seeke the knowledge of the same at their mouthes; and in case of great confusion, and generall defects of these ordinary guides, raised up Prophets, as well to denounce his judgements against offenders, and to reforme abuses; as also to fore-shew the future state of things, and more & more to raise in men, a desire, hope, and expectation of the coming of the promised *Messias*, whom in the fullness of time hee sent into the world as the happiest Messenger of glad tidings, that ever came unto the sonnes of men, and the Angell of the great covenant of peace, causing this proclamation to bee made before him, This is my welbelov'd Sonne; in whom I am well pleased; heare him. In him were hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, so that as it was said of him, Hee hath done all things well, so likewise, that Never man spake, as hee spake. But because hee came not into this lower world, to make his abode here perpetually, but to cary up with him into heaven, our desires first, and then our selves: after he had wrought all righteousness, and performed the worke for which hee came, he returned backe to God that sent him; Choosing out some of them that had been conversant with him in the dayes of his flesh, that had heard the words of his divine wisdom, & were eye-witnesses of all the things he did & suffered; & sending them as his father sent him, who were therefore named Apostles. These had many excellent preeminences, proper to those beginnings, and fit for the founding of Christian Churches: as immediate calling, infallibility of judgement, generall commission, the understanding and knowledge of all tongues, power to confirme their doctrine by signes and wonders, and to conferre the miraculous gifts of the Spirit upon other also, by the imposition of their hands. In which things, when they had finished their course, they left none to succede them; yet out of their more large, ample, and immediate commissions, they authorized others to preach the Gospell, administer Sacraments, to binde and loose, and to performe other like pastorall duties, sanctifying and ordaining them to this worke, by the imposition of hands. These they honoured with glorious title of Presbyters, that is, fatherly guides of Gods Church and people; and knowing the weight of the burden they layd on their shoulders, added unto them as assistants, other of an inferiour degree and rancke, whom they named Deacons or Ministers. Amongst these fatherly guides of Gods Church and people, for the preventing of dissention, the avoiding of confusion, and the more orderly managing of the important affaires of Almighty God, they established a most excellent, divine, and heavenly order, giving unto one amongst the Presbyters of each Church, an eminent & fatherly power, so that the rest might doe nothing without him: whom for distinctions sake, and to expresse the honour of his degree and place, afore and about other, wee name a Bishoppe. And farther, by a most wise disposition provided, that amongst Bishoppes all should not challenge all things unto themselves, but that there should be in severall provinces, severall Bishops, who should bee first and chiefe amongst the brethren: and againe constituted and placed certaine other, in greater cities, who might take care of more then the former. The former of these were named Metropolitans; the later were knowen by the name of Patriarchs, or chiefe Fathers, who also in order and honour were one before and after another. By meanes of this order established by the Apostles of Christ among the guides of Gods people, and received and allowed by the first and Primitive Christians, unity was preserved, the parts of the Church holden fast together, in a band of concordant agreement; questions determined, doubts cleared, differences composed, and causes advisedly & deliberately heard, with all indifferencie and equity. For how could there bee any breach

breach in the Christian Churches, when none were ordained Presbyters in any Church, but by the Bishop, the rest of the Presbyters imposing their hands on them, together with him? None admitted to the degree and order of a Bishop, but by the Metropolitan, and other Bishops of the Province, sufficiently approving that they did, to the people over which they set him? None received as a Metropolitan, unless being ordained by the Bishops of the Province, upon notice given of their orderly proceeding, and the sincerity of his faith and profession, hee were confirmed by the Patriarch? Nor none taken for a Patriarch, though ordained by many neighbour Bishops, till making knowne the soundnesse of his profession, and the lawfulness of his election and ordination, to the rest of the Patriarches, hee were allowed and received by them as one of their ranke and order? Or what feare could there be of any wrong, injustice, or sinister proceedings in the hearing of causes, and determining of controversies, unless there were in a sort a generall failing? When if there grew a difference betweene a Bishop and his Presbyters, or if either Presbyter, Deacon, or inferiour Clergy-man, disliked the proceedings of his Bishop, there lay an appeale to the Metropolitan, who had power to re-examine the matter in a Synode, and to see they were not wronged? And if either Cleave or Bishop had ought against the Metropolitan, it was lawfull for them to appeale to the Primate, or Patriarch, who in a greater and more honourable Synode, was to heare the matter, and to make a finall end? When if any variance rose between any of the Patriarches, and their Bishops, or amongst themselves, it was lawfull for the Patriarches that were above and before them, in order and honour, to interpose themselves, and with their Synods to judge of such differences; and in such cases as could not so be ended, or that concerned the faith & the state of the whole universall Church, there remained the judgment and resolution of a generall Councell; wherein the Bishop of the first See was to sit as President, and Moderatour; and the other Bishops of the Christian world, as his fellow Judges, and in the same commission with them. This order continued in the Church from the Apostles times, and wrought excellent effects, till the Bishop of Constantinople first sought, and after him the Bishop of Rome obtained, to be not only in order and honour before the rest, as anciently he had beene, but to have an absolute and universall commanding power over all, that either by fraud, or violence, hee could bring into subjection. Whence followed horrible confusion in the Christian Church, and almost the utter ruine and desolation of the same. For after that this childe of pride, had in this *Lucifer-like* sort advanced himselfe above his brethren, hee thrust his sickle into other mens harvests, hee encroached upon their bounds and limits; he pretended a right to conferre all dignities, whether elective or presentative, to receive appeales of all sorts of men, out of all parts of the world; nay, without appeale or complaint, immediately to take notice of all causes, in the Diocesses of all other Bishops: so overthrowing their jurisdiction, and seizing it in his owne hands. He exempted Presbyters from the jurisdiction of their Bishops, Bishops of their Metropolitans, and Metropolitans of their Primates and Patriarches; and leaving unto the rest nothing but a naked and empty title, tooke upon him to determine all doubts and questions of himselfe alone, as out of the infallibility of his judgment: to excommunicate, degrade, and depose, & againe, to absolve, reconcile, and restore, and to heare and judge of all causes, as out of the fulnesse of his power. Neither did he there stay, but having subjected unto him, as much as in him lay, all the members of Christs body, and trampled underneath his feete, the honour and dignity of all his brethren and colleagues, he went forward, and challenged a right to dispose of all the kingdomes of the world, as being Lord of Lords, and King of Kings. To this height hee raised himselfe by innumerable sleights and cunning devices, taking the advantage of the ignorance, superstition, negligence, and base disposition which hee found to be in many of the guides

guides of the Church in those dayes, and by their helpe and concurrence, prevailing against therest that were of another spirit. Neither did he demeane himselfe any better after he had attained to this his desired greatnesse; for such was his pride, insolencie, and tyrannie, and such, soe many, and unsupportable were the burthens hee layd on the shoulders of them that were noe way able to beare them, that the voyces of complaint and murmuring were every where heard, and the mindes of all men filled with discontentment, and desire of alteration, which after many longing desires of our ancestours, hath beene effected in our time. God, at the last, hearing the cryes of his people, and stirring up the heroi-call spirits of his chosen servants, to worke our deliverance, to take the burthens from our shoulders, the yoake from our necke, and to bring us out of that *Babylon*, wherein we were captives, and that spirituall *Egypt*, wherein we were formerly holden in miserable bondage. But as there were some of the children of the captivity, that after long continuance abroad forgot *Hierusalem*, and preferred *Babylon* before *Sion*, never desiring to returne into their owne countrey any more: And as many of the *Israelites* brought out of the house of *Pharaohs* bondage by God himselfe, and conducted by *Moses* and *Aaron* to take possession of *Canaan*, the land of promise, a land that flowed with milke and honey, in their hearts returned backe: so are there many that would never be induced to come out of the spirituall *Babylon*: and other that are easily perswaded to looke backe, and in their hearts to returne into *Egypt* againe. For the winning and gaining of the former, and the staying of the latter, I have indeavoured by the true discription of them out of the Scripture, and the authentick records of antiquity, to make it appeare, how farre *Canaan* exceedeth *Egypt*, and *Sion Babylon*, how different the government of Christ is from that of *Antichrist*: how happy the people are that live under the one, and how miserable their condition is that are subject to the other.

Beseeching God for his mercies sake, to enlighten them that sit in darkenes, to bring backe them that are gone astray, to raise up them that are fallen, to strengthen them that stand, to confirme them that are doubtfull, to rebuke

Sathan, to put an end to the manyfold unhappy contentions
of these times, to make up the breaches of *Sion*,
to build the walles of *Hierusalem*,
and to loue it still.

R. F.



THE FIFTH BOOK: OF THE DIVERS DEGREES, ORDERS, AND CALLINGS OF those men to whom the government of the Church is committed.

CHAP. I.

Of the Primitive and first Church of God in the house of Adam the Father of all the living, and the government of the same.



Almighty God, the fountaine of all beeing, who to manifest the glory of his power, and the riches of his goodnesse made all things of nothing, disposed and sorted the things hee made into three severall rankes. For, to some he gave beeing without any apprehension or discerning of it. Others he made to feelee, and sensibly discern that particular good he was pleased to doe unto them: And to a third sort of a more eminent degree and quality, made after his owne image, he gave generality of knowledge of all things, and extent of desire answerable thereunto; causing them without all restraint or limitation, to take view

of all the variety of things that are in the world, and never to rest satisfied till they come to see, enjoy, and possesse him that made them all.

These hee separated from the rest of his creatures, causing them to approach and draw neere unto himselfe; and to compasse about his sacred throne, and called them forth to bee a joyfull company of blessed ones, praising and worshipping him in the glorious Temple of the world; and to be unto him an holy Church, in the midst whereof his greatnesse should be knowne, and his name called upon. These are of two sorts: Angels, dwelling in heavenly palaces: and Men, made out of the earth, dwelling in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust. The Angels are immortall, immateriall, and spirituall substances, made all at once: and immediately after their Creation, so many as turned not from God their Creator, confirmed in grace, and perfectly established in the full possession of their uttermost good, so that they need no guide to leade them to the attaining of the same: howsoever in the degrees of their naturall or supernaturall perfections, and in the actions of their ministry wherein GOD employeth them, they are more great and excellent one than another, and are not without their order and government. But concerning men made out of the earth, and compounded of body and spirit, it is farre otherwise; for God

a Prima omnia
perfecta sunt:
caetera autem
omnia, quæ ex
ipsis oriuntur,
& post ipsa se-
quuntur, nisi
per intervalla
temporum
crescendo ad
perfectionem
venire non
possunt. Hugo
citatur ab Alex.
de Hales. part.
2. quæst. 89.
memb. 2.

did not create them all at one time, but made onely one man, and one woman immedi-
ately with his owne hands; appointing, that the rest should descend and come of them
by naturall generation. Whereupon wee shall finde, that as in the Creation the tree
was first, and then the seede, but in the naturall propagation of things, the seede is first,
and then the tree. So the first man whom God made out of the earth, and the first
woman whom he made of man, were perfect at the first, as well in stature of body, as
in qualities of the minde, (both because whatsoever is immediatly from God is per-
fect, as also for that the first things whence all other have their beeing, must bee per-
fect) but afterwards the beginnings of all the sonnes of men are weake, and they grow
by degrees to perfection of body and minde, having need to receive nourishment, sup-
port, guidance, and direction from them, from whom they receive their beeing. So
that nothing is more naturall than for children to expect these things from their pa-
rents, nor for parents, than to nourish, guide, and direct their children. This care
pertaineth as well to the mother that bare them, and in whose wombe they were con-
ceived; as to the father that begate them, and out of whose loynes they came. Yet
because the man was not of the woman, but the woman of the man: the man was
not created for the woman, but the woman for the man: the originall disposition
and soveraigne direction of all doth naturally rest in the man, who is the glory of
God, the womans head, and every way fittest to be chiefe commander in the whole
Family and household. Hereupon *Adam* the father of all the living, was appointed
by that God that made him, to instruct, guide, and direct those that should come of
him, even in the state of natures integrity, though without any forcing with terrours,
or recalling with punishments while there was yet no pronenesse to evill, nor diffi-
culty to doe good. And when he had broken the Law of his Creator, was called to an
account, made know his sinne, and recomforted with the promise, that *the seede of
the woman should breake the Serpents head*: he was to teach his children the same
things, and sanctified to be both a King to rule in the litle World of his own Family:
and a Priest, as well to manifest the will of God to them of the same, as to present their
desires, vowes, and sacrifices unto him: than which course, what could be devised
more fitting? For when there were no more in the World but the first man whom
God made out of the earth, the first woman that was made of man, and the children
which God had given them, who could be fitter to rule and direct, than the man for
whose sake the woman was created, and out of whose loynes the children came?

C H A P. 2.

*Of the dignity of the first-borne amongst the sonnes of Adam, and their Kingly
and Priestly direction of the rest.*

AND seeing nothing is more naturall, than that as the Father is to instruct, di-
rect, and set forward the children that God hath given him in the way of
vertue of well-doing, so amongst the children the eldest should help the youn-
ger: the stronger, and more excellent the weaker, and more meane; none
could be fitter to assist him in the Kingly and Priestly office while he lived, and to suc-
ceed him in the same when he died, than the first-borne, *the beginning of strength, the
excellencie of dignitie, and the excellencie of power*. And hereupon wee shall find, that
from the beginning the first-borne excelled the rest in three things: For first, hee was
Lord over his brethren, according to that of *Isaac*, blessing *Jacob* the younger in steed
of the elder, and thereby preferring him to the dignity of the first-borne: *Be Lord
over thy brethren, and let thy mothers children bow downe unto thee*. Secondly, hee had
a double portion; and thirdly he was holy unto God, which dignity, as it belonged for-
merly even from the beginning to the first-borne, as being most worthy & excellent: so
was it confirmed when God, striking all the first-borne in *Egypt*, spared the first-born
of

a Gen. 49. 3.

b Gen. 27. 29.

c Numb. 3. 13.

of the *Israelites*. This preeminence of the first borne continued, the eldest ever succeeding in the Kingly and Priestly office, unless for impiety, or cause best knowne to God hee were rejected by him, till the time that *Israel* came out of *Egypt*, and the Church of God became nationall. For then according to the tenor of *Iacobs* blessing, these priviledges were divided. *Judah* had the Scepter, *Levi* the Priesthood, and *Ioseph* the double portion, in that two of his Sonnes, *Ephraim* and *Manasses* became Patriarches and Heads of Tribes, and had equall inheritance in the land of promise with the sonnes of *Iacob*. So that in the societies of faithfull and holy ones, from the first man that God made, till *Aaron* was sanctified to bee a Priest unto God in steed of the first borne, the eldest alwayes (unless for impiety, or other cause best knowne to God, hee were rejected by him) had the Kingly, and Priestly direction of the rest. So when *Cain* the eldest Sonne of *Adam*, and first that was borne of a woman, to whom the dignity of the first borne did pertain, was for his impiety rejected from that honour, and *Abel* who by faith offered a better sacrifice than hee, was slaine by him; God raised up *Seth*, who being taught by *Adam* his father touching the Creation, the fall, the punishments of sinne, and the promised Saviour, assisted him while hee lived in guiding the people and Church of God, and succeeded him in the same government after his death. In like sort *Enosh* assisted and succeeded *Seth*, and dying, left that honour to *Kenan*: *Kenan* to *Mahalaleel*: *Mahalaleel* to *Iered*; *Iered* surviving *Enoch* his sonne, whom God translated, left it to *Methusalem*, *Methusalem* to *Lamech* the father of *Noe*, in whose time the Children of God, that is, the posterity of *Seth*, marrying with the daughters of men, that is, such as came of wicked *Cain*, highly displeased Almighty God, who thereupon appointed him to bee a Preacher of repentance unto them; whom when they contemned and despised, hee brought in the flood, and destroyed both them, and all the inhabitants of the world, *Noe* and his family onely excepted. *Noe* governed the Church before and after the flood, and left the same office and dignity to *Sem* his eldest sonne, saying, *Blessed bee the God of Sem, and let Canaan be his servant: The Lord perswade Japhet to dwell in the tents of Sem.* *Sem* begat *Arphaxad*: *Arphaxad*, *Sale*: *Sale*, *Heber*: *Heber*, *Phaleg*: *Phaleg*, *Rehu*: *Rehu*, *Serug*: *Serug*, *Nachor*: *Nachor*, *Thare*: *Thare*, *Abraham*, and *Abraham*, *Isaac*. All these, onely *Heber*, and *Isaac* excepted, hee survived: so that dying, he left the right of his office and dignity to *Isaac*, *Heber* having corrupted his wayes. This *Sem* the *Jewes* thinke to have been *Melchisedec* that met *Abraham* returning from the slaughter of the Kings, that brought out bread and wine to refresh his wearied troupes, and blessed him in the name of the Lord, as being a Priest of the high God. Thus then *Sem* governed the Church in his time, and dying, in part left his honour to *Isaac*, sojourning as a stranger in *Canaan*: *Isaac* to *Iacob*: *Iacob* to *Judah* and his sonnes; who living in *Egypt* in bondage with the rest of their brethren, could not freely exercise the Kingly and Priestly office, nor performe the things pertaining thereunto. So that none of these succeeded *Sem* in the fulnesse as well of Kingly as Priestly power.

C H A P. 3.

Of the division of the preeminences of the first borne amongst the sonnes of Iacob when they came out of Egypt, and the Church of God became Nationall.

BUt when it pleased Almighty God, who chose unto himselfe the posterity of *Israel* and sonnes of *Iacob* as his peculiat portion and inheritance, above all the nations of the world, to bring them with a mighty hand, and outstretched arme out of the land of *Egypt*, and the house of bondage, to the Land which he promised to their Fathers *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, and to make of them a mighty people; then the former kinde of government, which was domesticall, not so well fitting a people as a household, he settled another; and in steed of the first borne which formerly in each family and kindred was both a King and Priest,

^a Num. 3.
^b Exod. 28.

hee chose the tribe of *Judah* to sway the Scepter, and to be a Law-giver to the rest of his people: and the tribe of *Levi* to attend his Tabernacle and service: and out of all the Families of that tribe, tooke ^b *Aaron* and his sonnes to serve in the Priests office, appointing the rest to meaner services about the Sanctuary, or to bee Assistants to the Priests, and Rulers in the government of the people.

C H A P. 4.

Of the separation of Aaron and his sonnes from the rest of the sonnes of Levi, to serve in the Priests office, and of the head or chiefe of that company.

^a Sigonius de
Rep. Hebræor.
lib 5 c 2.

THe Priests, the sonnes of *Aaron*, whom God separated from the rest of their brethren the sonnes of *Levi*, were of two sorts. For, there was an high Priest; and there were others of an inferiour condition. ^a Touching the High Priest, foure things are to be observed. First, his consecration: secondly, the things that were required in him that was to bee consecrated to so sacred a function: thirdly, his employment, and fourthly, his attire. The consecration of the High Priest was seven dayes in performing, in this sort: 1. He that was to be consecrated, was brought before the Altar. 2. Then hee was washed with water, and clothed with those sacred garments which God had prescribed; holy oyle was powred on his head, sacrifice was offered on the Altar for his sanctification, and his garments were sprinkled with the blood of it. The things that were required in him that was to serve in the High Priests office, were these. Hee might not bee defective nor deformed in body; his wife must bee a virgin, not a widow, not one that had beene divorced, nor that had beene infamous, but of good parentage, and of his owne people. Hee might not uncover his head, rent his garments, nor goe in to mourne over any that was dead, no though it were his father or mother. His employment was to goe daily into the Sanctuary, to light the Lampes, to burne incense, and every weeke to provide the shew-bread or bread of proposition: on the feast dayes to offer the people sacrifices together with the other Priests: and once in the yeare, on the day of expiation, to enter into the holiest of all, to cleanse, and hallow it from the sinnes of the people, and to make prayer for himselfe, and them. The holy vestiments, in which hee was to performe this service of God, are described to have beene a Breast-plate, an Ephod, a Robe, a broidered Coate, a Mitre, and a Girdle. The Ephod was of gold, blue silke, purple, skarlet, and fine twined linnen of broidred worke: In the shoulders of the Ephod were two Onyx-stones, and upon them the names of the children of *Israel* graven, sixe names upon the one stone, and sixe other names upon the other stones according to their generations. These were stones of remembrance of the children of *Israel* before the Lord. Of these ^b *Iosephus* writeth, that they shewed when God was present with his people, when hee accepted the Sacrifices they offered unto him, and was pleased with them, and likewise when hee was displeased with them and rejected them: in that when God was pleased with his people and accepted their sacrifices, the stone which was on the right shoulder shined in such sort, that it might be seene a farre off, whereas otherwise no such shining brightnesse appeared in it. The Breast-plate of judgement was of broidered worke, like the worke of the Ephod: of gold, blew silke, purple and skarlet, and fine twined linnen. It was set full of places for stones, even foure rowes of stones. The stones that were set in these rowes were twelve, according to the number of the tribes of *Israel*, and in them the names of the twelve tribes were graven. In this Breast-plate likewise were put *Urim* and *Thummim* which were upon the heart of the High Priest, when he went in before the Lord. By these twelve stones that were in the Breast-plate of the High Priest, God did shew unto his people the successe of their battles when they intended to make warre. For, if hee meant to prosper their enterprise, these stones did so shine, that they were thereby well assured, God would goe forth with their armie

^b Iosephus ci-
tatur a Sigonio
ibid.

armies, and fight their battels for them, otherwise they were discouraged from attempting any thing. The *Urim* and *Thummim* likewise some of the *Jewes* thinke to have beene two stones, by which the High Priest understood what things were, to come, and revealed the same unto the people: For, if nothing new and strange were to follow, they held their colour; but if any great and extraordinary mutation were to follow, the bright shining of these stones did foreshew it. ^a Other suppose that they were the Name of God, *Iehovah* in letters of gold, by the shining brightnesse whereof they understood the answer of God when they sought unto him: but ^b *Augustine* is of opinion, that these very words were written in letters of gold in the middle of the Brest-plate that did hang before the brest of the High Priest.

^a Arias Montanus in apparatu, & Sigonius de Repub. Heb. l. 5. c. 9. ^d Rabbi Salom. citatus à Belarm. de Rom. Pont. l. 4. c. 3. ^e Aug. quart. 117. in Exod.

C H A P. 5.

Of the Priests of the second ranke or order.

Touching the Priests of the inferiour Ranke, they had the same kind of consecration which the High Priest had: in sacrificing they were like unto him, and in the service of the Sanctuary, in burning incense; providing the Shew-bread, and preparing, and looking to the lampes and lights: neither was there any other difference betweene him and them in the performance of these things: but that hee was chiefe, and they assistants unto him. The onely thing that was peculiar unto him, was the consulting of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and the entering into the Holyest to make an Atonement. Their vestiments were the same, save that the High Priest onely had the Brest-plate, and an Ephod of gold: for the rest did also sometimes wear a linnen Ephod. The things required in them that were to serve in the Priestly office were these: They might not be deformed nor defective in body: they might not drinke no wine nor strong drinke, when they were to enter into the Sanctuary: they might not defile themselves by the dead, nor come neere unto any that was dead, except it were their father, or mother, sonne, or daughter, or sister unmarried: they might not shave their heads, nor beards, nor cut their flesh: they might not marry no harlot, nor woman divorced: The first that were consecrated Priests, were *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar* the sonnes of *Aaron*, ^a *Nadab*, and *Abihu* died before their father, and had no children: they both perished, because they offered strange fire upon the Altar, so that *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* onely remained, of whom the whole number of Priests that were afterwards, did come. ^b From *Eleazar*, in *Dauids* time, were issued sixteene Families, and from *Ithamar* eight. These *David* sorted into twenty foure Classes or Courses, and named every Classis or Course after the name of him who was then chiefe of each Familie: and for the ordering of them, and setting one before another, they cast lots. The reason of the sorting of them into these rankes was, for that hee would not have all the Priests to attend every day, but that they should have some intermission, and times of vacation, one Classis performing the service one weeke, and another, another. Though, saith ^c *Iosephus*, there be twenty foure Classes or Courses of Priests amongst us, whereof every one hath more than five thousand, yet they waite not all at once, but on certaine dayes appointed and assigned unto them, which being past, others succede, who are called into the Temple at Noone, and have the keyes thereof delivered unto them, and the sacred Vessels by tale. In this sense it is said in the booke of *Chronicles*, that ^d *Iehoiada* the Priest dismissed not the Courses, that is, sent not away the Troupes and Companies of Priests, that attended the service of the Temple, when their time was expired, and according to order they should have departed, and others succeeded them: for that he meant to make use of them in the deposing of wicked *Athaliah*, and the establishing, and setting of the true and lawfull King in the Royall Throne of *Iudah*. In these Courses they were wont to cast lots what kinde of service every one should doe in the weeke of his attendance, as for example: Who should sacrifice, and who should burne Incense:

^a Exod. 28. 30. ^b Levit. 16. 30. ^c Sigon. de Reb. Heb. l. 5. c. 3. ex Hier. & Eucherio. ^d Levit. 21. 18. ^e Levit. 30. 9. ^f Levit. 11. 1. ^g Ibid. vers. 5. ^h Ibid. vers. 7. ⁱ Levit. 8. ^k 1 Chron. 24. vers. 2. ^l Levit. 10. ^m 1 Chr. 14. 4. ⁿ Ioseph. l. 2. contra Appionem citat à Sigon. ubi suprâ. ^o 2 Chr. 23. 8.

p Luk. 1. 5.
q Ibid. ver 8.
r 9.

r Sigon. de rep.
Hebr. l. 5. c. 3.

f Mark. 14. 53.

cense: whereupon it is said in the Gospel of *Luke*, that^p in the time of Herod King of *Judea*, there was a certain Priest named *Zacharias*, of the course of *Abiah*;^q and it came to passe as he executed the Priests office before God, as his course came in order, according to the custome of the Priests office, that his lot was to burne incense when he went into the house and Temple of the Lord. Over every of these companies of Priests in their courses attending, there were certaine Priests set, that were called *Archipresbiteri*, or *Principes Sacerdotum*, that is, chiefe Priests, or Rulers of the Priests. Of these the Evangelist *S. Marke* speaketh, when he saith, 'They brought *Iesus* to the High Priest, and the Chiefe Priests sought false witnes against him: that is, the Heads of the Companies of Priests, who came to consult with the high Priest about the putting of *Iesus* to death. For, while the policie appointed by Almighty God continued, there was but one that properly was named the High Priest.

C H A P. 6.

Of the Levites.

a Sigonius de
rep. Hebræor.
lib. 5. cap 4. 5.
6, & 7.

b 2 Chron. 35.
ver. 10. & 11.

c 1 Chron. 25. 1.

d 1 Chron. 2. 6.

e 1 Chron. 9. 2.

Ezra 2. 70.

f Iosuah 24. 3.

HAVING spoken of *Aaron* and his sonnes, whom God chose out of all the Families of the Tribe of *Levi*, it remaineth, that we speake of the employment of the rest of that Tribe, called by the common name of *Levites*. These were sorted by *David* into foure ranks: for, some hee appointed to be Ministers of the Priests and Temple, who were most specially named *Levites*: some Singers; some Porters; and others Scribes and Judges. Touching the *Levites* more specially so named, that attended the service of the Sanctuarie, their office was to carie the Tabernacle, and the Arke of the Covenant in the Removes of the people, till God fixed the same in one place; and then they were to take care of it, and the sacred Vessels that were in it appointed to bee used about the service of God. In later times also they slayed the Beasts appointed for the Sacrifices, according to that in the second of *Chronicles*: 'The service was prepared, and the Priests stood in their places; also the Levites in their Orders according to the Kings commandement, and they slew the Passeover, and the Priests sprinkled the blood with their hands, and the Levites slayed them. Of the Singers we reade in the first of *Chronicles*, how they were appointed^c by *David* to sing Prophetesies with Harpes, with Viols, and with Cymbals. The^d Porters were appointed to see that no uncircumcised, polluted, or uncleane person should enter into the House of the Lord; and to guard the same, that all things therein might bee in safety, as the sacred Vessels, the treasure of the House, and the Treasure of the dedicated things. To these were added, as assistants, the^e *Nethinims* or *Gibeonites*, who served as hewers of wood, and drawers of waters: The Scribes were such as read, and interpreted the Law of God in the Temple at *Hierusalem*, and in the Synagogues that were in other parts of the Land, and are also called Doctors of the Law, that is, Interpreters of the Law of God.

C H A P. 7.

Of the Sects, and factions in Religion, found amongst the Jewes in later times.

a Epiphani.
contra hæres.
lib. 1.
b Hæres. 15.

AND here because we have made mention of such *Levites* as were Scribes, that is, Doctors and Interpreters of the Law of God, it is not out of place to speake of the Doctrine of the Jewes in later times, and the severall Sects into which their Teachers and Guides were divided. *Epiphanius* sheweth, that there were seven principall Sects amongst them; the first whereof was that of the^b Scribes, who were Interpreters of the Law, but such as delivered many traditions as from their Elders, that were not contained in the Law, and sought to bring in a more exact kinde of worship of God, than *Moses* and the Prophets taught, consisting in many voluntary observations and customes devised by men.

The

The second, *Sadduces*, which were of the race of the *Samaritanes*; these had their name from one *Sadoc* a Priest; they denied the Resurrection, and beleevd not that there is any Angel or Spirit, and consequently overthrew all Religion. Hæref. 14.

The third sort were *Pharisees*; these were the strictest of all other, and most esteemed: they beleevd the Resurrection of the dead, that there are Angels and Spirits, as the *Scribes* also did, and that all shall come into judgement, to receive according to the things they doe in this body, whether they be good or evill: they much honoured virginity and single life: they payed tythes of the smallest things they possessed: they washed cups, platters, and all kinde of vessels they used: they fasted twice every weeke: they brought in the doctrine of fatall necessity; and differed in their habit from other men. Hæref. 16.

The fourth sort were the *Hemerobaptists*, who did thinke, that no man could be saved, if he were not washed every day, that so he might be cleanted from the impurity of sinne; but, as *Epiphanius* rightly noteth in refutation of the error of these men, it is not the whole flood *Jordan* wherein Christ was baptized, nor the sea, nor any fountaine abounding with water, that can wash away the impurity of sinne, by any naturall force thereof, or voluntary use; but repentance, and the use of such sacred ceremonies, and sacramentall elements, as God appointed to signifie, expresse, and communicate unto us the vertue of Christ Jesus, and the sanctifying grace of the Spirit of God. Hæref. 17.

Next unto the *Hemerobaptists* were the *Essenes*. These withdrew themselves from the societie of other men. They despised marriage, and lived without the company of women, having no children of their owne, they adopted such as voluntarily came unto them, *Quos vita fessos (saith Plinie) ad mores eorum fortuna fluctus agit: Ita per seculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens aterna est, in qua nemo nascitur; tam fecunda illis aliorum vita pœnitentia est:* that is, Such as wearied with the turmoils of this life, were by the experience of fortunes uncertainties, forced to like their retired manner of living; so that for many ages (which is a thing not credible) there hath bin a never-failing nation, in which no man is borne; so many doth other mens dislike of their owne manner of living send unto them. These were something like the Monkes and religious men that are, and have beene amongst Christians. Hæref. 19.

The sixth sort were the *Nazarai*, who in all other things were *Jewes*, but held it unlawfull to kill any living thing, or to eat the flesh of any thing wherein the Spirit of life had beene; they condemned the bloody sacrifices prescribed in *Moses* Law, and therefore could not bee induced to thinke, that *Moses* was author of those Bookes that goe under his name; yet did they honour *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and other holy men mentioned in them. Epiphan. l. 1. hæref. 18.

The seventh and last sort were the *Herodians*, who were of the *Jewes* Religion in all other things, but thought *Herod* to bee the Christ; because the Scepter departed from *Judah*, and the Law-giver from betweene his feete, when *Herod*, who was a stranger, obtained the title and power of a King, and ruled over the people of God. Hæref. 20.

These were the Sects and Heresies that prevailed in the Church of the *Jewes* before the coming of Christ, amongst whom the *Pharisees* and *Sadduces* were chiefe; so that the whole State seemed to be divided into these two factions, the Nobles and great ones enclining for the most part to the *Sadduces*, and the common people to the *Pharisees*; whereupon wee reade in the Acts of the Apostles, that *Paul* standing before *Ananias* the High Priest, and the rest of the chiefe Priests and Rulers of the people to be judged, knowing that the one part of them were *Sadduces*, and the other part *Pharisees*, cried aloud; *I am a Pharisee, and the sonne of a Pharisee, I am accused of the hope and resurrection of the dead:* and that upon the hearing of these words, there was a dissention betweene the *Pharisees* and *Sadduces*, so that the whole multitude was divided; that there was a great crie; and that the *Scribes* of the *Pharisees* part arose up, and strove, saying, *Wee finde no evill in the man; but if a Spirit or an Angel hath spoken unto him, let us not fight against God.* Act. 23. 6. Ibid. ver. 9.

Of Prophets and Nazarites.

• Numb 6.2.

6A8.21.23.

c Judges 13.7.

1 Sam. I. 11.

e Hier. Catal.
Script. Eccles.
in Iacobo.

f Greg. hom. 1.
sup. Ezekiel.

Hugo de S.
Viët. Erudit.
Theol de Sac
fidei l. 1. part. 1
prolog. c. 17.

C H A P. 9.

Of Assemblies upon extraordinary occasions.

THus having spoken sufficiently of the persons that God sanctified to serve him in the Temple, and to teach, direct, and instruct his people; as also of such as voluntarily dedicated themselves unto him, or were extraordinarily raised up by him: Let us see what the government of the Church, and people of God was under them during the time of the law, untill the coming of Christ.

The Scriptures shew us, that God appointed for the government of his people, extraordinary Assemblies; and set-judgements: whereunto the Prophet David seemeth to allude, when he saith, *The wicked shall not rise up in judgement, nor Sinners in the assembly of the righteous.* In assemblies were handled things concerning the state of the whole common-wealth: In the set Courts, things concerning particular parts of it. Assemblies were of two sorts, either of the whole people, or of the Elders and Rulers onely. Assemblies of the whole people were gathered together to heare the commandments of God: to make publick prayers unto him, or to performe and doe some extraordinary thing: as to appoint a King, a Iudge, or a Prince, to proclaime or wage warre, or the like.

These Assemblies were either of the whole people of *Israel*, or onely of the whole people of one tribe or citie. For the calling of these assemblies God commanded two trumpets of silver to be made, and to be in the custodie of *Moses* and his successors: with this direction, that when they blowed with them both, all the congregation should assemble unto them: but when they blowed but with one, the Princes or Heads over the thousands of *Israel* onely should come.

The set Courts and Tribunals were of two sorts, the one in the gates of every Citie, called *Keis*, Judgement; the other at *Hierusalem*, called *συβέριον* a Councell: whereunto Christ seemed to have alluded, when he said, *Whosoever is angry with his brother unadvisedly, shall be guilty of judgement: but whosoever saith, Racha, shall be guilty of a Councell: and he that saith, Thou foole, shall be worthy to be punished with Gehenna of fire, or the fierie Gehenna.* Thereby shewing us, that one of these offences and faults, is more grievous and worthy of greater punishment than the other: for the Councell or *Sanedrim* did handle weightier causes, and might inflict more grievous punishments, then the set Courts of Iustice in the gates of every citie. So that this is it hee meant to say, Hee that is angry with his brother unadvisedly shall be guilty of judgement, that is, of some lighter punishment; and he that saith, *Racha*, shall be subject to the councell, that is, punished more grievously: but he that saith, *Thou foole*, shall be punished with all extremity, answering in proportion to the cruell and mercilesse burning of men in the valley of *Hinnon*, or the fiery *Gehenna*.

S. Augustine in his first Booke *De Sermone Domini in monte*, doth somewhat otherwise, but very excellently, expresse the meaning of Christs words in this sort. There are, saith he, degrees of sin in this kind mentioned by Christ: *itaque in primo unum est, id est, ira sola: in secundo, duo: & ira, & vox qua iram significat: in tertio, tria: & ira, & vox qua iram significat, & in voce ipsa certa vituperationis expressio.* Vide nunc etiam tres reatus, *Iudicii, Concilii, & Gehenna ignis.* Nam in *Iudicio* adhuc defensionis datur locus: ad *Concilium* pertinet sententia prolatio, quando non jam cum reo agitur, utrum damnandus sit, sed inter se qui judicant, conferunt, quo supplicio damnari oporteat quem constat esse damnandum. *Gehenna* vero ignis nec damnationem habet dubiam, sicut *Iudicium*, nec damnati poenam sicut *Concilium*: in *Gehenna* quippe ignis certa est & damnatio, & poena damnati: that is, In the first degree there is but one thing, that is, anger, only: in the second two; anger, and a voyce expressing anger: In the third three; anger, the voyce that giveth signification of it, and in the voyce it selfe an expressing of some certaine reproach. See now also three guilts, of judgement, of Councell, and the *Gehenna* of fire: For, in Judgment there is yet place left for defence; to Councell pertaineth the

a *Psalm* 1. v. 5.b *Numb.* 10. 2.c *Matth.* 5. 22.d 2 *Chron.* 33. vers. 6.e *Cap.* 19.

Apparet Augustinum iudicialis rationis Hebraicæ notationem non habuisse. Siquis de rep. Hebr. 16. c. 7.

the pronouncing of the sentence, when there is no more to be done with the partie guilty, nor no further doubt whether hee bee to be condemned or not, but they that judge take counsell and conferre amongst themselves, to what punishment they shall condemne him, of whose condemnation they are already resolved: but in the *Gehenna* of fire, there is neither doubtfullnesse of condemnation, as in judgement; nor of the punishment of the condemned, as in Councell: for there both the condemnation is certaine, and the punishment also.

f Loco supra citato. The Papists alledge the words of Christ for prooffe of veniall finnes, because onely the last degree of unadvised and causlesse anger, is pronounced worthy to be punished with *Gehenna* of fire, or hell fire. Whence they thinke it may be concluded, that other degrees of causlesse anger, though sinfull, yet doe not subject men to any punishment in hell, and consequently are by nature veniall. But if we understand that Christ alluded to the different courts of iustice amongst the *Jewes*, their proceedings in the same, and the diversity of punishments which they inflicted more or lesse grievous, as *Sigonius* in his booke *De repub. Hebraeorum*, and other excellently learned doe; then by *Gehenna* of fire, is not simply meant hell fire, which is the generall punishment of damned sinners: but the greatest extremitie of punishment in hell, expressed by comparison with the cruell torments, which they indured that were consumed in fire in *Gehenna*, or the valley of *Hinnon*, farre more intollerable than were the punishments inflicted by the Judgement or Councell, to which the lighter and lesser punishments in hell, due to lesser and lighter finnes, may be resembled. And though we understand the words as *Augustine* doth, yet is not their error confirmed by this place: for as he fitly noteth, whereas to kill is more grievous than to wrong by contumelious and railing speeches, amongst the *Pharisees* onely killing was thought to make a man guilty of judgement; but here anger, the least of all the finnes mentioned by Christ, is by him pronounced guilty of judgement; and whereas amongst them, the question of murder was brought before the judgement seate of men; here all things are left to the judgement of God, where the end of the condemned and guilty is hell fire. And for further clearing of this point hee addeth, that if any man shall say, that murder, as more grievous, is to be punished more grievously, according to the rule of justice, then with hell fire, if railing speeches be punishable with hell fire, hee will force us to acknowledge divers hells, or kindes and degrees of punishments in hell. So farre was *Augustine* from imagining any such difference of finnes, whereof some should be worthy to be punished in hell, and some not, to be proved out of this place, as our Adversaries would enforce and urge.

C H A P. 10.

Of the set Courts amongst the Jewes, their authority and continuance.

ai Deut. 6. 18. **T**ouching the Tribunals and judgements that were in every Citie, God said unto *Moses*: *Thou shalt appoint thee Judges and Magistrates in all thy Cities*; and againe, *They shall goe up to the Judges that sit in the gates of the Citie*. But the *Sanedrim* or great Councell of State, consisted of the King, the twelve Princes of the people, the seventy Elders, the high Priest, the chiefe Priests, and the Scribes. And this Councell was first in *Siloh*, afterwards at *Hierusalem*; first in the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and after in the Tribe of *Judah*: and after the rent of the ten Tribes, none but the Elders of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and the Priests and Levites entred into this Councell.

l Sigon. de rep. Hebr. l. 6. c. 7. This Councell either the King or high Priest called, according as the matter to be heard, touched Religion or the Common-wealth: But after the returne from *Babylon*, the high Priest was alwayes chiefe, and governed with the Elders and chiefe Priests: for there were no more Kings of *Judah* after that time, but the Kings of *Persia*, *Egypt*, and *Syria* had the command over *Judaea*, and made the *Jewes* pay tribute unto them. Of this Councell Almighty God did speake, when he said; *If there arise*

8 Deut. 17. 8.

a matter too hard for thee in judgements betweene blood and blood, betweene plea and plea, betweene plague and plague, in matters of controversie within thy gates, then shalt thou arise and goe up to the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the Priests of the Levites, and unto the Judge that shall be in those dayes, and aske, and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgement: and thou shalt doe according unto that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath chosen, shew thee: and thou shalt observe to doe according to all that they informe thee, according to the Law which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgement which they shall tell thee, shalt thou doe; thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall shew thee neither to the right hand, nor to the left: And that man that will doe presumptuously, not hearkning to the Priest that standeth before the Lord thy God to minister there, or unto the Judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away evill from Israel.

This was the highest Court amongst the Jewes, and from this there was no appeale: and this Court some thinke to have enjoyed so great and ample priviledges, as that it could not erre: and thereupon inferre, that Popes in their Consistories cannot erre, to whom Christ hath made as large promises of assistance and direction, as ever he did to the High Priests and Rulers in the time of Moses Law.

That the Priests and Rulers in the time of the Law could not erre, they endeavour to prove, because hee was to answer it with his blood whosoever disobeyed the sentence and decree of those Judges; and God required every man without declining to the right hand or the left, to doe that they commanded.

If it be objected that the words of Almighty God, requiring all men so strictly to obey the sentence and decree of those Rulers, are not to bee understood concerning matters of faith, but Causes Civill and Criminall; and that therefore this place maketh not any prooffe of the infallibility of their judgment in matters of faith; it will be answered, that there is no reason to doubt of their judgement in matters of faith, of whose right judgement in matters Civill and Criminall we are assured.

Surely, it is true, that if those Judges in the time of the Law, could not erre in matters Civill and Criminall; they were undoubtedly much more freed from danger of erring in matters of faith: but it is one of the strangest paradoxes, as I thinke, that ever yet was heard of, that the Priests and Judges in the time of the Law were priviledged from danger of erring in matters of fact, and that they were so assisted in their proceedings, as that they could not be misse-led by any passions or sinister affections, to pervert judgement and doe wrong. For, besides that it is refuted by sundry instances of sinister and wicked judgments passed by those Judges, against the Servants and Prophets of Almighty God, it maketh the Ministry and government under the Law, incomparably more glorious and excellent than the Ministry of the Gospel. For it is by all confessed, that the Popes and Councells may erre in things of this nature. But that the Priests in the time of the Law did sometimes erre in judgement, condemning them whom God would not have had condemned, appeareth evidently by that wee read in the booke of the Propheties of *Jeremy*, where *when Jeremy had made an end of speaking all that the Lord commanded him to speake, then the Priests and the Prophets, & all the people took him, and said, Thou shalt dye the death. And when the Princes of Judah heard of these things, they came up from the Kings house into the house of the Lord, and sate downe in the entry of the new gate of the Lords House. Then spake the Priests and the Prophets unto the Princes and to all the people, saying, This man is worthy to dye, but the Princes said, This man is not worthy to dye; for he hath spoken unto us in the Name of the Lord our God. Here wee see the Priests erred, and were resisted by the Princes of the Land: but else-where we reade, that the Princes also were angry with *Jeremy*, and smote him, and laid him in prison in the house of *Iehonathan the Scribe*, and said unto the King; We beseech thee, let this man be put to death, for he weakeneth the bands of the men of warre that are in the Citie, and the hands of all the people. So that both Priests and Princes might, and did sometimes erre in judgment. But some man perhaps will say, that howsoever they might erre in matters of fact, yet they could not erre in any matter of substance pertaining to the worship and service of God. This also*

also is clearly demonstrated to bee false, and their errors in things pertaining to the worship and service of God proved by sundry examples.

i 2 Kings 16. 3. In the second booke of Kings wee reade, that ¹ Abaz King of Judah walked in the wayes of the Kings of Israel, made his sons goe through the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, and offered burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every greene tree. This wicked Abaz ² sent from Damascus to Urias the Priest, the patterne of the Altar he saw at Damascus, and the fashion of it, and all the workmanship thereof; and Urias the Priest made an Altar, in all points like to that which King Abaz sent from Damascus. So did Urias the Priest before King Abaz came from Damascus; and the King commanded Urias to offer sacrifice on the Altar, and ^m Urias did whatsoever the King commanded him. Yea we reade of many Priests, especially about the time of the Maccabees, that forooke the law of God, and followed the abominations of the heathen Idolaters; and many Judges and Kings likewise; so that David, Hezekiah, & Josias only excepted, there was none of the Kings that did not decline more or lesse to Idolatry.

ⁿ Lyra in Deuteronom. 17. & alii.

^o Math. 23. 2.

^p Math. 16. 6.

^q Ibid. ver. 12.

^r Math. 15.

^a The meaning therefore of Almighty God according to the judgement of the best Divines was not, that Priests and Judges in the time of the law should be obeyed in all things without exception, but when they commanded and judged according to the divine law and verity: and in the same sort must we understand the words of Christ, when he saith, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit on the Chaire of Moses; and commandeth the people to observe and doe whatsoever they prescribe to be observed and done.* For otherwise Christ should be contrary to himselfe, who else where willeth men to ² be ware of the leaven of the Pharisees, (which S. Mathew interpreteth to be their ³ doctrine) and teacheth men ⁴ by his own example to contemne their traditions. Yea, it is most certaine, that the Pharisees erred dangerously and damnably in many things, notwithstanding their sitting on Moses chaire: and therefore Christ doth oftentimes sharply reprove them for misse-interpreting the law of God.

^f August. cont. Faust. Manichæum, lib. 19. cap. 24.

Some man perhaps will say: They taught lesse than is imputed in the Law, in that they condemned murther, adultery, and the like crimes, but not lust, hatred, and such other sinister affections of the heart: and that therefore Christ did not reprove them, as teaching any thing contrary to the Law, but as teaching lesse than is contained in it, and comming short of it. This evasion will not serve: for it appeareth evidently, that they did not only come short of that the Law requireth, but were also contrary unto it, and that Christ taxeth them for the same: *Quia non intelligebant, (saith S. Augustin) homicidium nisi per interemptionem corporis humani per quam vitâ privaretur, operuit Dominus omnem iniquum motum ad nocendum fratri in homicidii genere deputari: unde & Johannes dicit, Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est: & quoniam putabant tantummodo corporalem cum sceminâ illicitam commixtionem vocari machiam, demonstravit Magister etiam talem concupiscentiam nihil esse aliud: that is, they understood no other kind of murther, but that which is the sundring of soule and body, and the taking away of life; therefore our Lord shewed, that every unrighteous motion to hurt our brother is to be accounted murther: Whence also S. John saith, He that hateth his brother, is a man slayer: and because they thought the unlawfull conjunction of man and woman only to be adultery, our Master shewed, that even the desire is no lesse. Now I thinke, that to say, that is not murther nor adultery, which Christ pronounceth to be murther and adultery, is not only to teach lesse than is in the Law, but to teach contrary to it.*

¹ Math 5 43.

^u Aug. de Serm. Dom. in monte lib. 1. c. 41.

But to make this point more cleare and evident, and that there may be no doubt, but that their doctrine was contrary to the Law, the Scripture reporteth, nay our Saviour Christ telleth us in the Scripture, (whose report wee may not doubt of) that they taught a man ¹ to love his friend, and to hate his enemy: whereas by the Law of God we are bound to love our enemies, to blesse them that curse us, to doe good to them that hate us, and to pray for them that hurt us, and persecute us. It is true indeed, that ² S. Augustine not observing this glosse of hating our enemies, to bee the lewd tradition of the Pharisees, but thinking it to be written in the Law, doth in one place say, that that which is said in the Law, *Thou shalt hate thine enemy*, is not to be taken as the voyce of him

him that commandeth and prescribeth what the iust should doe, but permitteth what the infirmity of the weake requireth; and in another place, writing against the *Manichees*, saith, that that which is in the old Scripture, *Hate thine enemy*, and that which is in the Gospel, *Love your enemies*, doe agree together very well. For every unrighteous man *in quantum iniquus est, odio habendus est, & in quantum homo, diligendus*, in that he is unrighteous, is to be hated, and in that he is a man, is to be loved. This saying he saith, the *Pharisees* did not rightly understand, and that therefore Christ laboured to teach and instruct them better, and to let them know, that they were so to hate their enemies, that they should also love them.

* Contra Fau-
stum Maniche-
um, l. 19. c. 24.

This which *S. Augustine* delivereth is most Catholick and true: For wee are to hate the vices, and love the persons of our enemies; but neither is there any mandate in the Scriptures that we should hate our enemies, neither had that precept of the *Pharisees* that sense wherein *S. Augustine* conceiveth a man may lawfully hate his enemies: but as himselfe confesseth, they thought they were so to hate their enemies, that they were not bound to love them; against which erroneous conceit Christ opposeth himselfe, saying, *But I say unto you, love your enemies*. Neither doth he oppose an Evangelicall counsell of greater perfection than the Law requireth to that imperfect thing the Law prescribeth, as some men have ignorantly fancied; but the true meaning of the Law, to the false construction of the same made by the *Pharisees*, as likewise he doth in all other his oppositions to that which had beene said to them of old time.

But let us let this passe, and come to the other errours of the *Pharisees* taxed by our Saviour Christ, in such sort as no man can excuse them; *Why doe yee transgresse*, saith y Math. 23. 3. he, *the commandment of God by your traditions?* for God hath commanded, saying, *Honour thy Father, and thy Mother; and he that curseth Father or Mother, let him die the death: but yee say, Whosoever shall say to Father or Mother, By the gift that is offered by me thou maist have profit, though he honour not his Father or Mother, shall be free: Thus have you made the commandment of God of none effect by your owne tradition*. Again, they taught that it is *nothing if a man sweare by the Altar, but that hee that sweareth by the gift or offering that is on the Altar is a Debtor*, that is, bound to doe that hee sweareth. Many other like fond and wicked glosses of the *Pharisees* we read of, whereby they made the commandments of God of none effect; whereupon our Saviour saith: *Except your righteousness exceede the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, yee cannot enter into the kingdome of heaven*. Thus then I hope it appeareth to all that are not wilfully blinded, that Christ meant not, when he said, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses chaire, therefore whatsoever they bid you, that observe and doe*, that they could speake nothing but truth, and that whatsoever they said was to be received without any examination; but that whatsoever things they spake *pertinentia ad Cathedram* (as the author of the * interlineall Glosse interpreteth the words) and whatsoever things they delivered as sitting in *Moses chaire*, that is, doing the duty of Teachers, they should be listned unto, howsoever otherwise they were wicked, and godlesse men.

Math. 23. 18.

Math. 5. 20.

* In illum
locum.

They that teach, judge, and rule the people of God, are described to performe those things sitting, to put them in mind, that they must do all things with settled, composed, and well advised resolution, and not rashly, hastily, and inconsiderately: whereupon Princes have their Thrones, Judges their Tribunals and judgement Seates, and Teachers their Chaires. Hence *Moses* office of teaching the people the lawes of God and the performance of the same, is metaphorically named *Moses chaire*; & the succeeding of *Moses* in this office and duty of delivering the lawes of God to the people, & the performance of the same, is rightly expressed by the sitting on the chaire of *Moses*: and in this sense the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* are rightly said to have sit on *Moses chaire*, because they succeeded him in the office and duty of teaching the people the lawes of God, & in the performance of the same duty in some part, though not wholly. And therefore our Saviour Christ requireth all men, notwithstanding their wicked conversation and manifold errours in matters of doctrine, to do whatsoever they commanded while they sate on *Moses chaire*, that is, performed the duty belonging to *Moses* office and place.

It is strange, that any man should seeke to extend the words of Christ any farther, as if they meant to cleere the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* from all possibility and danger of erring, in that they possessed the roome of *Moses*, and had the places of Teachers in the Church; when it is^b confessed by the best learned of all sides, that the Priests of the Church had no priviledge of not erring in teaching the people of God after Christ appeared, and began to teach in his owne person, whatsoever they had before; and that this was foretold by *Jeremy* the Prophet, when he said, *Peribit Lex à Sacerdote, verbum à Propheta, consilium à Sapiente*; The Law shall perish from the Priest, the word from the Prophet, and counsell from the wise. But such is the impudencie of some^c of the friends and lovers of the Church of *Rome*, that they feare not to defend and cleare the doctrine of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* from errour, wherewith Christ so often chargeth them, and to iustifie the proceedings of the high Priest and the rest of the Priests and Rulers assembled in Councell against Christ himselfe, affirming, that the sentence pronounced against him was true and iust: for that he was truly guilty of death, in that he had taken upon him our sinnes to purge them in himselfe, and that it was indeed expedient that he should dye for the people, according to the^d saying of *Caiphas*, who in so saying, is said to have prophesied, as being the high Priest that yeare. But *Bellarmino* ingenuously acknowledgeth the oversight of his friends and companions, and saith, that howsoever those words of *Caiphas* admit a good sense (though not intended by him) for hee meant, it was better that Christ being but one should die, than that the whole people (whose destruction hee thought unavoidable, if Christ were suffered to live) should perish and come to nothing: Yet there are other words of *Caiphas*, that in no sense are iustificable, as when he said, *He hath blasphemed, what need we any more witnesses?* Touching his former speech, it was the will of God, for the honour of the Priesthood, that he should utter that he meant ill, in such words as might have a good sense, though not meant nor intended by him, whereupon he is said to have prophesied: but the later words are words of cursed blasphemy, and without horrible impiety cannot be excused in any sense. Therefore there are others, who confesse, that *Caiphas* and his assistants erred when they condemned Christ, but that it was but a matter of fact wherein they erred, in mistaking the quality of Christs Person, and in being misinformed of him, in which kinde of things Councils may erre. This conceit the Cardinall likewise rejecteth and explodeth as absurd: for that howsoever it was a question of fact, and concerning the Person of him that stood to be judged, yet it inwrapped in it a most important question concerning the Faith, to wit, whether *Jesus* the Son of *Mary* were the true *Messias* and Son of God: and therefore *Caiphas* with his whole Councell resolving that he was not, erred damnably in a matter of Faith, and pertinaciously, in that they rejected him as a blasphemer of God, whom the Angels from heaven testified to be the Son of God: the Starre designed to be that light, that lightneth every one that cometh into the world: the Sages from a farre adored, as being that King of the *Jewes*, that is to sit upon the Throne of *David* for ever, whose Dominion is from sea to sea, and from the River to the end of the Land: whom the seas and windes obeyed, and at whose rebuke the Devils went out of those they had formerly possessed. But if this defence of the hellish sentence of wicked *Caiphas* be too weake, as indeed it is, our Adversaries last refuge is, that this Councell erred, because *Caiphas* and his fellowes proceeded in it tumultuously, and not in due sort: which is a most silly shift. For, how are Councils priviledged from erring, which is the thing these men seeke so carefully to defend (though it be with excusing of the fact of those men who shall be found unexcusable in the day of judgement) if Councils may proceed tumultuously, and so define against the truth.

Thus wee see that the great Councell of state amongst the *Jewes*, to which all matters of difficulty were brought, and from which there was no appeale, might and did erre sometimes dangerously, and damnably. This Councell continued in some sort as well after the Captivity of *Babylon*, and the return from the same, as before: though with this difference, that whereas before, the King had a principall interest in the same, afterwards the High Priest alwayes was chiefe, there being no more Kings of *Judah*, but

^b Bell. de aucth. Concil. l. 2. c. 8.

^c Idem. de Eccl. milit. l. 3. c. 17.

^d Ut refert. Bell. de aucth. concil. l. 2. c. 8.

^e Joh. 18. 14.

^f Matth. 26. 65.

^g Sigon. de rep. Hebr. l. 7. c. 4.

but the Kings of *Persia*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*, commanding over the *Jewes*, and making them tributaries unto them. In this sort were they governed, till some differences growing amongst them for the place of the High Priest, they were by *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria* deprived both of their liberty and exercise of religion, and brought into miserable bondage; the indignity whereof the *Assamoni* of the tribe of *Levi* could not endure, but by force and policie in a sort freed the state of the *Jewes* againe, and tooke unto themselves first the name of Princes, and then of Kings. In the booke of *Maccabees* wee reade, that *Mattathias* was constituted Priest, Prince, and Ruler, and that many came downe to him to seeke judgement and iustice. *Judas Maccabaeus* succeeded *Mattathias*, and joyned the dignity of the high Priest to the princely power. *Jonathas* succeeded *Macchabaeus*, of whom we reade, *Now this day doe we chuse thee to be unto us a Prince in stead of Judas, and a Captaine to fight our battels.* *Si. 9. 30.* *mon* succeeded *Jonathas*, and in his time *Demetrius* King of *Syria*, and *Antiochus* his Son remitted all tributes; so that then the *Jewes* recovered their ancient liberty in as ample manner as they had formerly enjoyed it under their Kings. *John* succeeded *Simon*, and *Aristobulus* *John*, who put upon himselfe a Diademe, and assumed the name of a King. After *Aristobulus* succeeded *Alexander* his Brother, marrying *Solina* his wife. *Alexander* being dead, *Alexandra* obtained the Kingdome, and after her *Hircanus*, whom *Aristobulus* his brother expelled. *Pompey* tooke this *Aristobulus* prisoner, subdued *Judaea*, brought it into the forme of a Province, and appointed *Antipater Ascalonita* to be *Procurator* of it; but not long after, *Antigonus* the Son of *Aristobulus* recovered the Citie of *Hierusalem*, and invaded the Kingdome; against whom the *Romans* set up *Herod* the Son of *Antipater* and gave him the name of a King.

Thus the direction and government of the *Jewes* rested principally in the *Sanedrim*, as well before as after their returne from *Babylon*; and the *Sanedrim*, which was the highest Court, and swayed all, consisted, for the most part, of men taken out of the House of *David*, and therefore the Scepter did not depart from *Judah* so long as that Court continued, and retained the authority belonging to it, though there were no King of the posterity of *David* and tribe of *Judah*, but the High Priests first, and then other of the tribe of *Levi*, assuming to themselves Priestly, and Princely dignity, had the chiefest place and highest roome in this Court of State. But when *Herod* swayed the Scepter, slue all those that he found to be of the blood Royall of *Judah*, and tooke away all power and authority that the *Sanedrim* formerly had, then the Scepter departed from *Judah*, and the Law-giver from betweene his feete; so that then was the time for the *Shiloh* to come.

C H A P. II.

Of the manifestation of God in the flesh, the causes thereof, and the reason why the second Person in the Trinity rather tooke flesh, than either of the other.

GOd therefore in that fulnesse of time sent his Sonne in our flesh to sit upon the Throne of *David*, and to bee both a King and Priest over his house for ever; concerning whom, three things are to be considered: First, his humiliation, abasing himselfe to take our nature, and become man. Secondly, the gifts and graces he bestowed on the nature of man, when hee assumed it into the unity of his Person. Thirdly, the things he did and suffered in it for our good.

In the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, wee consider first the necessity, that God should become man; secondly, the fitnessse and convenience, that the second Person rather than any other; thirdly, the manner, how this strange thing was wrought and brought to passe. Touching the necessity that God should become man, there are two opinions in the *Roman Schooles*.

For some thinke, that though *Adam* had never sinned, yet it had beene necessary for the exaltation of humane nature, that God should have sent his Sonne to become man; but others are of opinion, that had it not beene for the delivering of man out of sinne

finne and misery, the Sonne of God had never appeared in our flesh. ^a Both these opinions, saith *Bonaventura*, are Catholick, and defended by Catholicks: whereof the former seemeth more consonant to reason, but the later to the piety of faith, because neither Scripture nor Fathers doe ever mention the Incarnation, but when they speake of the redemption of mankind: so that seeing nothing is to be beleaved, but what is proved out of these, it sorteth better with the nature of right beliefe, to thinke the Sonne of God had never become the Sonne of man, if man had not sinned, then to thinke the contrary. ^b *Venit filius hominis*, saith *Augustine*, *salvum facere quod perierat: Si homo non periisset, filius hominis non venisset: nulla causa fuit Christo veniendi, nisi peccatores salvos facere. Tolle morbos, tolle vulnera; & nulla est medicina causa*: that is, The Sonne of man came to save that which was lost; If man had not perished, the Sonne of man had not come, there was no other cause of Christs coming, but the salvation of sinners: Take away diseases, wounds and hurts, and what neede is there of the Phisician or Surgeon? Wherefore resolving with the Scriptures and Fathers, that there was no other cause of the incarnation of the Sonne of God, but mans redemption, let us see whether so great an abasing of the Sonne of God, were necessary for the effecting hereof.

^a Aug. de verb. Apostoli. Serm. 70. tractans illud Lucæ, Venit filius hominis salvum facere quod perierat: & illud 1. ad Timoth. 1. Venit in hunc mundum peccatores salvos facere.

Surely there is no doubt, but that Almighty God, whose wisdom is incomprehensible, and power infinite, could have effected this worke by other meanes, but not so well becoming his truth and justice; whereupon the Divines doe shew, that in many respects it was fit and necessary for this purpose, that God should become man.

^c Thomas Sum. Theol. part. 3. quæst. 1. art. 2. ^d August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 11. cap. 2.

First, *ad fidem firmandam*; to settle men in a certaine and undoubted perswasion of the truth of such things as are necessary to be beleaved: *ut homo fidentius ambularet ad veritatem*, saith ^a *Augustine*, *ipsa veritas, Dei filius homine assumpto, constituit & fundavit fidem*: that is, That man might more assuredly, and without danger of erring, approach unto the presence of sacred truth it selfe, the Son of God, assuming the nature of man, settled and founded the faith, and shewed what things are to be beleaved.

Secondly, *ad rectam operationem*, to direct mens actions; for whereas man, that might be seene, might not safely be followed, and God, that was to bee imitated and followed could not be seene, it was necessary that God should become man, and hee whom man was to follow, might shew himselfe unto man, and be seene of him.

^a Aug. de verâ Religione c. 16

Thirdly, *ad ostendendam dignitatem humana nature*, to shew the dignitie and excellencie of humane nature, that no man should any more so much forget himselfe, as to defile the same with sinfull impurities. ^b *Demonstravit nobis Deus*, saith *Augustine*, *quàm excelsum locum inter creaturas habeat humana natura, in hoc quòd hominibus in vero homine apparuit*; that is, God shewed us how high a place the nature of man hath amongst his creatures, in that he appeared unto men in the nature, and true being of a man.

^c Leo Serm. 1. in nativ. Dom.

^d *Agnosce* (saith *Leo*) *O Christiane dignitatem tuam, & divina consors factus natura noli in veterem vilitatem degeneri conversatione redire*: that is, Take knowledge O Christian man of thine owne worth and dignity: and being made partaker of the divine nature, returne not to thy former baseness by an unfitting kind of life and conversation. Lastly, it was necessary the Sonne of God should become man, *ad liberandum hominem à servitute peccati*, to deliver man from the slavery and bondage of sinne. For the performance whereof, two things were to be done: For first, the justice of God displeased with sinne committed against him, was to bee satisfied: and secondly, the breach was to be made up that was made upon the whole nature of man by the same: neither of which things could possibly be performed by man or Angel, or by any creature. For touching the first, the wrath of God displeased with sinne, and the punishments which in justice he was to inflict upon sinners for the same, were both infinite, because the offence was infinite, and therefore none but a person of infinite worth, value, and vertue, was able to endure the one, and satisfie the other.

If any man shall say, it was possible for a meere man stayed by divine power and assistance, to feele smart and paine in proportion answering to the pleasure of sin, which is but finite, and to endure for a time the losse of all that infinite comfort and solace that is to be found in God, answering to that aversion from God that is in sinne, which is infinite,

infinite, and so to satisfie his iustice; he considereth not, that though such a man might satisfie for his owne sinne, yet not for the sinnes of all other, who are in number infinite, unlesse his owne person were eminently as good as all theirs, and virtually infinite. Secondly, that though he might satisfie for his owne actuall sinne, yet he could not for his originall sin, which being the sin of nature, cannot be satisfied for but by him, in whom the whole nature of man in some principall sort is found. Thirdly, he considereth not, that it is impossible that any sinner should of himselfe ever cease from sinning; and that therefore, seeing so long as sinne remaineth, the guilt of punishment remaineth, he must be everlastingly punished, if he suffer the punishment due to his everlasting sinne: and consequently, that he cannot so suffer the punishments due to his actuall sinnes, as having satisfied the wrath and justice of God to free himselfe from the same. If it be said, that by grace he may cease from sinning, and so suffer the punishment due to sinne so ceasing, and not eternall; it will be replied, that God giveth not his grace to any, till his iustice bee first satisfied, and a reconciliation procured: for he giveth it to his friends, not to his enemies.

Touching the second thing that was to be done for mans deliverance, which was the making up of the breach made upon the nature of man, and the freeing him from the impuritie of inherent sinne, that so the punishment due to sinne past, being felt and suffered, he might be reconciled to God; it could not be performed by any meere creature whatsoever. For, as all fell in *Adam*, the roote and beginning of naturall beeing, who received the treasures of righteousness and holinesse for himselfe, and those that by propagation were to come of him: so their restauration could not be wrought, but by him that should be the roote, fountaine, and beginning of supernaturall and spirituall beeing, in whom the whole nature of mankinde should be found in a more eminent sort than it was in *Adam*: as indeed it was in the second *Adam*, Of whose fulnesse *Ioh. 1.16.* we all receive, grace for grace. And this surely was the reason, why it was no injustice in God, to lay upon him the punishments due to our sinnes, and why his sufferings doe free us from the same. It is no way just, that one man having no speciall communion with another, should suffer punishment for another mans fault; but the whole nature of man being found in him in a more eminent sort, than either in *Adam*, or any one of them that came of him, and he having undertaken to free and deliver it, it was just and right he should feele the miseries it was subject unto: and that being felt and sustained by him in such sort as was sufficient to satisfie divine justice, they should not be imposed or laid on us.

Hereupon some have said, that Christ was made sin, not by acting or contracting sin (for so to say were horrible blasphemy) but by taking on him the guilt of all mens sinnes: which yet is wisely to be understood, lest we run into errour. For, whereas the guilt of sin implieth two things; a worthines to be punished, and a destination unto punishment; the former implieth demerit naturall or personall in him that is so worthy to be punished, and this could not be in Christ: the other, which is *obligatio ad pœnam*; a being subject unto punishment, may grow from some communion with him or them that are worthy to be punished. And in this sense some say, Christ took the guilt of our sins, not by acting or contracting sin, but by communion with sinners, though not in sin, yet in that nature, which in them is sinfull and guilty; as those good men that are parts of a sinfull Citie, are justly subject to the punishments due to that Citie, not in that they have fellowship with it in evill, but in that they are parts of it being evill: as the son of a traytor is justly subject, to the grievous punishment of forfeiting the inheritance, that should have descended upon him from his father, though he no way concurred with him in his treason, in respect of his nearenesse and communion with him, of whom he is as it were a part. Whereupon all Divines resolve, that men altogether innocent, yet living as parts of the societies of wicked men, are justly subject to those temporall punishments those societies are worthy of: and that the reason why one man cannot be subject to those spirituall punishments which others deserve, is, for that in respect of the spirit and inward man, they have no such derivation from, dependance on, or communion with others, as in respect of the outward man they have.

*Cambracensis
in principio in
3. lib. sent.*

Wherefore to conclude this point, wee may safely resolve, that no other could satisfie divine justice, and suffer the punishments due to sinne, in such sort, as to free us from the same, but Christ the Sonne of God, in whom our nature by personall union was found in an excellent sort; and that it was right and iust, that having taken our nature upon him, and undertaken to free and deliver the same, he should suffer and endure whatsoever punishments it was subject unto. For the illustration of this point, the learned observe, that when God created Adam, hee gave him all excellent and precious vertues, as Truth to instruct him, Justice to direct him, Mercie to preserve him, and Peace to delight him with all pleasing correspondence; but that when hee fell away, and forgate all the good which God had done for him, these vertues left their lower dwellings, and speedily returned back to him that gave them, making report what was fallen out on earth, and earnestly moving the Almighty concerning this his wretched and forlorne creature; yet in very different sort and manner. For, Justice pleaded for the condemnation of sinfull man, and called for the punishment hee had worthily deserved; and Truth required the performance of that which God had threatned; but Mercy intreated for miserable man made out of the dust of the earth, seduced by Satan, and beguiled with the shewes of seeming good; and Peace no lesse carefully sought to pacifie the wrath of the displeased God, and to reconcile the creature to the Creator. When God had heard the contrary pleas and desires of these most excellent Orators, and there was no other meanes to give them all satisfaction, it was resolved on in the high Councel of the blessed Trinity, that one of those sacred persons should become man, that by taking to him the nature of man, he might partake in his miseries, and be subject to his punishments, and by conjoyning his divine nature and perfection with the same, might fill it with all grace and heavenly excellencie. Thus were the desires of these so contrary Petitioners satisfied: for, man was punished as Gods Justice urged; that was performed which God had threatned, as Truth required: the offender was pitied, as Mercy intreated; and God and man reconciled, as Peace desired; and so was fulfilled that of the Psalmist; *Mercie and Truth are met together, Righteousnesse and Peace have kissed each other.*

h psal. 85. 10.

*Bernard. de
advnt. Domi-
ni, Ser. no. 1.*

Wherefore, now let us proceed, to see which of the Persons of the blessed Trinity was thought fittest to be sent into the world to performe this worke. Not the Father; for being of none, he could not be sent: Not the Holy Ghost; for though he proceed, yet he is not the first proceeding Person; and therefore, whereas a double mission was necessary, the one to reconcile, the other to give gifts to reconciled friends; the first proceeding Person was fittest for the first mission, and the second for the second. Secondly, who was fitter to be cast out into the Sea, to stay the tempest, than that *Jonas* for whose sake it arose? Almighty God was displeased for the wrong offered to his Sonne, in desiring to be like unto God, and to know all things in such sort as is proper to the onely begotten Sonne of the Father, therefore was he the fittest to pacifie all againe. Thirdly, who was fitter to become the Sonne of man, than he that was by nature the Sonne of God? *Patrem habuit in cælis, Matrem quaesivit in terris:* He had a Father in heaven, hee sought onely a mother on earth. Who could bee fitter to make us the Sonnes of God by adoption and grace, than he that was the Sonne of God by nature? Who fitter to repaire the Image of God decayed in us, than hee that was the brightnesse of glory, and the engraven forme of his Fathers Person? Lastly, who was fitter to bee a Mediator, than the middle Person, who was in a sort a Mediator in the state of Creation, and before the fall?

*Hugo erudit.
Theol. de Tri-
nit. sum. per
visib. agnition.
lib. 7. c. 24.*

Whereupon *Hugo de Sancto Victore* bringeth in Almighty God speaking to the Sonnes of men concerning Christ his Sonne in this sort: *Nolite putare, quod ipse tantum sit Mediator in reconciliatione hominum, quia per ipsum etiam commendabilis & placita sit aspectui meo conditio omnium creaturarum:* that is, think not that he is a Mediator onely in the reconciliation of men, for by him the condition of all creatures is gratefull unto me, and pleasing in my sight. *Magni consilii Angelus,* saith *Hugo*, *nobis mittitur, ut qui conditis datus fuit ad gloriam, idem perditis veniat ad medelam:* that is, the Angel of the great Counsell is sent unto us, that hee who was given unto us, when

when wee were made, to be the crowne of our glory, and Prince of our excellencie, might relieve, helpe, and restore us when we were lost.

Yet our Adversaries take I know not what exceptions against *Calvin* for saying, that Christ was a Mediator in the state of Creation; but they should know, that there is a Mediator of reconciliation of parties at variance, and a Mediator of conjunction of them that are farre asunder, and remote one from another: and that in this later sort, betweene the Father, that no way receiveth any thing from another, and the creatures, that so receive their being from another, that they are made out of nothing, hee may rightly be said to mediate, that receiveth being from another, but the same that is in him from whom he receiveth it. If any man shall say, that the Holy Ghost also in this sort commeth betweene him, in whom the fulnesse of being is originally found, and the creatures that are made of nothing, as well as the Sonne, and that therefore in this sense, he also may be said to be a Mediator; It is easily answered, that the Sonne onely commeth betweene the Father, in whom the fulnesse of being is originally found, and the creatures made of nothing, as he by whom all things were made; the Holy Ghost, as he in whom all things doe consist and stand; and that therefore he hath not the condition of a Mediator being not considered as he by whom all things are bestowed upon us, but as that gift in which all other things are given unto us: so that the Sonne onely is the Mediator, because by him, from the Father, in the Holy Ghost, we receive all that which we have and enjoy.

Neither needeth there any Mediator to conjoyne him to us, and us to him: for the *medium* conjoyneth both the extreames, first with it selfe, and then within themselves, in that it hath something of one of them, and something of another, in something agreeing with, and in something differing from either of the extreames: So the Sonne of God agreeth with us, in that hee receiveth the being and Essence hee hath from another, in which respect he is distinguished, though not divided from the Father, but in that the nature hee receiveth from the Father is not another, but the same which the Father hath, he is unlike unto us, but agreeth with the Father. And here wee may see the malice and ignorance of them that charge *Calvin* with heresie, for affirming, that Christ is *αὐτοθεός*, God of himselfe, as if hee denied the eternall generation of the Sonne of God, and were contrary to the decree of the sacred *Nicene* Councell, which defineth, that he is *Deus de Deo*, *Lumen de Lumine*: for these men should know, that Christ may be said to be from another in two sorts; either by production of Essence, or by communication of Essence: the *Nicene* Councell defined, that Christ the Sonne of God who is *ὁμοούσιος*, that is, consubstantiall with the Father, is notwithstanding God of God, that is, hath his Essence and Deitie communicated unto him by eternall generation from the Father, even the same the Father had originally in himselfe. All which, *Calvin* most willingly acknowledgeth to be true, and therefore denieth not, but that it may be truly said according to the sacred decree and definition of that worthy Councell, that Christ the Sonne of God is God of God, and light of light: but to imagine, as *Valentinus Gentilis*, and other damnable Hereticks did, that hee is from the Father by production of Essence; whence it will follow, that hee hath not the same Essence with the Father, but another different from it, inferiour to it, and dependant on it, is impious and hereticall: and in opposition to this impious conceit of these Hereticks, and in the sense intended by them, *Calvin* rightly denied Christ to be God of God. For this their conceit was ever detested by all Catholicks, as wicked and blasphemous, yea so farre are they from approving any such impiety, that no axiome is more common in all their Schooles, than that *Essentia nec generat, nec generatur*, that is, the Divine Essence neither generateth, nor is generated: and surely, howsoever *Kellison* in his Survey saith the contrary, and opposeth his affirmative against the negative of all the most famous and renowned Schoole-men, yet I am persuaded he did so rather out of ignorance, than any reason leading him so to doe, and doe thinke it more than improper and hard to say, that the divine Essence doth either generate or is generated.

Thus then Christ is truly said by *Calvin* to be God of himselfe, by way of opposition

1 Genebrard. l.
1. de Trinitate
Lindanus in 2.
Dialogo qui
inscribitur Du-
bitantius Pe-
trus Canisius
præfat. lib de
Sancto Iohan.
Baptista citat
à Bellar.

m Booke 3.
Chap. 1.

fition to that kind of beeing from another, which is by production of Essence, and yet is rightly acknowledged by him with the *Nicene* Fathers to be from another, to wit, the Father, and to be *God of God*, in that he receiveth the eternall Essence by communication from him.

⁂ Bellarm. de
Christo, lib. 2.
cap. 19.

This *Bellarmino* law, and acknowledged to be true, pronouncing that touching this point *Calvin* erred not in judgement, and that his opinion is rather an error in forme of words, and exprelling ill that he meant well, then in the thing it selfe. That *Calvin* erred not in the thing it selfe he delivered, he proved at large, specially out of the doctrine of *Calvins* followers: for, *Beza* in axiom. de trin. and in the 14. axiom, affirmeth, that the Sonne is from the Father by ineffable communication of the whole divine Essence: and *Josias Simlerus* in his Epistle to the *Polonians*, defendeth the opinion of *Calvin*, and expresseth his own opinion and *Calvins* in this sort: *Non negamus Filium habere essentiam a Patre. sed essentiam genitam negamus*: that is, Wee doe not deny the Son to have received his Essence from the Father, but that his Essence is generated. This doctrine of *Simlerus*, why it should not be Catholick, *Bellarmino* professeth, he cannot see: yet his fellowes in all their pamphlets traduce *Calvins Autotheisme* as an execrable heresie: and multer the *Autotheani*, as they call them, amongst the damned Hereticks of this time: which is not to be marvelled at; for the manner of these men is, odiously to object things againe and againe, that have beene often cleared both by themselves and us, little regarding whether it be true or false they say, so they may fasten some note of disgrace upon them whose persons and professions they hate.

⁂ Booke 1. c. 4.
p. 47.

One memorable example of hellish impudencie in this kinde, worthy never to be forgotten, but to be remembred and recorded to the shame and reproofe of the slandering Sect of Papists, we have in *Mathew Kellison* his late survey of the new Religion; who, to prove that the Protestants contemne the Fathers, affirmeth, that *Beza* called *Athanasius*, (that worthy Champion of the Catholick faith) *Sathanasius*, and judged the Fathers of the *Nicene* Councell to have beene blind Sophisters, Ministers of the Beast, and slaves of Antichrist: whereas *Beza* esteemeth of *Athanasius* as one of the worthiest Divines that the World for many ages had, in whose lap and bosome our wearied Mother the Church, in her greatest distresses, forsaken of her owne children, was forced to repose and lay her head in those restlesse and confused turmoyles, during the time of the *Arrian* heresie: ^p and professeth, that he thinketh the Sunne in Heaven never beheld a more sacred and divine assembly or meeting, than that of the *Nicene* Fathers, since the Apostles times: yea he pronounceth, that there was never any found to resist against the proceedings and decrees of that Councell, but their wofull and unhappy ends made it appeare to all the World, they were fighters against God; and condemneth the *Arrians* as execrable miscreants, to the pit of hell, for using those words wherewith this Surveyor chargeth him. Wherefore, let the Reader beware, how without due examination hee give credit to the sinister reports of these lewde companions, who have sold themselves not onely to speake lies, but to write them, and leave them upon record to all posterity.

p For prooffe
hereof see Sta-
pleton in his
triplication a-
gainst Whitha-
ker, pag. 210.
and 211. And
the Author the
treatise of the
grounds of the
old religion.
part. 1. cap. 9.
pag. 102.

But let us see whether *Calvin* have not erred at least in the forme of words, and ill expressed that he meant well, as *Bellarmino* chargeth him. Surely we shall finde, if we take a view of that which *Calvin* hath written, that the Cardinalls reprehension of him in this behalfe is most unjust: for *Epiphanius* a worthy Bishop, and great Divine, writing against heresies, and therefore endeavouring to be most exact in his formes of speech, calleth the Sonne of God *αὐτόθεος* as well as *Calvin* doth. It is true, saith *Bellarmino*, he doth so: but when he saith, Christ is *αὐτόθεος*, he meaneth onely, that he is truly God: whereas *Calvin* affirmeth, that he is so *αὐτόθεος*, that he is God of himselfe, which is false: for neither the Father, nor the Son is God of himselfe, the Sonne being of the Father, and the Father of none, because he receiveth beeing from none: as if it were so strange a thing to say, God is of himselfe, or as if it were all one for a thing to be of it selfe, and to be produced, or to receive beeing of, or from it selfe, *Omne ens* (saith *Scaliger*) *aut est à se, aut ab alio*; that is, every thing that hath beeing, either is of it selfe, or of another. *Cujus rationi* (saith *Scotus*) *simpliciter repugnat esse ab alio, illud*

⁂ Epiphanius
contr. Hæres.
hæres. 69.

⁂ Scalig. exerc.
6. sect. 3.
⁂ Scotus 1. sent.
dist. 2. qu. 2.

illud si potest esse, potest esse à se, sed rationi primi effectivi repugnat esse ab alio: ergo potest esse à se, ergo est à se, quia quod non est à se, non potest esse à se: quia tunc non ens produceret aliquid ad esse; & idem causaret se, & ita non erit incansabile omnino. That thing, with the nature and condition wherof it cannot stand, to be of, or from another, if it may be at all, it may be of it selfe: but it standeth not with the nature and condition of the first efficient cause, to be of or from another; therefore it may be, nay therefore it is of it selfe; because that which is not of it selfe, cannot afterwards bee of it selfe: For then a thing not being, might cause a thing to be, yea the same might be the cause of it selfe, and so the highest and first cause of all things might have a cause giving being unto it, which is impossible. These men feared not to speake, as Calvin speaketh, & yet I think Bellarmine dareth not reprehend them also as he doth Calvin; but if he do, I suppose the world wil think, they knew how to speake as properly as he.

Thus then we see the Son of God is *αὐτόθεος*, that is, God of himselfe, and that yet he received his Essence from the Father but the same that was in the Father, not another caused, made, or produced by him: and that so he was a Mediator in the state of creation betweene God and his Creatures, in that he was of a middle condition betweene him that no way was of any other, and those things that by another were made and produced out of nothing, knitting and joyning them together in an indissoluble band: and that in this respect hee was fittest to become Man, and to be a Mediator of reconciliation, when betweene God and his creatures there was not onely a great distance as before, but a great division, difference, and breach also.

C H A P. 12.

Of the manner of the union that is betweene the Person of the Sonne of God, and our nature in Christ, and the similitudes brought to expresse the same.

W Herefore, let us proceede to see how the natures of God and Man were united in Christ, and what kinde of union it was, that made God to become Man, and Man God. For the clearing hereof the Divines do note, *α. Alex. de Ales Sum. Theolog. part. 3. quest. 7. memb. 1. art. 1.* that there is *Unum per unitatem*, and *Unum per unionem*, that is, that sometimes a thing is said to be one by unity or Onenesse, and sometimes by union. *Unum per unitatem est illud in quo non est multitudo, quod scilicet non est in multis, nec ex multis;* that is, That thing is one by unity, wherein there are not many things found, which neither consisteth in many things, nor of many things: in which sort God only is most properly said to be One, in whom there is neither diversity of natures, nor multiplicity of parts, nor composition of perfection and imperfection, being and not being, as in all creatures. One by Union is that, which either consisteth in many things, or of many things; and is either in a sort onely, or simply One. In a sort onely a thing consisting in or of many things, is said to bee one three wayes. First, when neither the one of the things whereof it consisteth hath denomination from the other, nor the property of it, as when stones are laid together to make one heape. Secondly, when the one hath the property of the other, but no denomination from it, as is the union betweene the hand and those sweete spices it holdeth in it. Thirdly, when the one hath denomination from the other, but no property of the other, as a man is said to bee apparelled from his apparell, but no property thereof passeth from it unto him, as the favour of the sweete spices doth into the hand. Union simply is of divers sorts: First, when one of the things united is turned into the other: this falleth out so often as there is a repugnance betweene the things united, and one is predominant, and prevailing, as when a drop of water is poured into a whole vessell of wine. Secondly, when both the things united are changed in nature and essence; and that commeth to passe so often as the things united have a repugnance betweene themselves, and yet no prevailing of one over the other: In this sort the elements are united to make mixt or compound bodies. Thirdly, when there is no transmutation of the things united, but the constitution of a third nature out of them, because they have no repugnance, but mutuall dependance: of this sort is the union of the soule and body. Fourthly, when there

Durand. in 3.
Sentent. dist. 6.
quest. 3.

there is neither transmutation of the natures united, nor constitution of a third out of them, but onely the founding, setting, and staying of the one of the things united in the other, and the drawing of it into the unity of the personall being or subsistence of the other: this cometh to passe, when there is neither repugnance nor mutuall dependence of one of the things united upon the other, but a dependance of another kinde; so the branch of a tree being put upon the stock of another tree, is drawne into the unity of the subsistence of that tree into which it is put; and whereas if it had beene set in the ground, it would have growne as a separate tree in it selfe, now it groweth in the tree into which it is grafted, and pertaineth to the unity of it. Heere is neither mixture of the natures of these trees, nor constitution of a third out of them, but onely the drawing of one of them into the unity of the subsistence of the other: so that here is not *Compositio huius ex his*, but *huius ad hoc*, that is, not a composition of a third thing out of the things united, but an adjoyning of one of the things united to the other. And this kinde of union doth of all other most perfectly resemble the personall union of the natures of God and Man in Christ; wherein the nature of man, that would have beene a person in it selfe, if it had beene left to it selfe, is drawne into the unity of the divine person, and subsisteth in it, being prevented from subsisting in it selfe by this personall union and assumption.

This that we may the better conceive, we must consider what the difference is betweene nature and person, and what maketh an individuall nature to bee a person. Some thinke that nature and person differ, as that *Quod est*, and *Quo est*, that is, as the thing that is, and that whereby it is. Other, that the condition of personall being addeth to an individuall nature a negation of dependance or being sustained by another: but to leave all uncertainty of opinions, to be *this* or *that*, is individuall; to be *this* or *that* in and for it selfe, is personall being; to be *this* or *that* in and for another, is to pertaine to the person or subsistence of another: so that every thing that is in or for it selfe, is a subsistence or thing subsisting, and every such rationally individuall nature is a person. Amongst those created things which naturally are apt to make a subsistence, or to subsist in and for themselves, there is very great difference: for some naturally may become parts of another more entire thing of the same kinde, as wee see in all those things wherein every part hath the same nature and name that the whole hath, as every drop of water is water, and, being left to it selfe, is a subsistence in it selfe, and hath that being, quality, and nature that is in it, in and for it selfe; but being joyned to a greater quantity of water, it hath now no being, quality, or operation, but in and for that greater quantity of water into which it is powred. Other things there be, that cannot naturally or by the working of naturall causes, put themselves into the unity of any other thing, but by the helpe of some forreine cause, they may bee made to pertaine to the unity of another thing different in nature and kinde: So the branch of a tree of one kind, which put into the ground, would be an entire distinct tree in it selfe, growing, moving, and bearing fruite in and for it selfe, may by the hand of man be put into the unity of the subsistence of a tree of another kinde and sort, and so grow, move, and beare fruite, not distinctly in and for it selfe, but joyntly in and for that tree into which it is implanted. A third sort of things there are, which being left to themselves, become subsistences; and cannot by force of naturall causes, nor the helpe of any forreine thing, ever become parts of any other created thing, or pertaine to the unity of the subsistence of any such thing: such is the nature of all living things; and such is the nature of man, which cannot be brought by force of any cause to pertaine to the unity of any created subsistence; because it cannot have such dependance on any created thing as is required, to make it pertaine to the subsistence thereof; yet by divine and supernaturall working, it may bee drawne into the unity of the subsistence of any of the Persons of the blessed Trinity, wherein the fulnesse of all being, and the perfection of all created things is in a more eminent sort than in themselves. For though all created things have their owne being, yet seeing God is nearer to them than they are to themselves, and they are in a better sort in him than in themselves, there is no question, but that they may be prevented and stayed from

from being in and for themselves, and caused to be in and for one of the divine Persons of the blessed Trinity. So that as one drop of water, that formerly subsisted in it selfe, powred into a vessell containing a greater quantity of water, by continuity becommeth one in subsistence with that greater quantity of water: and as a branch of a tree, which being set in the ground, and left to it selfe, would be an entire and independent tree, becommeth one in subsistence with that tree into which it is grafted; they both lose their owne bounds, within which contained, they were distinctly severed from other things, and the relation of being totall things; so the individuall nature of man assumed into the unity of one of the Persons of the blessed Trinity, loseth that kind of being, that naturally left to it selfe, it would have had, which is, to be in and for it selfe, and not to depend of any other, and getteth a new relation of dependance and being in another. And as it is continuitie that maketh the former things one with them to which they are joyned: so here a kind of spirituall contract betweene the Divine Person, and the nature of man, maketh God to be Man. For, as situation and position is in things corporall, so is order and dependance in things spirituall.

There are many similitudes brought by Divines, to expresse this union of the Natures of God and Man, in the same Christ, as of the soule and body; of a flaming and fierie sword; of one man having two accidentall formes: and lastly, of a tree, and a branch or bough that is grafted into it. The similitude of the soule and body making but one man, is very apt, and used by the ^b Ancient, yet is it defective and imperfect: ^{6 Athanasius in Symbolo.} first, for that the soule and body being imperfect natures, concur to make one full and perfect nature of a man: secondly, for that the one of them is not drawne into the unity of the subsistence of the other, but both depend of a third subsistence, which is, that of the whole: whereas in Christ, both natures are perfect, so that they cannot concur to make a third nature or subsistence; but the Eternall Word subsisting perfectly in it selfe, draweth unto it, and personally sustaineth in it the nature of man, which hath no subsistence of its owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated unto it. Touching the similitude of a fiery and flaming sword, it most lively expresseth the union of the two Natures in Christ, in that the substances of fire, and of the sword are so nearely conjoyned, that the operations of them, for the most part, concur, and there is in a sort a communication of properties from the one of them to the other. ^{c Basil. in orat. Sanct. nativit. & Damas. l. 3. de Orthod. fid. cap. 11.} For a fiery sword in cutting and dividing, wasteth and burneth; and in waisting and burning, cutteth and divideth; and we may rightly say of this whole thing wherein the nature of the fire, and the nature of the Steele, or Iron (whereof the sword is made) do concur and meete, that it is fire, and that it is Steele, or iron: that this fiery thing is a sharpe piercing sword, and that this sharpe piercing sword is a fiery and devouring thing. But this similitude is defective, because the nature of Iron is not drawne into the unity of the subsistence of fire, nor the fire of iron, so that we cannot say, this fire is Steele or Iron, or this Steele or Iron is fire. The third similitude of one man having two qualities, or accidentall formes, (as the skill of Physick and Law) hath many things in it most aptly expressing the personall union of the two Natures of God and Man in Christ. For first, in such a man there is but one person. and yet there are two natures concurring and meeting in the same: the qualities are different, and the things had, not the same. But he that hath and possesseth them is the same. Secondly, the person being but one, is denominated from either, or both of these different formes, qualities, or accidentall natures, and doth the workes of them both: and there is a communication of properties consequent upon the concurring of two such formes in one man. For wee may rightly say of such a one: This Physician is a Lawyer, and this Lawyer is a Physician. This Lawyer is happy in curing diseases: and this Physician is carefull in following his Clients causes. ^{d Scotus in 3. sent. d. 1. q. 1.} ^{e Durand. in 3. sent. d. 6. q. 4.} *Scotus* especially approveth the similitude of the subject, and accident; first taking away that which is of imperfection in the subject, as that it is potentiall in respect of the accident to be informed of it, and in a sort perfected by it: 2^{ly}, that which is of imperfection in the accident, as that it must be inherent: for otherwise the nature of man is joyned to the Person of the Son of God *per modum accidentis*, for that *advenit enti in actu completo*, that is, it commeth to a thing already compleate and per-

* Alex. de Ales.
Sum. Theolog.
part. 3. quest. 7.
Memb. 1. art. 1.

perfect in it selfe. In which sort, one thing may be added and come to another, either so, as not to pertaine to the same subsistence, as the garments that one putteth on; or so, as to pertaine to the same subsistence, but by inherence; or thirdly, so, as to pertaine to the same subsistence, without the inherence of the one in the other, by a kinde of inexistence, as the branch is in the tree into which it is grafted: which is the fourth similitude, and of all other most perfect. For, there are but two things wherein it faileth and commeth too short: whereof the first is, for that the branch hath first a separate subsistence in it selfe, and after loseth it, and then is drawne into the unity of the subsistence of that tree into which it is implanted: the second, for that it hath no roote of its owne, and so wanteth one part pertaining to the integrity of the nature of each tree. But if a branch of one tree should by divine power bee created and made in the stock of another, this comparison would faile but onely in one circumstance, and that not very important; seeing, though the humane nature want no part pertaining to the integrity and perfection of it, (as the implanted branch doth of that pertaineth to the integrity of the nature of a tree, in that it hath no roote of it owne) yet the humane nature in Christ, hath no subsistence of it owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated unto it; and therefore in that respect it is, in some sort, like to the branch that hath no roote of it owne, but that of the tree, into which it is implanted, communicated unto it. This comparison is used by *Alexander of Hales*, and divers other of the Schoole men; and, in my opinion, is the aptest and fullest of all other. For, as betweene the tree and the branch there is a composition, not *Hujus ex his*, but *hujus ad hoc*, that is, not making a tree of a compound or middle nature, and quality, but causing the branch, though retaining it owne nature, and bearing it owne fruit, to pertaine to the unity of the tree into which it is implanted, and to beare fruit in and for it, and not for it selfe: so the Person of Christ is said to bee compounded of the nature of God and Man, not as if there were in him a mixt nature arising out of these, but as having the one of these added unto the other in the unity of the same person. And as this tree is one, and yet hath two different natures in it, and beareth two kindes of fruit: so Christ is one, and yet hath two different natures, and in them performeth the distinct actions pertaining to either of them. Lastly, as a man may truly say, after such implanting, this Vine is an Olive tree, and this Olive tree is a Vine; and consequently, this Vine beareth Olives, and this Olive tree beareth Grapes: so a man may say, this Sonne of *Mary* is the Sonne of God: and on the other side, this Sonne of God, and first borne of every creature, is the Sonne of *Mary*, borne in time: the Sonne of God, and Lord of life was crucified, and the Sonne of *Mary* laid the foundations of the earth, and stretched out the Heavens like a curtaine.

C H A P. 13.

Of the Communication of the properties of either nature in Christ, consequent upon the union of them in his Person, and the two first kindes thereof.

HAVING spoken of the assuming of our nature by the Sonne of God into the unity of his divine Person, it remaineth, that we speake of the consequents of this union, and the gifts and graces bestowed upon the nature of Man when it was assumed. The first and principall consequent of the personall union of the natures of God and Man in Christ, is the Communication of their properties: of which there are three kindes or degrees: The first is, when the properties of either nature considered singly and apart, as the properties of this or that nature, are attributed to the person from which soever of the natures it be denominated. The second is, when the different actions of two natures in Christ concur in the same works and things done. The third, when the divine attributes are communicated unto the humane nature, and bestowed upon it. Usually in the Schooles, only the first degree or kinde of communication is named the communication of properties. Which that wee may
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the better understand, we must observe, that there are abstractive & concreative words: the former whereof doe precisely note the forme or nature of each thing, the later imply also the person that hath the same nature or forme; as, *Humanitas* & *Homo*, *Sanctitas*, and *Sanctus*; Manhood and Man: Holinesse and Holy.^a We must observe, that abstractive words, noting precisely the distinct natures, cannot be affirmed the one of the other, nor the properties of one nature attributed to the other abstractively expressed. For neither can we truly say, that *Deity* is *Humanity*, or *Humanity*, *Deity*; nor that the *Deity* suffered, or the *Humanity* created the world; but we may truly say *God is Man*, and *Man is God*: God died upon the Crosse, and *Maries* babe made the world; because the person which these concreative words imply, is one: and all actions, passions, and qualities, agree really to the Person, though in, and in respect sometimes of one nature, and sometimes of another. When we say, *God is Man*, and *Man is God*, wee note the conjunction that is between the natures meeting in one person: and therefore this mutuall & converse predication cannot properly be named communication of properties; but the communication of properties is, when the properties of one nature are attributed to the Person, whether denominated from the other, as some retrain it, or from the same also, as others enlarge it. This communication of properties is of divers sorts: first when the properties of the divine nature are attributed to the whole Person of Christ subsisting in two natures, but denominated from the divine nature, as when it is said; ^a *Those things which the Father doth, the Sonne doth also*. Secondly, when the properties of the humane nature are attributed to the person denominated from the divine nature, as when it is said, ^b *They crucified the Lord of glory. They killed the Lord of life*. Thirdly, when the properties of the divine nature are attributed to the person denominated from the nature of man, as when it is said, ^c *No man ascendeth into Heaven, but the Son of man that came downe from Heaven, even that Son of man that is in Heaven*.^d When those things that agree to both natures are attributed to the person denominated from one of them, as when the Apostle saith, ^e *There is one God; and one Mediator between God and man, which is the man Christ Jesus*. Fifthly, when the properties of one nature are attributed to the person, neither denominated precisely from the one nature, nor from the other, but noted by a word indifferently expressing both; as when we say, *Christ* was borne of *Mary*. If any man list to strive above words not admitting any communication of properties, but when the properties of one nature are attributed to the person denominated from the other, as when we say, the *Son of God* died on the Crosse, the *Son of Man* made the world: besides that hee is contrary to the ordinary opinion, he seemeth not to consider, that it is a person consisting in two natures that is noted, by what appellation soever we expresse the same; and that therefore the attributing of the properties of any one of the natures unto it, may rightly be named a communication of properties, as being the attributing of the properties of this or that nature to a person subsisting in both, though denominated from one. For the better understanding of that hath bin said touching this first kind of communication of properties, & the divers sorts thereof, there are certaine observations necessary, which I will here adde. The first is, that the communication of properties wherein the properties of the one nature are affirmed of the person denominated of the other, is reall, and not verball onely. The second, that the properties of the humane nature are not really communicated to the divine nature. The third is, that the properties of the divine nature, are in a sort really communicated to the humane nature, whereof wee shall see more in the third kind of communication of properties. The fourth observation is, that in the sacred and blessed Trinity, there is *Alius & Alius*, but not *Aliud & Aliud*, diversity of persons, but not of being and nature: but that in Christ there is *aliud & aliud*, and not *alius & alius*, that is, diversity of natures, but so, that he that hath them is the same: whence it commeth, that the properties of either nature may be affirmed of the person, from which soever of them it be denominated: yet so, that more fully to expresse our meaning, it is necessary sometimes to adde, for distinction sake, that they are verified *secundum aliud*; that is, according unto the other nature, and not according unto that whence the person is denominated. This explication, or limitation is the specially to be added, when such properties of one nature are attributed to the person denominated.

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C H A P. 13.

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denominated from the other, as seeme to exclude the properties of the other: so when we say, *Christ the Son of God*, is a creature, we must adde, that we neither scandalize them that heare us, nor give any occasion of error, that he is a creature in that hee is man. Now it followeth that we speake of the second kinde or degree of communication of properties, which is, in that the actions of Christ are *stauðpragt, Deiviriles*, Divinely-humane, and Humanely-divine, and each Nature so worketh it own worke, according to the naturall propertie thereof, that it hath a kind of communion with the other. But lest we fall into error touching this point, we must observe, that the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandricall*, that is, *Divinely humane*, three wayes. First so, as if there were one action of both Natures, and so we must not understand the actions of Christ to be *Divinely humane*, for this is to confound the Natures; whereas wee must undoubtedly beleeeve, that *Omnia in Christo sunt duplicia, natura, proprietates, voluntates, & operationes, solâ exceptâ substantiâ, quæ est una*: that is, that all things in Christ are two-fold, or double, as his natures, properties, wils, and actions: his subsistence onely or Person excepted, which is but one. Secondly, the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandricall*, that is, *Divinely humane*, for that both the actions of *Deitie*, & *Humanity*, though distinct, yet concur in one work: to which purpose *Sophronius* in that notable Epistle of his, which we reade in the sixth generall Councell, doth distinguish 3. kinds of the works of Christ, making the first meerly divine, as to create all things: the second meerly humane, as to eate, drink, and sleepe: the third, partly divine, and partly humane, as to walke upon the waters: in which work, walking was so humane, that the giving of firmnesse and soliditie to the waters to beare the weight of his Body, was an action of Deitie. Thirdly, the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandricall*, that is, *Divinely humane*, in respect of the person that produceth & bringeth them forth, which is *stauðpragt, God-man*. In either of these two later senses, the actions of Christ may rightly be understood to be *Theandricall*: and that of *Leo* is most true concerning Christ. *In Christo utraq, forma operatur cum alterius communione quod propriam est*: that is, In Christ both natures doe worke that which is proper unto them, with a kind of communion the one hath with the other: for this saying is true, first in respect of the Person, and the communion which either nature hath with other therein. Secondly, in respect of the work and effect, whereunto by their severall proper actions they concur, though in different sort, as in healing of the sick, not onely the force of *Deity* appeared, and shewed it selfe, but the humane nature also did concur, in respect of the body, in that he touched those that were to be healed, laid his hands upon them, and spake unto them: in respect of the soule, in that he desired, applauded, and rejoyced in that, which by divine power he brought to passe: thirdly, in that the actions of humane nature in Christ have in them a greater perfection than can be found in the actions of any meere man, from the assistance of the *Deity*, that dwelleth bodily in him.

C H A P. 14.

Of the third kinde of communication of properties, and the first degree thereof.

NOW let us come to the third kind of communication of properties, which is that whereby divine and precious things are really bestowed on the nature of man. The things which are thus communicated and bestowed, are of 2 sorts. The first finite, and created, as qualities or habits, formally, habitually, and subjectively inherent in the humane nature: the 2^d, the essentiall attributes of the divinity it selfe, communicated to the humane nature, not formally by physicall effusion, or essentiall confusion, but by dispensation of personall union. Touching the things of the first sort, there is no question but that they were bestowed upon the nature of man, in all perfection, when it was united to the Person of the Son of God; so that in it was found the fulnesse both of grace and vertue, according to that of *S. Iohn*, *The Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us, and we saw the glory of it, as the glory of the only begotten Son of God, full of grace and truth*.^a The fulnes of grace (as the Schoolmen excellently note) is of 2 sorts: first in respect of grace it selfe: and secondly, in respect of him that hath it: The fulnes of grace in respect of grace it selfe, is then, when one attaineth to the highest and uttermost of grace, both *quoad essentiam, & virtutem, intensivè, & extensivè*: in

f Epist. Agathonis recitata & approbata in 6. Synodo. act 4.

g Actio 11.

h Leo ep. 10. cap. 4.

a Ioh. 1. 14.

b Thom. Sum. Theol. part. 3. q 7. art. 9.

the Essence and vertue of it, intensively, and extensively, that is, when he hath it as far forth as it may be had, and unto all effects and purposes whereunto grace doth or can extend it selfe; as he is said to have life perfectly, or the fulnesse of life, that hath it not only in the essence, but according to all the operations and acts of life, sensible, rational, intellectuall, spirituall, and naturall; in which sort, man only hath the perfection and fulnesse of life in him, and no other thing of inferior condition. This kind of fulnesse of grace is proper to Christ only, *Of whose fulnesse we all receive.* The fulnesse of grace c Ioh. 1. 16. in respect of the subject or him that hath it, is then when one hath grace fully and perfectly, according to his estate and condition, both intensively to the uttermost bound that God hath prefixed to them of such a condition; and intensively in the vertue of it, in that it extendeth to the doing and performing of all those things that may any way pertaine to the condition, office, or estate of such as are of his place and ranke. In this sort Stephen is said to *have bin full of the Holy Ghost*, who is the fountaine of grace; d Act. 7. 55. and Marie the blessed Virgin, the mother of our Lord, is by the Angel pronounced: *Blessed amongst women, and full of grace*: for that shee had grace in respect of the Essence of it, intensively, in as perfect sort as any mortall creature might have it, and in respect of the vertue of it, extending to all things that might any way pertaine to her that was chosen to be the sacred vessell of the incarnation of the Son of God: So that there was never any but Christ, whose graces were no way stinted, and to whom the Spirit was not given in measure, that was absolutely full of grace; which fulnesse of grace in Christ, the Divines doe declare and cleare unto us, wherein it consisted, by distinguishing a double grace in Christ, the one of union the other of unction, or habituall; and doe teach, that the grace of union, in respect of the thing given, which is the personall subsistence of the Son of God, bestowed on the nature of man formed in *Maries* wombe (whence that which was borne of her, was the Sonne of God) is infinite, howsoever the relation of dependance found in the humane nature, whereby it is united to the person of the Sonne of God, is a finite, and created thing. Likewise touching the grace of unction, they teach, that it is in a sort infinite also: for that howsoever it be but a finite, and created thing, yet in the nature of grace it hath no limitation, no bounds, no stint, but includeth in it selfe whatsoever any way pertaineth to grace, or cometh within the compasse of it. The reason of this illimited donation of grace, thus without all stint bestowed on the nature of man in Christ, was, for that it was given unto it, as to the universall cause, whence it was to be derived unto others. From the fulnesse of grace in Christ, let us proceed to speake of the perfection of his vertues also. Vertue differeth from grace, as the beame of light from light: for, as light indifferently scattereth it selfe into the whole ayre, and all those things upon which it may come, but the beame is the same light as it is directed, specially to some one place or thing: so grace replenisheth, filleth, and perfecteth the whole soule and spirit of man; but vertue more specially this or that faculty or power of the soule, to this or that purpose or effect. In respect of both these the soule of Christ was perfect, being full of vertue as wel as grace; whereupon the Prophet *Esay* saith; *The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon the flowre of Ishai, the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsell and strength, the Spirit of knowledge and of the feare of the Lord.* g Esay. 11. 1. Wisdom is in respect of things divine: understanding of the first principles; science of conclusions; counsell of things to be done: feare maketh men decline from that which is ill, and strength confirmeth them to overcome the difficulties wherewith wel doing is beset. So that seeing the Spirit that is the giver of all these vertues (within the compasse whereof all vertue is confined) is promised to rest on our Saviour Christ, we may undoubtedly resolve, that there is no vertue pertaining to man (neither including in it imperfection, as Faith and Hope, nor presupposing imperfection in him that hath it, as Repentance, which presupposeth the penitent to bee a sinner) but it was found in Christs humane nature, & reasonable soule, and that even from the very moment of his incarnation. How is it then, will some man say, that the Scripture pronounceth, that he increaseth in the perfections of the mind, to wit, both in grace and wisdom, as he grew in stature of body. And here that question is usually proposed and handled, whether

f Alex. de Ales.
part. 2. qu. 61.
memb. 2. art. 4.

g Esay. 11. 1.

h Paludanus in
3. Sentent. dist.
14. qu. 2.

i Luke 2. 52.

ther Christ did truly and indeede profit, and grow in knowledge, as not knowing all things at the first, as he grew in stature of body from weake beginnings; or onely in the farther manifestation of that knowledge he had in like degree of perfection from the beginning. For the clearing whereof, wee must note, that there were in Christ two kinds of knowledge: the one divine, and increate: the other humane and created. Touching the first, there is no doubt but that being the eternall Wisdome of the Father, by whom all things were made, he knew eternally all things that afterwards should come to passe; and therefore the *Arrians* impiously abused those places of Scripture which they brought to prove, that Christ grew in knowledge, and learned something in processe of time, which he knew not before; in that they understood them of his divine knowledge which he had in that he was God: and thereby went about to prove, that he was not truly and properly God, nor consubstantiall with the Father, but so only, and in such a sense, as that wherein the Apostle saith, *There are many Lords, and many Gods*. The later kind of knowledge found in Christ, which is humane, the Schoole-men divide into two kinds; the one, *in Verbo*, the other *in genere proprio*, that is, the one in the eternall Word, wherein he seeth all things; the other, that whereby he seeth things in themselves: for he hath an immediate and cleare vision of the Godhead, and in it of

1 Cor. 8. 5

1 Durand. in 3.
Sentent. dist.
14. qu. 2.

1 Ibid. qu. 3.

all things, and he hath also the knowledge and sight of things in themselves. By vertue of the first of these two kinds of humane knowledge, the soule of Christ beholding the divine Essence, in it seeth all things in respect of that they are, and taketh a perfect view of the Essence and nature of every thing that is, may be, or is possible to be, as in that sampler, according to which God worketh all things: but the actuall beeing of things it cannot know by the vision and sight of Gods Essence, but meerely by his voluntary revelation, and manifestation of the same; seeing though the Essence of God be naturally a sampler of all things that are or may be, according to which all things are wrought, yet he produceth things voluntarily, and according to the good pleasure of his will, and not naturally and necessarily: so that that kind of knowledge, which consisteth in the vision of God, is more perfect than any other, and only maketh men happy, because it is in respect of the best and most noble object. Yet the other kind of knowledge, that maketh us take a view of things in themselves, is more perfect, in that it maketh knowne unto us the actuall beeing of things, and particular facts, which that happy kind of knowledge of things seene in the glasse of the divine Essence doth not.

These things thus distinguished, it is easie to conceive how, and in what sort Christ grew and increased in grace and wisdom, and how he was full of the same from the moment of his incarnation, so that nothing could bee afterwards added unto him. For, concerning his divine knowledge, the perfection of it was such, and so infinite from all eternity, that it is impious once to thinke that hee grew and increased in the same.

* Vide apud
Scotum l. 3. d.
14. q. 2. opinio-
nem Henrici
quod. 5. q. 14.
&c.

1 Ibid. quest. 4.

* Touching the humane knowledge he had of things seen in the eternall Word, and in the cleare glasse of the divine Essence, it is most probably thought by some of excellent learning, that though the soule of Christ had at the first, and brought with it into the world a potentiall hability and aptnesse to see all things in God, so soone as it should convert it selfe to a distinct view of them: that yet it did not actually see all things in the Essence of God at once from the beginning, but afterwards in processe of time: and for the other kind of knowledge and apprehension of things, which he had as beholding them in themselves, they thinke it was perfect in habit from the first moment of his incarnation, but not in actuall apprehension, wherein he did truly increase and grow: as also in experimentall knowledge. For the humane knowledge that was in Christ, was by conversion to those *Phantasmas* and sensible representations of things, that from without are by the senses presented unto the Soule, & was discursive; though not proceeding from things knowne, to find out things altogether unknowne, yet from things actually knowne to such as he knew but habitually only, and not actually before. That the humane knowledge Christ had of things in themselves, was discursive, and by conversion to the sensible representations of them from without, it is evident in that all perfections are received according to the condition & capacity of the receiver

receiver. Now the condition of the Soule of man in the state of this life is, to know nothing but by conversion to the sensible appearance of the same, & that not only in respect of things naturall, but mylticall also and supernaturall; *Quia impossibile est* (saith ^{Dionys. citat.} *Dionysius Areopagita*) *nobis aliter superlucere radium divinum, nisi sacrorum velaminum varietate circumvelatum*: that is, because it is impossible the beame of divine light should shine on us, unlesse it be vailed on every side with the variety of sacred vailles.

Thus then we see, how it may be truly said, that Christ grew in wisdom and knowledge, as he did in stature of body, *non quoad habitus essentiam & extensionem, sed quoad actualem cognitionem & experimentum*: that is, not in respect of the essence or extension of the habit, but of actuall knowledge and experience. That which *Thomas* and others have, that Christ knew all things at first by an *infused* knowledge, & afterwards attained another kinde of knowledge of the same things, which they named *acquisite*, is not so fit: for two formes or qualities of one kinde cannot bee in the same subject. Now as the sight which is in men naturally. and that which once lost is restored againe by miracle, is of the same nature and condition; so is that knowledge of things that is by *infusion*, and that which is *acquisite*: howsoever these men seeme to make them of two kinds. Wherefore, passing by this conceit as not probable to conclude this point, ^{even} *Alex. de Alex.* as touching the condition of children, which should have bin borne in the state of ^{part. 2 qu. 89.} *innocencie*, there are divers opinions, some thinking they should have had the use of reason, and perfection of knowledge at the very first, so that they should have grown and increased afterwards only in experimentall knowledge: others, that they should have had no use of reason at the first: and a third sort, that so soon as they had bin born, they should have had the use of reason, so far forth as to discern outward things good or evil (seeing even the little lambes by natures instinct, do know the wolfe, and flie from him, and seeke the dugs of their dammes) but not to discern things concerning morall vertue, and the worship of God. So likewise, some thinke that the Babe *Iesus*, euen in his humane soule, had the actuall knowledge of all things even from the beginning, and that he grew only in experimentall knowledge: but there are other of as good judgement, and as great learning, who thinke, that howsoever he had the habit of all knowledge from the beginning, & brought it with him out of the wombe, yet not the act & use of it: and this is all that either *Luther* or *Calvin* say, & yet we know how clamorously some inveigh against them, as if they had broached some damnable heresie. But some man will say, if we grant that Christ in his humane soule knew not all things from the beginning, but in proceſſe of time learned that which before he actually knew not, we fasten on him the disgracefull note of ignorance, & consequently bring him within the confines and compasse of sin. Hereunto *Hugo de S. Vict.* answereth, and sheweth the folly of this silly objection, peremptorily resolving, that ^{Hugo de S.} *non omnis qui aliquid nescit, aut minus perfecte scit. statim ignorantiam habere, seu in ignorantia esse dicendus est; Victore de* ^{Sac. fid. lib. 1.} *quia ignorantia non dicitur, nisi tunc solum, cum id quod ignorari non debuisset, nescitur*: ^{part. 6. c. 26.} that is, we must not say, that every one that knoweth not a thing or doth lesse perfectly know it, is ignorant, or in ignorance, because ignorance is only the not knowing of such things as should have bin known. Neither is there any distinction more trivall or ordinary in the Schooles than that of nescience, and ignorance: and therefore howsoever some in the heat of their distempered passions, lay a heavy imputation of horrible impiety upon *Luther*, *Calvin*, and others, for that they say, there were some things which Christ in his humane soule did not actually know from the beginning: yet *Maldonatus*, a man as ill conceited of them as any other, ^{Maldon in 2.} confesseth, that though some say Christ ^{Luc. ver. 40.} profited in wisdom and knowledge, not in his own person, but in his mylticall body, which is the Church: others, that his growing & increasing was only in the manifestation of that, which in all perfection was found in him from the beginning: or in experimentall knowledge of those things which in generall contemplation he knew before: yet many of the ancient Fathers, answering the objections of the *Arrians*, & other like hereticks, & rejecting as impious their conceit, who thought Christ was absolutely ignorant of any thing, denied not but that there were some things which Christ in his humane nature did not actually alwayes know. This (saith *Maldon.*) I suppose *Luther*, *Calvin*,

Calvin, and the rest knew not; for, had they knowne, that the Fathers taught, that Christ did truly grow in humane knowledge and wisdom, and that hee knew not all things actually from the beginning, to be contrary to the Fathers, they would have beene of another minde. How charitable this his surmise and conjecture is, let the Reader judge. Howsoever, we have his cleare confession, that many of the Fathers were of opinion, that Christ in his humane nature did not alwayes actually know all things. Yea, upon the 24. of *Mathew* he testifieth, that many of them said plainly, that Christ as man knew not the day appointed for the generall judgment of the quick and dead, when he said, *That day and houre knoweth no man, no not the Angels, nor the Sonne himselfe, but the Father onely*. It is true indeed, that he goeth about, notwithstanding this his cleare confession of the truth, to construe the words of some of the Fathers in such sort, as if they had not meant simply, that Christ in his humane soule knew not the houre and time, but onely that hee knew it not by force of his humane nature; but this commentarie (I feare) will not agree with their texts. For *Origen* in his third tract upon *Mathew* saith, that Christ knew not the time and day of judgement, when he said, *Of that day and houre knoweth no man, no not the Sonne*; but that afterwards hee knew it, when hee was risen, and appointed of his Father, King and Judge; which words of his admit no such glosse. Wherefore, *Jansenius* saith, there are two principall Interpretations of those words of Christ, when he saith, *Of that day and houre knoweth no man, no not the Sonne*; the one, that he said he knew it not, because he knew it not to reveale it, and because his body the Church knew it not; the other, that he knew it not as man; and this interpretation he sheweth to be likewise two-fold: For, saith hee, if we follow the common opinion, that Christ had the perfect knowledge of all things in his humane soule at the first, then wee must understand that Christ said, hee knew not the day of judgement, because he knew it not by naturall and acquiste knowledge, but by vertue of that knowledge that was infused into him: but if wee follow the other opinion, that Christ had not perfect knowledge of all things in his humane soule at the first, but grew in it, then as *Origen* among other senses delivereth, the meaning of the words is, that he knew it not till after his resurrection.

(Idem in 24.
Matth. ver. 36.

Jansenius
comm. in E-
vang. concord.
cap. 123.

Cyrl. lib. 9.
thesaur. cap. 4.
citat. à Janse-
nio, ibid.

Gregor. 1. 8.
epist. 42. Nice-
phor lib. 18. c.
30. de Agnoe-
tis.

And surely *Cyrril* a worthy Bishop, and one that had many conflicts with the Nestorian Hereticks, who divided the person of Christ, feareth not directly to say, that Christ as man knew not the day appointed for the generall judgement, when he used the words before-mentioned. Neither is this the Heresie of the *Agnoeta*, as some ignorantly affirme: for their errour was, that the Deitie of Christ was ignorant of some thing, or that Christ in his humane nature was properly ignorant, that is, knew not such things, and at such time, as hee should have knowne; and that hee is still ignorant of sundry things in the state of his glorification, as it appeareth by that Epistle of *Gregorie*, in which one of them alledgeth, that as Christ tooke our nature, so hee tooke our ignorance, to free us from the same: and therefore *Maldonatus* upon the 24. of *Mathew* saith, that the *Themistians*, called also *Agnoeta*, were accounted Hereticks, not for saying Christ knew not the day of judgement, as *Damasce de Haresibus* testifieth; but that, as may bee gathered out of the same *Damasce*, they simply, without all distinction of the divine or humane nature, said, Christ was ignorant thereof, because they thought the Divinitie was turned into the Humanitie.

CHAP. 15.

Of the third kinde of Communication of properties, and the second degree thereof.

Thus having spoken of those finite and created things that were bestowed on the nature of man, when it was assumed into the unitie of the Divine Person, let us come to those things that are infinite. Where first, wee are certainly to resolve, that as the nature of man was truly given and communicated

to the Person of the Sonne of God, so that he is indeed and really Man; so the Person of the Sonne of God was as truly communicated to the nature of man, that it might subsist in it, and that that which was fashioned in the wombe of the blessed Virgin, & borne of her, might not onely be holy, but the holiest of all, even the Sonne of God. Secondly, that in this sense, the fulnesse of all perfection, and all the properties of the Divine Essence, are communicated to the nature of man in the Person of the Sonne. For, as the Father communicateth his Essence to the Son by eternall generation, who therefore is the second Person in Trinitie, and God of God; so in the Person of the Sonne, hee really communicated the same to the nature of man formed in *Maries* wombe, in such sort, that that Man that was borne of her, is truly God. And in this sense the *Germane* Divines affirme, that there is a reall Communication of the divine properties to the nature of man, in the personall union of the natures of God and Man in Christ; not by physicall communication, or effusion, as if the like and equall properties to those that are in God, were put inherently into the nature of man, in such sort, as the heate transfused from the fire into the water is inherent in it, (whence would follow a confusion, conversion, and equalling of the natures, and naturall properties) but personall, in the Person of the Son of God. For, as the Person of the Son of God, in whom the nature and Essence of God is found, is so communicated to the nature of Man, that the Man Christ is not onely in phrase of speech named God, but is indeed and really God: so hee is as really Omnipotent, having all power both in heaven and in earth. ^a There is one Christ (saith *Luther*) who is both the Son of God, ^a *Luther. de verb. noviss. Davidis. rom. 3. fol. 91.* and of the Virgine. By the right of his first birth, not in time, but from all eternity he received all power, that is, the Deitie it selfe, which the Father communicated to him eternally: but touching the other nature of Christ, which began in time, even so also the eternall power of God was given unto him; so that the Son of the Virgine is truly and really eternall God, having eternall power, according to that in the last of *Mathew*, ^b *All power is given unto me both in heaven, and in earth.* And of this power, ^b *Mat. 28. 18.* a little after hee bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort; Although this power was mine eternally, before I assumed the nature of man, notwithstanding after I began to bee man, even according to the nature of man, I received the same power in time, though I shewed it not during the time of my infirmitie, and crosse. ^c *Bonaventura* saith the very same in effect that *Luther* doth: when it is said, saith hee, speaking of the Man Christ, This Man is every where, this may either note out the Person of Christ, or the singular and individuall nature of a man: if the Person of Christ, there is no doubt but the proposition is true: if the individuall nature of a Man, yet still it is true, not by proprietie of nature, but by communication of properties; because that which agreeth to the Sonne of God by nature, agreeth unto this Man by grace. *Cardinall* ^d *Cameracensis* agreeth with *Bonaventura*, affirming, that the divine attributes ^d *Camerac. lib. 3. quest. 1. in Sententias.* and properties are more really communicated to the Man Christ, then the humane are to the Sonne of God: and that therefore a man may most truly and properly say, speaking of the Man Christ, This Man is immortall, almighty, and of infinite power, and majesty, because he is properly the divine Person, and so consequently, truly, and really immortall, and omnipotent. Yea ^e *Bellarmino*, though he impugne the errors ^e *Bellarmino. de Incarnatione, lib. 3. cap. 16.* of the *Lutherans*, (as he calleth them) with all bitterness, yet confesseth, all that therto hath beene said to be most true. I say, saith hee, as before, that the glory of God the Father was given to the humanity of Christ, *non in ipsa*, not to be formally or subjectively inherent in it, but in the divine Person; that is, that by grace of union the humane nature of Christ obtained to bee in such sort the nature of the Sonne of God, that the Man Christ should bee truly and really in the glory of God the Father, filling both heaven and earth. Again he saith, those places, ^f *All things are given me of my Father*, and ^g *All power is given me both in heaven and earth*, may be understood, ^f *Math. 11. 27.* ^g *Math. 28. 18.* first, of divine power which the Sonne of God received of the Father by eternall generation; and secondly, of divine power which the nature of Man received by personall union: and in another place speaking of sundry things proper to God, hee saith, ^h *All those things may bee said to be communicated and given to the humane nature,* ^h *Ibid. cap. 15.* not

not formally in it selfe, but in the Person of the Sonne of God by the grace of union.

The Divines distinguish the properties of God, and make them to be of two sorts; communicable, and incommunicable: Communicable properties they define to be those perfections, that are called *perfectiones simpliciter*, which are found without mixture of imperfection in God, and in a more imperfect sort in the creatures. These they name *perfectiones simpliciter*, that is, simply and absolutely perfections, because it is better for any thing to have them, than not to have them: and because those things are better that have them, than those that have them not: as likewise, for that they imply in them no imperfection, though they be mingled with imperfection and defect in the creatures. Of this sort is life, which it is better to have, than not to have; and it includeth in it no imperfection, though it be accompanied with defect and imperfection in many of the things wherein it is found: for that life that is in trees, is an imperfect life, and the life of men, who in truth then begin to die, when they begin to live, is imperfect; yea, the life of Angels is imperfect, because if they be not continually sustained, they returne to that nothing out of which they were made. Of the same kinde are Truth, Goodnesse, Iustice, Mercie, Wisdome, Knowledge, and Understanding. And therefore all these separated from that imperfection that cleaveth unto them else-where, are found in God, and may truly be attributed unto him. Incommunicable properties are nothing else but the negation and removing of all that imperfection that is in the Creatures, of which sort are Immortality, Eternity, Immen- sitie, Infinite, and the like, all importing a negation of imperfection. The former of these two sorts of divine properties which are named Communicable, are communi- cated to meeke creatures in some degree and sort, though in highest degree they are no where found but in God, and with the addition of words expressing such eminencie, they may be attributed to none but to God: for hee onely is Almighty, most wise, most just, and most mercifull. But both these with addition of highest degree, and the other, which are named Incommunicable, are by all Divines confessed, to be in such sort communicated in the Person of the Sonne of God to the nature of man assumed into the unity of the same, that the Man Christ, and the Sonne of *Mary*, is not in title onely, but really, and indeede most wise, most just, omnipotent, incomprehensible, eternall, and infinite.

And this is all, as I thinke, that the Divines of *Germany*, the followers of *Luther* meane, when they speake of the reall communication of divine properties to the humane nature in Christ. If any man say, that they may justly be thought to proceede further, and to understand some other communication of properties, than that by us expressed, in that they doe not onely say concretively, that the Man Christ is omni- present, but the Humanity also: It may be answered, that when we speake of the Humanity of Christ, sometimes wee understand onely that humane created essence of a man that was in him, sometimes all that, that is implied in the being of a Man, as well subsistence as essence. In the former sort, it is absurd and impious to thinke, that the Humanity of Christ, that is, the created Essence of a Man in him, is omnipotent, omni-present, or infinite; neither doe they so thinke, but they affirme, that the sub- sistence of the Man Christ implied in his being a Man, is infinite, and omni-present, as being the subsistence of the Sonne of God communicated to the nature of Man, in stead of that finite subsistence, which, left to it selfe, it would have had of its owne.

Much contention there hath beene betweene them and other, touching the ubiqui- tary presence of the humanity of Christ; but I verily thinke, it hath beene a great part upon mistaking, and because they understood not one another. For the followers of *Luther* confesse, that the Body of Christ is onely in one place locally, and doe not thinke it to be every-where in extent of Essence diffused into all places, but say onely, that it is every-where in the infinitnesse of the subsistence of the Son of God com- municated to it. If we aske them (saith *Zanchius*) whether Christs Body be every- where, they answer, that locally it is but in one place, but that personally it is every- where:

where: If they meane, saith he, that in respect of the being of Essence it is finite, and confined to one certaine place, but that the being of subsistence which it hath is infinite, and contained within the traits of no one place, they say the truth; and contradict not them whom they seeme to doe. Now that this is their meaning, which this worthy learned Divine acknowledgeth to be true and Catholick, and not contradicted by them that seeme to be their opposites, they constantly professe: and therefore I am perswaded, that howsoever some of them have used harsh, doubtfull, dangerous, and unfitting formes of speech, yet they differ not in meaning and judgment from the Orthodox and right beleevers. For they doe not imagine, if we may beleeve their most constant protestations, any essentiall or naturall communication of divine properties, but personall onely, in that the Person of the Son of God is really communicated to the nature of man, in which Person they are. Neither doe they define the personall union by the communication of properties, but say only, that it is implied in it: and touching the co-operation of the two natures of God and Man in Christ, they teach no other, but that which we described, when we spake of the *Theandricall* actions of Christ. The infinite objections that are made on either side, to the multiplying of needlesse, and fruitlesse contentions may easily be cleared, and the seeming contradictions reconciled by the right understanding of the point, about which the difference hath growne.

C H A P. 16.

Of the worke of Mediation performed by Christ in our nature.

THUS having spoken of the abasing of the Sonne of God to take our nature, and of the gifts and graces he bestowed on it, when he assumed it into the unity of his Person; it remaineth, that we speake of the things he did and suffered for us in the same. The thing in generall which he did for us in our nature thus assumed, was, the mediating betweene God and us, that hee might reconcile us unto God. For the better understanding whereof we must observe, what it is to mediate, and the divers kindes of mediation. Mediation is by all said then to bee performed, when one interposeth himselfe betweene such as are at variance, to reconcile them, or at least, betweene such as have no friendly entercourse to joine them in a league of friendship and amity: The mediation that is betweene them at variance, (the end whereof is reconciliation) is performed foure wayes. First, by discerning and judging the matters of quarrell and dislike, that divide and estrange them one from another. Secondly, by reporting from one of the parties to the other the conditions upon which either of them may come to an agreement with the other; in which sense Moses saith unto the children of Israel, *I was a mediator at that time betweene God and you*; and the Apostle saith in the Epistle to the Galathians, *The Law was given by Angels in the hand of a Mediatour*. Thirdly, by intreating one party for another: and fourthly, by satisfying one party for the wrongs done by the other. All these wayes Christ may be said to have beene a Mediatour betweene God and us. For first, he interposed himselfe as an Arbitrator betweene God and us, so ordering the matters of difference betweene us, that God should accept our repentance, faith, and purpose of amendment: and that we should not onely repent us of the evils past, and prostrate at the feete of his Majesty, intreate for mercie; but make a Covenant also with our selves, and binde our selves by a solemne vow, never to cast his lawes behinde our back any more. Secondly, he put himselfe betweene God and us, by reporting Gods pleasure unto us, and what he requireth of us, and by reporting unto God our submissive yeelding of our selves to do that hee requireth. Thirdly, he performed the worke of a Mediator, by intreating the one party to be reconciled to the other, in that *He maketh request for us*, as it is in the Epistle to the Romans, and *is our Advocate*, as it is in the Epistle of S. Iohn. Lastly, he mediated by satisfying one party for the wrongs done by the other: and this kinde of mediation was proper to Christ alone, according to that of the Apostle, *He was made sinne for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him*. These

^a Deut. 5. 5.

^b Gal. 3. 19.

^c Rom. 8. 34.

^d Iohn. 2. 1.

^e 2 Cor. 5. 21.

These being the divers kindes wherein Christ mediateth betweene God and us, for the better understanding of the nature and force of his mediation, two things are to be observed: First, what the nature of *Medium*, that is, a meane betweene two extreames is; and secondly, how, and according to which nature Christ was a Mediatour between God and us.

A *medium* or meane betweene two extreames, is of three sorts: The first, when two extreames or contraries concur and meete in a third nature, arising and growing out of the mixture of them both; as white and black, being contrary colours, doe meete and concur in the middle colours, and in this sort there can be no meane betweene God and us. The second, when some qualities or properties of either of the extreames or opposites are found in a third thing; and so Christ as Man, was a meane between God and Men: For, in his humane nature was found righteousness, wherein he was like to God; and misery, wherein he was like to men. To which purpose that is, that *S. August.* hath when he saith, *Christus est Mediator inter Deum & homines. Quid est Deus? Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus. Quid sunt homines? Peccatores, impii, mortales. Inter illam Trinitatem & hominum infirmitatem, & iniquitatem, Mediator factus est homo non iniquus, sed tamen infirmus: ut, ex eo quod non iniquus, jungeret se Deo, in eo quod infirmus, propinquaret tibi: that is, Christ is a Mediator between God and men: What is God, but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? What are men, but sinners, wicked ones, and subject unto death? Between that Trinity therefore, and the infirmitie, and iniquity of men, that Man became a Mediatour, that was not sinfull, but infirme; that, in that he was not sinfull, he might joine thee to God; and in that he was infirme, hee might draw neere unto thee. The third, when both extreames concur and meete in the same person; and in this sort Christ is most properly a meane, or of a middle condition between God and us, in that both the natures of God and man doe concur, and are conjoynd in his Person. And to this purpose excellent is that of *Hugo de S. Victore*: 'The Apostle (saith he) saith; *A Mediatour is not a Mediatour of one. Duo enim erant Deus & Homo; Diversi, & Adversi: Deus erat justus, Homo injustus; in hoc nota adversos: Homo erat miser, Deus beatus; in hoc nota diversos. Sic igitur Homo & adversus Deo erat, per iniquitatem; & diversus à Deo, per miseriam: that is, For God and man were two; diverse and different; adverse and contrary one to the other. God was just; man unjust; in this observe their contrariety: Man was miserable, God blessed; in this note their diversity and difference: So therefore man was both adverse, and contrary unto God, in respect of iniquity; and diverse and different from God, in respect of misery. And therefore in this behalfe needed a Mediator unto God, that hee might be reconciled, and brought backe unto him; but the dispatch of this businesse of reconciling them that were so greatly at variance, no man could conveniently and fitly undertake, who was not neere by the bands of friendly Society, and peaceable agreement with both the parties. For this cause therefore the Sonne of God became Man, that he might be a Mediatour of reconciliation, and peace betweene man and God. *Suscepit humanitatem, per quam hominibus appropinquaret; & retinuit Divinitatem, per quam à Deo non recederet: factus homo, sustinuit poenam, ut demonstraret effectum: servavit justitiam, ut conferret remedium: that is, he tooke unto him the nature of a man, that therein he might draw neere unto men, and retained the nature of God, that so he might not depart from God: Being made Man, hee suffered punishment, to shew his affection; but kept himselfe just, and unworthy of punishment, that he might helpe and releve others. Againe, the same *Hugo* proceedeth and goeth forward, excellently expressing the concurrence of the natures of God and man in the unity of Christs person, in this sort: *Verbum quod cum Patre Deo unum erat per ineffabilem unitatem, cum homine assumpto unum factum est per admirabilem unionem: Unitas in natura, Unio in persona: Cum Patre Deo unum in natura, non in persona: Cum homine assumpto unum in persona, non in natura. Assumpsit ex nobis nostram naturam, ut eam sibi sociaret per unionem in persona, quæ sociata non erat per unitatē in natura: ut per id quod de nostro unum secum fecerat, nos sibi uniret, ut cum ipso unum essemus, per id quod nostrum sibi unitum erat; & per ipsum unum essemus cum Patre, qui cum ipso unum erat.****

*S. August. in
14. 30.*

*Hugo erudit.
Theol. de Sa-
ramentis fidei,
lib. 2. part 1.
cap. 12.*

erat: that is, The Word which was one with God the Father by ineffable unity, became one with man assumed by admirable union. The unity was in nature; the union in Person. With God the Father it was one in Nature, not in Person; with man assumed it was one in Person, not in Nature. It tooke of us our nature to joyne it to it selfe by union in Person, which had no society with it by unity of nature, that by that, which taken from us, it made one with it selfe, it might unite us to it selfe, that wee might be one with it, by that of ours which was united to it; and by it we might be one with the Father, who is one with it.

Thus having shewed in what sort Christ is a meane betweene the two extreames God and Man, it remaineth, that we seek out how, and according to which nature he is a Mediatour. That he is a Mediatour according to the concurrence of both Natures in the unitie of his Person, it is confessed by all, for if he were not both God and Man, hee could not mediate betweene God and men. But whether he be a Mediator according to both Natures concurring in the worke of Mediation, there be some that make question. For the clearing whereof, the Divines distinguish the workes of Mediation, making them to be of two sorts: Of Ministry, and of Authority: Of Ministry, as to pray, to pay the price of Redemption, and by dying to satisfie for sin. Of Authority, as to passe all good unto us from the Father in the Holy Ghost. Touching the workes of Ministry, it is agreed on by all, that the Person of the Son of God performed them in the nature of man: for we must distinguish *Principium quod*, and *Principium quo*; that is, the Person which doth and suffereth, and that wherein it doth and suffereth such things as are necessary to procure our reconciliation with God. It was the Son of God, and Lord of life, that died for us on the Crosse, but it was the nature of Man, not of God, wherein he died: and it was the nature of God, and infinite excellencie of the same, whence the price, value, and worth of his passion grew. The workes of Authority and Power, as to give life, to give the Spirit, to raise the dead, to make the blinde see, and the dumbe to speake, were all performed by the Divine Nature, yet not without an instrumentall concurrence of the Nature of Man, in sort as hath been before expressed, when I shewed how the Actions of Christ were *divinely-humane*. If it be alleadged, that *Opera Trinitatis ad extra* are *indivisa*, that is, that there is nothing that one of the Persons of the blessed Trinity doth towards the Creatures, but they all doe it, and consequently, that those things which Christ did in his divine Nature, pertained not to the office of a Mediatour, being common to all the Persons: We answer, that as the Persons of the blessed Trinity, though they be one and the same God, yet differ *τὸ πρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ*, in subsistence, and the manner of having and possessing the Deitie and Divine Nature; so though their action be the same, and the worke done by them, yet they differ *τὸ πρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ*, in the manner of doing it: for the Father doth all things *authoritative*, and the Son *subauthoritative*, as the School-men speake; that is, the Father, as he from whom, and of whom all things are; the Son, as hee by whom all things are, not as if he were an instrument, but as *Principium à Principio*, that is, a cause and beginning of things, that hath received the Essence it hath, and power of working from another, though the very same that is in the other. And in this sort to quicken, give life, and to impart the spirit of sanctification to whom he pleaseth, especially with a kinde of concurring of the humane nature, meriting, desiring, and instrumentally assisting, is proper to the Son of God manifested in our flesh, and not common to the whole Trinity; and therefore, notwithstanding the objection taken from the unity of the Workes of the Divine Persons, may be a worke of mediation. Bellarmine the Iesuite bringeth many reasons to prove, that Christ is not a Mediatour according to both Natures: but that which aboue all other he most urgeth, is this, ' If Christ, saith hee, be a Mediatour according to both Natures, then either according to both joyntly, or severally; not severally, because not according to his Divine Nature severally considered, being the party offended. Not according to both joyntly, because though in that sort he differ from the Father and the Holy Ghost, neither of which is both God and Man; and from the sonnes of men, who are meere men; yet he differeth not from the Son of God, (who was to be pacified by the Mediator, as well as the Father, and the Holy Ghost)

Bellarm. de
Christo. Medi-
atore, l. 5. c. 9.

Ghost) neither in nature, nor in person. This surely is a silly kinde of reasoning: for it is not necessary that a thing should differ from both the extreames according to all that, in respect wherof it is of a midle condition, but it is sufficient, if it differ in some thing from one, and in some thing from another. The middle colour differeth from the extreames, not in the whole nature of it, but from white, in that it hath of blacknesse, and from black, in that it hath of whitenesse: but it is *medium*, in that it hath something of either of them. So the Sonne of God incarnate differeth not onely from the Father and the Holy Ghost, but from himselfe as God, in that hee is Man: and from Men, and himselfe as Man, in that hee is God: and therefore may mediate not onely betweene the Father and us men, but also betweene himselfe as God, and us miserable, and sinfull men. Wherefore to conclude this point we say, that some of the workes of Christ the Mediatour, were the workes of his Humanity in respect of the thing done, and had their efficacie, dignity, and value from his Divinity, in that they were the workes of him that had the Divinity dwelling bodily in him: and some the workes of his Divinity, the humane nature concurring onely instrumentally, as the giving sight to the blinde, raising the dead, remitting of sinnes, and the like. Neither doe wee imagine one action of both natures, nor say that Christ died, offered himselfe on the altar of the Crosse, or payed for us in his Divinity, as some slanderously report of us: and therefore all the objections that are mustered against us, proceeding from the voluntary mistaking of our sense & meaning (which some will not conceive, that they may have something to say against us) are all easily cleared and answered by this explication of the same.

By that which hath beene said touching Christs being a Mediatour according to both natures, wee may easily understand, how, and according to what nature hee is Head of the Church. In a naturall Head ^b *Bonaventura* observeth three things: the first, that it is *Conforme ceteris membris*: the second, that it is *Principium membrorum*: and the third, that it is *Influxivum sensus & motus*: that is, first, that it hath conformity of nature with the rest of the members of the body. Secondly, that it is the first, chiefest, and in a sort the beginning of all the members: and thirdly, that from it influence of sense and motion doth proceede: and hee sheweth the same to bee found in Christ, the mysticall head of the Church. For first, hee hath conformitie of nature with them that are members of his body the Church, in that hee is Man: Whereupon ⁱ *S. Augustine* saith, *Unius natura sunt vitis & palmites*: the vine and the branches are of the same nature. And secondly, as the naturall head is the chiefest and most principall of all the members, so is Christ more excellent than they that are Christs. ^k *Idem* in *Psal.* *Omnia membra faciunt unum corpus*, saith *S. Augustine*, *multum tamen interest inter caput & cetera membra: Etenim in ceteris membris non sentis nisi tactu, tangendo sentis in ceteris membris: in capite autem & vides, & audis, & olfacis, & gustas, & tangis*: All the members make one body, yet is there great difference betweene the head, and the rest of the members: for in the rest a man hath no sense, but that of feeling, in the rest he discerneth by feeling: but in the head hee seeth, and heareth, and smelleth, and tasteth, and feeleth. So in the members of Christs mysticall body, which is the Church, there are found diversities of gifts, operations, and administrations: and to one is given the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge, to another faith, to another the gift of healing, to another the operation of great workes, and to another prophesie; but to the Man Christ, the spirit was given without stint or measure, and in him was found the fulnesse of all grace. The third propertie of a naturall Head, which is the influence of Sense and Motion, agreeth unto Christ in respect of his humanity and divinity both. For, hee giveth influence of divine sense and motion two wayes: *per modum preparantis*: and *per modum impertientis*, that is, by preparing and making men fitte to receive grace, and by imparting it to them that are fitted and prepared. Hee prepareth and fitteth men to the receipt of Grace by the acts of his humanity, in which hee suffered death, dying, satisfied Gods wrath, removed all matter of dislike, merited the favour and acceptation of God, and so made men fitte to receive the grace of God, and to enjoy his favour: Hee imparteth and conferreth grace

^b Bonavent. in
3. Sentent. dist.
12. quest. 1.

ⁱ Aug. tract. 80.
in cap. 15. Ioan.

^k Idem in Psal.
39.

grace, by the operation and working of his divine nature, it being the proper worke of God to enlighten the understandings of men, and to soften their hearts. So that, to conclude this point, we may resolve, that the grace, in respect whereof Christ is Head of the Church, is of two sorts: the one created, and habituell: the other increate, and of Union. In respect of the one hee giveth grace *effective*, by way of efficiencie: in respect of the other, *dispositive*, by way of disposition, fitting us, that an impression of grace may be made in us.

C H A P. 17.

Of the things which Christ suffered for us, to procure our reconciliation with God.

HAVING shewed how Christ as a Mediator interposed himselfe between God and us when we were his enemies, and how he is the Head of that blessed company of them that, beleeving in him, looke for salvation; let us see and consider, first, what he suffered for us, to reconcile us unto God: secondly, what he did for us; thirdly, what the benefits are that hee bestoweth on us; and fourthly, to whom he committed the dispensation of the rich treasures of his graces, the word of reconciliation, and the guiding and governing of the people which hee purchased as a peculiar inheritance to himselfe.

Touching the first, to wit, the sufferings of Christ, he was by them to satisfie the justice of God his Father displeased with us for sinne: that so wee might bee reconciled unto him. Wherefore, that wee may the better conceive what was necessary to bee done or suffered to satisfie the justice of God, wee must consider sinne in the nature of a wrong, and in the nature of sin. In the nature of a wrong; and so two things were required for the pacifying of Gods wrath; for first, he that hath done wrong, must restore that he unjustly tooke away from him whom he wronged; and secondly, he must doe something in recompence of the wrong he did: as, if he tooke away another mans good name, by false and lying reports, he must not onely restore it to him againe, by acknowledging that the things were untrue, which in defamation of him hee had spoken, but he must also take all occasions to raise, continue, and increase a good opinion of him. If sinne be considered in the nature of sinne it implieth in it two things: *debitum pœnae*, and *debitum neglecta obedientia*, that is, a debt of punishment, and a debt of obedience then neglected, when it should have beene performed: and therefore in the satisfaction that is to reconcile us to God displeased with us for sinne as sinne, two things must bee implied: for first, the punishment must be sustained that sinne deserved: and secondly, that obedience must be performed, that should have beene yeilded whilest sinne was committed, but was neglected. For, if only the punishment be sustained we may escape the condemnation of death, but we cannot inherit eternall life, unlesse the righteousness and obedience which Gods Law requireth be found in us also: Now the Law of God requireth obedience, not only in the present time, and time to come, but from the beginning of our life to the end of the same, if wee desire to inherit the promised blessednesse. And though the performance of that obedience that was neglected may seeme to be in the nature of merit rather than satisfaction; yet in that it is not simply the meriting and procuring of favour and acceptation, but the recovering of lost friendship, and the regaining of renewed love, it is rightly esteemed to pertaine unto satisfaction. Touching sinne considered in the nature of an offence and wrong, and the things required to pacifie Gods wrath in that respect, there is no question, but that the sinner himselfe that wronged God in sinning, must, by sorrow of heart, disliking and detesting, and by confession of mouth, condemning former evils, restore that glory to God hee tooke from him: and seeke and take all occasions the weaknesse of his meanes will afford, to glorifie God as much as he dishonoured him before: and God accepteth weake indeavours as sufficient in this kinde, Christ having perfectly satisfied for us; as a publicke person may accept of a meane and

weake satisfaction for the wrong done to him, but must inflict punishment answerable to the fault, to satisfie publick justice offended by that wrong. Wherefore, passing from this kinde of satisfaction, let us speake of that other that God requireth, standing in the suffering of punishments due to sinne. Some define this kind of satisfaction to be the suffering of the punishments that God inflicteth, or wherewith a man voluntarily punisheth himselfe: but this is not a good definition. For, as a thiefe or murtherer may not lay violent hands on himselfe, and be his own executioner when he hath offended, to satisfie publick justice, but must submit himselfe to that which authority will lay on him: so it is so farre from being any satisfaction to Gods justice, for a man, when hee hath sinned, to become his owne executioner, and to punish himselfe for his sinne, to satisfie the justice of God, that it highly displeaseth God. It is true indeed, that wee may lawfully afflict our selves, not to satisfie Gods justice, but to purge out the drosse of that sinfull impuritie that cleaveth to us, and to cure the wounds of our soules, as wee may afflict our selves by fasting, watching, and abstaining from many things, otherwise lawfull, for the freeing of our selves from the remaines, of our former excessive and immoderate delight in eating, drinking, surfeiting, and riot, and other abuses of the good creatures of God. So that we must not define satisfaction, to be the suffering of those punishments that God inflicteth, or wherewith the sinner punisheth himselfe; for it is only the sustaining of those that God in justice doth inflict. And in this sort Christ satisfied his Fathers wrath, not by punishing himselfe, but by being obedient to his Father even unto the death. Wherefore let us proceed more particularly, to consider the satisfactory sufferings of Christ, and see first, what punishments Christs suffered to pacifie his Fathers wrath: and secondly, what the manner of his passion was.

Touching the punishments that Christ suffered, they were not ordinary, but beyond measure grievous, bitter, and insupportable: yea, such as would have made any meere creature to sinke down under the burthen of them to the bottome of Hell: For he suffered grievous things from all the things in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, and in all that any way pertained to him. He suffered at the hands of God his Father, & of Men; of *Jewes*, of *Gentiles*, of enemies insulting, of friends forsaking, of the Prince of darknesse, and all his cruell and mercilesse instruments; of the elements of the world, the Sun denying to give him light, the ayre breath, and the earth supportance. He suffered in all that pertained to him: In his name, being condemned as a blasphemmer, as an enemy to *Moses*, the Law, the Temple, and worship of God; to his owne Nation, to *Cesar*, and the *Romans*: a glutton, a companion with Publicans and Sinners, a Samaritan, one that had a Devill, and did all his miracles by the power of *Beelzebub*: In the things he possessed, when they stripped him out of his garments, and cast lots on his seamelesse coate. In his friends greatly distressed and discomfited with the sight of those things that fell out unto him, according to that which was prophesied before: *The Shepherd shall be smitten, and the Sheepe shall be scattered.* In his body, when his hands and feete were nailed, his sides goared, his head pierced with the crown of thornes, his cheeks swollen with buffeting, his face defiled with spitting upon, his eyes offended with beholding the scornfull behaviour of his proud insulting enemies, his eares with hearing the words of their execrable blasphemy, his taste with the myrrhe and gall that they gave him in his drinke, his smell with the stinche and horror of the place wherein hee was crucified, being a place of dead mens skuls: Lastly, in his soule distressed with feares, and compassed about with sorrowes besetting him on every side, and that even unto death: In so wofull sort did he take on him our defects, and suffer our punishments.

But, because wee may as well enlarge and amplifie Christs passions and sufferings too much, as extenuate them too much, let us see, if it bee possible, the uttermost extent of that he suffered. For the clearing hereof ^b some say, that he suffered all those punishments that were befitting him, or behoovefull for us: that hee suffered all those punishments, that neither prejudice the plenitude of sanctitie, nor science. But, that wee may the better informe our selves touching this point, wee must observe, that the punishments of sinne are of three sorts: First, *Culpa*: Secondly, *ex culpa*, & *ad culpam*: Thirdly, *ex culpa*, *sed nec culpa*, *nec ad culpam*: that is, First, sinne. Secondly,

^b Bonav. in 3.
Sent. dist. 15.
quest. 2.

Secondly, something proceeding from sinne, and inducing to sinne. Thirdly, things proceeding from sin, that neither are sins, nor incline and induce to sin. Examples of the first, are Envie, afflicting the mind of the proud man; grievous disorders accompanying the drunkard, and a reprobate sense following the contempt of Gods worship and service. * Of the second, naturall concupiscence, pronenesse to evill, difficulty to doe good, contrarietie in the faculties of the soule, and repugnance and resistance of the meaner against the better. Examples of the third, which are things proceeding from sin, but neither sins, nor inclinations to sin, are hunger, thirst, weaknesse, nakednesse, and death it selfe. The punishments of this last sort onely Christ suffered, and neither of the former two: for neither was there sin in him, nor any thing inclining him to evill, or discouraging him from good. The punishments of this kinde are of two sorts: Naturall, and Personall. Naturall are such as follow the whole nature of man, as hunger, thirst, labour, wearinesse, and death it selfe. Personall are such as grow out of some imperfection and defect in the vertue and faculty forming the body, disorder in diet, or some violence offered; and these are found but in some particular men, and not in all men generally, as Leprosies, Agues, Gowts, and the like. All those punishments, that are punishments onely, that are from without, and that are common to the whole nature of Men, Christ suffered, that came to bee a Redeemer of all without respect of persons: but such as flow from sin dwelling within, or proceed from particular causes, or are proper to some, and not common to all, hee suffered not.

* The punishments of this second sort are finnes, though the School-men doe not esteeme them to be so.

The punishments that are punishments onely, and not sinne, and are common to the whole nature of man, are likewise of two sorts: for either they are suffered for sinne imputed, or sinne inherent. For one may be punished either for his owne fault, or the fault of another in some sort imputed to him. When a man is punished for his owne fault, hee hath remorse of conscience, blaming and condemning him, as having brought such evils upon himselfe, by his owne folly. But when a man is punished for another mans fault, whereof hee hath beene no cause, by example, perswasion, helpe, or consent, hee can have no remorse of conscience. Now our Saviour Christ suffered the punishments of the finnes of other men, not his owne, and therefore he was free from remorse of conscience, though it be generally found in all men, and bee neither sin, nor inducement to sin.

Lastly, the punishments that are punishments onely, and not sin, that are common to the whole nature of Man, and suffered not for the faults of him that suffereth them, but for the sins of other, are of two sorts: for either they are the punishments of sinne eternally remaining in staine and guilt; or broken off, ceasing, and repented of.

The punishments of sinne eternally remaining, must according to the rules of divine justice, be eternall, and consequently joyned with desperation, which alwayes is found where there is an impossibility of any better estate for ever. But it is not necessary, neither doth the justice of God require, that the punishments of sinne repented of, ceasing, and forsaken, should bee everlasting, or joyned with despaire. For, as the Divines doe note, that there are three things to bee considered in sinne; The aversion from an infinite, and incommutable good: the inordinate conversion to a finite good; and the continuing in the same, or ceasing from it: so to these severall things in sinne, there are three severall things answering in the punishment of it. For to the aversion, which is objectively infinite, there answereth *pœna damni*, the losse of God, which is an infinite losse. To the inordinate conversion of the sinner to things transitory, there answereth *pœna sensus*, a sensible smart and griefe intensively finite, as the pleasure the sinner taketh in the transitory things, hee inordinately loveth, is finite. To the eternity of sinne remaining everlastingly in staine and guilt or the continuance of it but for a time, answereth the eternity of punishment, or the suffering of the same but for a time.

It is true, that every sinner sinneth *in suo aeterno*, as Saint Gregorie speaketh, in that hee would sinne ever if hee might live ever; and that every sinner casteth himselfe

Picus Miranda in Apologia, quæst. 2. & Scotus in 4. Sentent. dist. 46. q. 4. in resp. ad argumenta principalia.
d Gregor. exposit. moral. l. 34. c. 10. in 41. caput Iob, in illa verba, *Æstimabit Abyssus*, &c.

by sinning, into an impossibility of ever ceasing to sinne of himselfe: as a man that casteth himselfe into a deepe pit, can never of himselfe rise out of it againe: And therefore naturally eternity of punishment is due to sinne: but, if by force of Divine operation, men bee framed to cease from sinne, and to turne from it unto God, the justice of God requireth not eternity of punishment, but onely extremity answerable to the grievousnesse of sinne. Wherefore, seeing our Saviour Christ suffered onely for those sinnes which hee meant to breake off by framing the sinnes to repentance, it was no way necessary for the satisfying of divine justice, that he should endure eternall punishment.

If it be said, that all doe not repent, nor cease from doing ill, wee easily grant it: but it is likewise to bee knowne, that the satisfaction of Christ is not appliable to all sinners, not through any defect in it selfe, but through the incapacitie of them to whom it should be applied. So that as Christ died, and satisfied Gods wrath sufficiently for all, but effectually onely for the elect and chosen: so likewise hee giveth grace to cease from sinne, if the fault were not in themselves, sufficiently to all. But to the elect and chosen, whom he foreknew before the world was made, hee giveth grace effectually, that his passion may be applied unto them, and they really and indeed made partakers of it.

They seeme therefore to be deceived, who thinke, that the excellencie of the person of Christ, dispensed with the eternity of punishment, which otherwise to satisfy divine justice, he was to have suffered; and thereupon inferre, that it might also dispense with the grievousnesse and extremitie of punishment, that otherwise he was to have endured. For the worth and excellencie of his person was neither to dispense with the time, nor grievousnesse of his punishments, but to make the passion of one available for many. Otherwise, if it might have dispensed with one degree of extremitie of punishment due to sinne, it might also have dispensed with two, and consequently with all, as *Scotus* aptly noteth, though to another purpose.

*e Scotus in 4.
senten. dist. 46.
qu. 4. de art. 4.*

These things being thus distinguished, it is easie to answer that question that hath troubled many: [Whether Christ suffered all the punishments of sinne or not.] For we may safely pronounce, as I thinke, that Christ suffered the whole generall punishment of sinne, that onely excepted which is sinne, or consequent upon the inherence, and eternity of sinne that is punished, as remorse of conscience and desperation. If any man shall goe further, and aske, whether to satisfy Gods justice, Christ suffered the paines of hell or not: it will be answered, that hee suffered not the paines of hell in *specie* or *loco*, that is either in kinde or place; but some thinke, that he suffered paines and punishments conformable and answerable to them in extremitie, that onely excepted which is sinne, or consequent upon the inherence, and eternity of the sinne of such as are punished in hell.

*f Cusanus Ex-
ccitationum l.
10. p. 459.
f Scotus in 4.
sent. dist. 46.
qu. 4.*

Concerning *pæna sensus*, that is, sensible smart and griefe, Cardinall *Cusanus* (a famous learned man) is clearely of opinion, that Christ suffered extremitie of such paine answerable to that sensible smart and griefe that is indured in hell; but the doubt is principally of the other kinde of punishment, named *Pæna damni*, which is the losse of God. For the clearing of which point, *Scotus* aptly observeth divers things. For first, he sheweth, that punishment is the discernable want of some fitting good in an intellectuall nature, and the presence of some evill in the same. Secondly, that the good that is in an intellectuall nature is of two sorts; the one of vertue, the other of sweete, joyfull and pleasing delight: and that, though both these concur sometimes, as in the fruition of God in heaven, wherein the perfection of vertue, and the fulnesse of joy and delight doe meete together: yea, that though every thing that is vertuous, be delightfull, yet it is not so much the height of vertue as of delight, that is to be judged happinesse. Thirdly, he inferreth from hence, that there are two kindes of punishment consisting in the losse of God: whereof the one is, the want of that vertue whereby the soule is to be joyned and knit unto God; the other, the want of that delight and pleasure that is to be found in God. That the former is an evill of unrighteousnesse and sinne, and may be called an obduracy in sin, and is nothing else but sin not remitted

remitted nor removed, *Pæna derelicta non inflicta*, that is, no new evill brought in upon the sinner, but that left in him that hee wrought in himselfe. The other is more properly named *Pæna damni*, or *Dammum*, that is, the punishment of losse, or a losse and dammage. It were impious to thinke, that Christ suffered the former kinde; but that he suffered this later kinde of punishment of losse and dammage, many great Divines are of opinion. For, though as he was joyned to God *affectione justitia*, that is, by the affection of vertue or justice, he could not be divided or separated from him, no not for a moment, because he could not but love him, feare him, trust in him, and give him the praise and glory that belongeth to him; yet, as hee was to be joyned to him, *affectione commodi*, that is, by that affection that seeketh pleasing content in enjoying those ineffable delights and pleasures that are found in him, hee might be, and was for a time divided from him. For, as very great and grave Divines doe thinke, he was *destitutus omni solatio*, that is, destitute and voyde of all that solace hee was wont to finde in God, in that fearefull houre of darknesse, and of his dolefull passion. As saith *h Canus Loc. Melchior Canus*, Christ in the time of his life, miraculously restrained, and kept within *Theol. lib. 12, cap. 13.* the closet of his secret Spirit, the happinesse that hee enjoyed in seeing God, that it should not spread farther, and communicate it selfe to the inferiour faculties of his Soule, or impart the brightnesse of it to the body: so in the houre of his passion, his very Spirit was with-holden from any pleasure it might take in so pleasing an object, as is the Essence, Majelty, and glory of God, which even then he clearly beheld. So that Christ never wanted the vision of that object, which naturally maketh all them happy that behold it, and filleth them with such joy, as no heart of mortall man can conceive, or tongue expresse.

But as it was strange, and yet most true, in the time of his life, that his Soule enjoyed Heaven-happinesse, and that yet neither the inferiour faculties thereof were admitted into any fellowship of the same, nor his Body glorified, but subject to misery and passion; so it fell out by the speciall dispensation of Almighty God, in the time of his death, and in that fearefull houre of darknesse, that his Soule seeing God, the pleasure and delight that naturally commeth from so pleasing an object, stayed, with-held, and communicated not it selfe unto it: as a man in great distresse taketh no pleasure in those things that otherwise exceedingly affect him. This his conceit, hee saith, hee communicated to very great and worthy Divines, while he was yet but a young man, and that they were so farre from disliking it, that they approved it exceedingly. But some man will say, it is not possible in this life to feele extremity of paines, answerable to the paines of hell, more than on earth to enjoy the happinesse of heaven: and that therefore it is absurd to grant, that Christ in the dayes of his flesh suffered in this world extremity of paine answerable to the paines of hell. Hereunto it is answered, that in ordinary course, it is impossible for any man living in this world, either to enjoy the happinesse of Heaven, or feele the paines of Hell: but that, as Christ was at the same time both *Viator* and *Comprehensor*, that is, a man like unto us that journey here in this world towards Heaven-happinesse, and yet happy with that happinesse that ordinarily is found no where but in heaven: so he might suffer that extremity of paine, and have that apprehension of afflictive evils, that ordinarily is no where to be found in this world, even while he lived here on earth. *Luther* saith truely, that if a man *Luther conf. pro laborant. c. 1. de spectro primo. tom. 2.* could perfectly see his owne evils, the sight thereof would be a perfect hell unto him: now it is certaine, that Christ saw all the evils of punishment before expressed, to which he voluntarily subjected himselfe, to satisfie divine Justice comming fierce and violently upon him, with as cleere a sight, and as perfect an apprehension of them, as is to be had in the other World.

C H A P. 18.

Of the nature and qualitie of the passion and suffering of Christ.

Hitherto we have spoken of the punishments that Christ sustained and suffered to satisfie the iustice, and pacifie the wrath of his Father. Now it remaineth, that we come to take a view of the nature and qualitie of his passion and suffering, consisting partly in his feare and agonie before, and partly in his bitter sorrow and distresse in the very act of that dolefull tragedie. Touching the first, the Scripture testifieth, that he ^a *feared exceedingly, and desired the cuppe might passe from him.* Touching the second, that hee ^b *was beset with sorrowes even unto the death;* and that in his extremitie he cried aloud; ^c *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* But touching both these passions, of feare, and sorrow, it is noted, ^d that, whereas there are three kindes of faults found in the passions of mens mindes, the first, that they arise before reason be consulted, or give direction; the second, that they proceed farther than they should, and stay not when they are required; and the third, that they transport reason and judgement it selfe: Christ had these passions, but in a sort free from all these evils: For neither did they arise in him before reason gave direction; whereupon he is said to have ^e *troubled or moved himselfe* in the case of *Lazarus*, for whom he greatly sorrowed; neither did they proceede any farther, if once reason and judgment commanded a stay, and retrait, whereupon they are called ^f *Pro-passions* rather than *Passions*; not because (as ^g *Kellison* ignorantly supposeth) reason preventeth them, and causeth them to arise, though it be true it doth so; but because they are but fore-runners to passions at libertie, and beginnings of passions to be stayed at pleasure, rather than full and perfect passions; and therefore much lesse had they any power to transport judgement and reason it selfe. From these generall considerations of the passions of Christ, let us proceede to take a more particular view of the chiefe particulars of his passions, to wit, Feare, and Sorrow.

Feare is described to be a retiring, or flying back from a thing, if it bee good, because it is too high and excellent above the reach, and without the extent of our condition and power; if it be evill, because it is hard to bee escaped. So that the proper and adequate object of feare, is not, as some suppose, future evill, but difficulty, greatnesse, and excellencie: which found in things good, makes us know wee cannot at all attaine them, or at least that we cannot attaine them but with too great difficulty and labour; in evill, that they will not easily be over-mastered or escaped.

The difficultie, greatnesse, and excellencie, found in things that are good, causeth feare and reverence, which maketh us steppe back, and not to meddle at all with things that are too high and excellent for us, nor with things hard, without good advice: and causeth us to give place to those of better condition, and to acknowledge and professe by all significations of body and minde, the distance, and disproportion that we know to be betweene them and us, together with our dependance of them, or subjection to them. This kinde of feare causeth and produceth all acts of Reverence and Adoration. It is found in the Angels, and spirits of just and perfect men, and is more excellent than any other vertue.

The grearnesse that is found in things that are evill, causeth a feare, declining them as evill, which is of divers sorts: For first, there is an *Humane* feare, which maketh men more decline the losse of their lives and good estates, than the losse of the favour of God. Secondly, there is a *Mundane* feare, that causeth them to decline the disfavour of the world, more than the displeasure of Almighty God: and these two kindes of feare drive men from God; but there are other kinds which drive them unto God: The first whereof is a *Servile* feare, that maketh men leave the act of sinne, both inward and outward, to avoyd punishment, though they retaine the love and liking of it. The second is an *Initiall* feare, that maketh them cast from them the very desire of sinning, not out of the love of God, which they have not yet attained unto, but

^a Mark. 14. 33.

^b Mat. 26. 37.

^c Mat. 26. 39.

^d Mat. 26. 38.

^e Mat. 27. 46.

^f Bonavent. in

3 Sent. dist. 16.

quæst. 2.

^g Jer. 11. 33.

^h Hieronym. in

26 Matthæi.

ⁱ Surrey, Booke

3. chap. 10. pag.

177.

but out of the consideration of the wofull consequence of it: and thirdly, there is a *Filiall* feare, proceeding from the love of God, causing us to decline the offending of him whom we so dearely love, and of whom we are so dearely loved, more than any evill whatsoever.

The former kindes of feare that drive men from God, could not bee found in Christ, who was not onely nearely joyned unto God, but God himselfe blessed for evermore: for neither did hee prize life, nor the favour of the world that knew him not, at any higher rate than was fit. Of the later sort of feare, neither *Servile*, nor *Initiall*, were in him that was free from all sinne; and touching *Filiall* feare, being well assured of his owne power, in respect whereof it was impossible for him to be drawn to the committing of any evill; though he had that part of it, which standeth in declining the offence of God more than any evill in the world, yet not that other, that proceedeth from the consideration of the danger of being drawne thereunto: so that he could not feare lest hee should fall into sinne. Besides all these kindes of feare, whereof some drive men from God, and some bring them to God, there is another which is the ground of them all, named *Naturall* feare, which is the declining of any thing that is hurtfull, or contrary to the desired good of him that feareth: This *Naturall* feare, as also the feare of *Reverence*, and that part of *Filiall* feare, that is the declining of sinne, and the displeasing of God, was found in Christ, as all other sinlesse and harmelesse affections were. For in the nature of man, he revered and adored the Majestie of God his Father; and with a *Naturall* feare, declined death, and the bitterness of that cuppe he was to drinke of, and with a *Filiall* feare declined the offending of God his Father, more than hell it selfe.

But (passing by the feare of *Reverence*, and that part of *Filiall* feare that was found in Christ, concerning which there is no question among the Divines) that wee may the better discerne both what his *Naturall* feare was, and in respect whereof; wee must note, that feare is, first, in respect of things which cannot be avoided, neither by resistance and encounter, nor by flying from them: which things though they may seeme rather to make an impression of sorrow than feare, because in respect of their certainty, they are rather apprehended as present, than future; yet for that wee know not experimentally how wee shall be afflicted with them, and in what sort wee shall sustaine and beare them, we may rightly be said to feare them. Secondly, in respect of such things as may be escaped or overcome with a kinde of uncertainty of event, and danger of the issue. Thirdly, in respect of such as may be escaped or overcome without any uncertainty of the event or issue, though not without great conflict and labour.

These kindes of *Naturall* feare thus distinguished, it is easie to see what Christ feared, and in what sort. For first, he feared death, and the stroake of the justice of God his Father, sitting on the Tribunall or Judgement seate, to punish the sinnes of men, for whom hee stood forth to answer that day: and secondly, he feared everlasting destruction. The former of these he feared, as things impossible to be escaped, in respect of the resolution and purpose of God his Father, that by his satisfactory death and suffering, and no other way, man should be delivered. The later he feared, that is, declined as a thing he knew hee should escape without all doubt or uncertainty of event, though not without conflicting with the temptations of Sathan, and the enduring of many bitter and grievous things: for it was no otherwise possible for him, having put himselfe into the communion of our nature, to escape the swallowing up of that gulfe into which wicked sinners sinke downe, but by resisting the temptations of sinne, that it might not enter into him, by breaking off the same in others, and by suffering whatsoever it had deserved. But some man will say, *Beza* teacheth, that *Christus* *veritus est succumbere, & absorberi à morte*; that is, that Christ feared to sinke downe, and to be swallowed up of death; and consequently, that he feared everlasting destruction, with an uncertainty of his escape from the same. ¶ Annot. in 1. ad Hebræos, ver. 7.

It is true that *Beza* saith, that Christ feared to sinke downe, and to be swallowed up of death; yet doth not that follow, which is alleadged as a consequent of his saying, nor

nor any thing contrary to that hath beene said of us. For, whereas there is a double apprehension of reason in Christ, the one named Superiour, that looketh into things with all circumstances: the other Inferiour, that presenteth to the minde of man some circumstances, and not all; *Beza* teacheth, that Christ feared to sinke downe, and to be swallowed up of death, that is, that he so declined the swallowing gulfe of death, out of which he saw no escape within the view of Inferiour reason, presenting unto him this hideous and destroying evill, in it owne nature endlesse, without shewing the issue out of the same; that yet notwithstanding simply hee feared it not, Superiour reason clearely shewing him the issue out of it. This will not seeme strange unto us, if we consider, that in Christ every faculty, power, and part was suffered, notwithstanding the perfection found in some other, to doe that which properly pertained to it; and from hence it is easie to discern, how it came to passe, that Christ should desire and pray for that which he knew should never be granted, as namely, that the cup of death might passe from him. For the sense of nature, and Inferiour reason presented death, and the ignominie of the Crosse unto him, as they are in themselves evill, without the consideration of any good to follow, and so caused a desire to decline them, expressed in the prayer he made: But Superiour reason considering them with all circumstances, and knowing Gods resolution to be such, that the world should thereby be saved, and by no other meanes, perswaded to a willing acceptance of them. Betweene these desires and resolutions, there was a diversity, but no contrariety; a subordination, but no repugnance or resistance. There was no contrariety, because they were not in respect of the same circumstances: for Death, as Death, is to be avoided; neither did Superiour reason ever dislike this judgement of the Inferiour Faculties, but shewed farther and higher considerations, wherin it was to be accepted and embraced. There was no repugnance or resistance, because the one yeelded to the other. For even as a man that is sick, considering the potion prescribed to him by the Physitian, to be bitter and unpleasant, declineth it while he stayeth within the bounds and confines of that consideration, but when casting his eyes farther, he is shewed by the Physitian the happie operation of good that is in it, he willingly accepteth it, in that it is beneficiall and good: So Christ considering death as in it selfe evill, and contrary to nature, while he stayed within the bounds and confines of that consideration, shunned and declined it: and yet, as the meanes of mans salvation, joyfully embraced it, accepting that he refused, and refusing that he accepted. There is a thing (saith *Hugo de Sancto Victore*) that is *Bonum in se*, good in it selfe, and the good of every other thing. There is a thing good in it selfe, and yet good but to certaine purposes onely. And there is a thing evill in it selfe, and yet good to some purposes. The two former sorts of things may be desired simply and absolutely: the third cannot but onely respectively to certaine ends: and of this kinde was the death of the Crosse, with all the wofull tormentings concurring with the same, which simply Christ shunned and declined, but respectively to the ends above specified, willingly embraced. The Papistes impute I know not what impiety to *Calvin*, for that he saith, Christ corrected the desire and wish that suddenly came from him. But they might easily understand if they pleased, that hee is farre from thinking that any desire, or expressing of desire, was sudden in Christ, as rising in him without consent of reason, or that he was inconsiderate in any thing he did or spake: but his meaning is, that some desires which hee expressed, proceeded from Inferiour reason, that considereth not all circumstances: and that he corrected, and revoked the same, not as evill, but as not proceeding from the full and perfect consideration of all things fit to be thought upon, before a full resolution be passed.

Thus having spoken of Christs feare and agony before his passion, it remaineth that we proceed to speake of the sorrowes that afflicted and distressed him in his passion. These sorrowes were such and so great, that being beset & compassed about with them on every side, he professed *his soule was heavy even unto the death*: Yea, such was the bitterness of his Soule, that pressed with the weight and burthen of grievous and insupportable evils, he was forced to crie out aloud, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me*? These words of sorrowfull passion, the Papists say, *Calvin* thought to be words,

*Bonav. in 3.
sent. dist. 16. q.
2. Scotus in 3.
dist. 15. q. unic.*

Mat. 26. 39.

*Hugo de S.
Victore de Sac.
fid. l. 1. part. 4.
cap. 19.*

*Bellarmin. l. 4.
de anim. Chri-
sti, cap. 8.*

Mat. 26. 38.

Math. 27. 46.

words of despaire, and that Christ despaired when he uttered them. Surely this shamelesse slander sheweth, that they that thus speake they care not what, are desperately malicious, and maintain a desperate cause that cannot be upholden, but by falshood and lying. But *Calvin* is farre from any such execrable and hellish blasphemy. For, having by occasion of these words, amplified the sorrowes and distresses of Christ in the time of his passion, he saith, there were some that charged him that he said, these words were words of desperation, and that Christ despaired when he uttered them: but hee accurseth such hellish blasphemy, and pronounceth, that howsoever the flesh apprehended destroying evils, and inferiour reason shewed no issue out of the same: yet there was ever a most sure resolved perswasion resting in his heart, that hee should undoubtedly prevaile against them, and overcome them.

Wherefore, passing over this wicked calumination of our Adversaries, let us see in what sense Christ the Sonne of God complained of dereliction, and cried aloud unto his Father, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* For the clearing hereof the Divines doe note, that there are sixe kindes of dereliction or forsaking, whereof Christ may be thought to have complained. The first whereof, is by disunion of Person; the second, by losse of Grace; the third, by diminution or weakning of grace; the fourth, by want of assurance of future deliverance, and present support; the fifth, by deniall of protection; the sixth by withdrawing of solace, and destituting the forsaken of all comfort. It is impious once to thinke, that Christ was forsaken any of the foure first ways. For the unity of his person was never dissolved, his graces were never either taken away or diminished; neither was it possible he should want assurance of future deliverance and present support, that was eternall God, and Lord of life. But the two last ways he may rightly be said to have beene forsaken; in that his Father denied to protect and keepe him out of the hands of his cruell, bloody, and mercilesse enemies, no way restraining them, but suffering them to doe the uttermost of that their wicked hearts could imagine, and left him to endure the extreimity of their furie and malice: and, that nothing might be wanting to make his sorrowes beyond all measure sorrowfull, withdrew from him that solace he was wont to finde in God: and removed farre from him all things that might any way lessen and assuage the extreimity of his paine. So that Christ might rightly complaine, that he was forsaken, though hee were farre from despaire, and words of despaire.

C H A P. 19.

Of the descending of Christ into Hell.

With the sufferings of Christ, his Descension into Hell is connexed, both in the order of things, and in the Articles of the Creed, and therefore it remaineth, that in the next place, we speake of that. *Bellarmino* observeth, that the Article of Christs descending into Hell, was not in the Creede with all Churches from the beginning: for that *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, and *Tertullian* have it not: and *Augustine* in his booke *de Fide & Symbolo*, and in his foure bookes *de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, mentioneth it not, expounding the Creede five times: though else-where he say, that none but an Infidell will deny the descension of Christ into Hell. *Ruffinus* expoundeth it amongst the Articles of the Creede, but noteth, that it is not in the *Symbolo* of the *Roman* Church, nor those of the East. The *Nicene* Creede hath it not, but that of *Athanasius* hath, and other of the Fathers reade it also. And at this day it is received in all the Churches of the world without contradiction: though there be some question touching the meaning of it.

Bellarmino reckoneth three opinions of Protestants, differently understanding the same: whereof the first is, that to descend into hell, is to bee utterly annihilated, and brought to nothing: the second, that it is to suffer the paines of hell: and the third, that it is nothing else but his buriall. Of these three opinions imputed by *Bellarmino* to the Protestants, the first is nothing but his own fancie, never dreamed of by any Protestant.

For

Comment. in
27. Math.De anima
Christi, l. 4. c. 6.

Epist. 99.

De anima
Christi, lib. 4.
c. 7, 8, & 9.

d Comment in
2. Actorum.

For who ever, professing himselfe a Christian, thought, that to goe downe into hell, is to be utterly extinct, and to be no more? But (saith he) *Brentius* bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort: I will descend into hell, I will feele the paines of hell, and seeme utterly to perish: therefore he is of that opinion, whatsoever others are. A strange thing it is, that men of learning and judgement should so forget themselves, as this Cardinall often doth, saying he knoweth not what. For, doth he utterly cease to be, that feeleth the paines of Hell? or doe not the wicked perish, and is not their estate in holy Scripture described to be everlasting perdition? he knoweth right well it is: and yet, I thinke, dareth not from thence inferre, that they are utterly extinct, and have no more beeing: if he doe, we will not feare to brand him with the marke of impiety, and intollerable ignorance; for the wicked are said utterly to perish, not by losing all beeing, but all good, desirable, and happie beeing. If *Brentius* escape his hands, he hath good hope to convince *Calvine* of this error, and so still to lay upon us the heave imputation of so damnable impiety. *Calvine* hath written a Booke called *Psychopanychia*, the drift whereof is, to prove, that the soules and spirits of men, sleepe not after death, but live, either in paine, or rest; out of this Booke the Cardinall presumeth, that he shall be able to prove, that the soules and spirits of wicked men are utterly extinct, and have no more beeing. An ill chosen booke, in my opinion, for such a purpose, the whole drift thereof being to demonstrate the contrary of that hee undertaketh to prove out of it. Yet let us see how he goeth about to convince the Author of this booke of that error, which throughout the same hee laboureth to confute. His first demonstration is this: *Calvine* proveth at large in that Booke, that the wicked doe live for ever, though in paine and torment; therefore he thinketh, that to goe downe into hell, is to be utterly extinct, and to have no more beeing. A strange illation, and such as perhaps will not satisfie all: therefore let us heare another, for he hath store of proofes: *Calvine* in the same Booke laboureth to prove, that the Spirits of just men are not extinguished, but that they live and remaine for ever, because that Christs Soule was not extinguished in his death, but remained still, and lived after death. That Christs Soule was not extinguished in his death, he strongly demonstrateth, because it was so commended into the hands of his Father, that it could not perish so as the wicked doe, who are swallowed up of hell and destruction, and yet still remaine and live for ever. If this demonstration satisfie us not, what will? Christs Soule was so kept by God the Father, to whom it was commended, that it could not perish at all, no not so as the wicked doe, who yet are not extinct, but live for ever in bitter sense of woe and misery, much lesse be extinct, and utterly cease to be: therefore Christs descension into hell, was an utter extinction. These must bee the Cardinalls proofes, if he will bring any out of that Booke to convince *Calvine* of that error, wherewith hee chargeth him. But hee knoweth right well, that neither these, nor any other that he doth or can produce out of the same, conclude any such thing as he intendeth: and therefore let the Reader know that the Cardinall never perswaded himselfe, that either *Brentius*, or *Calvine*, or any other Protestant was of that opinion, with which he chargeth them; but that he fought onely to abuse his Reader: and therefore that which in vile hypocrisie he saith of *Calvine* and *Brentius*, that they bring in Atheisme, by these their impious and damnable assertions, may be verified of himselfe, and other his consorts, who by their shamelesse lying, and hellish slandering, wrong both God and men, and bring all Religion into horrible contempt. Wherefore, leaving these hellish and divellish slanderers to Gods most righteous and fearefull judgements, touching the descending of Christ into hell, it is true that S. *Augustine* saith, *None but an Infidell will deny it*: for it is one of the Articles of our Christian Faith. But how we are to understand this his descending, it is not so certaine.

e De anima
Christi, l. 4. c. 7.

f Epist. 99.

Whereupon wee shall finde, that there are presently three opinions in the Church concerning the same. For some understand, by the name of Hell, the place of dead bodies, and the dominion of death holding soule and body asunder, and turning the bodie forsaken of the soule into rottennesse, and corruption. These doe so interpret this Article, as that they understand nothing else by Christs descending into Hell, but his going

going downe into the chambers of death, and his three dayes continuance in the places of darknesse under the dominion thereof. Others understand by the name of Hell, the paines of Hell, and thinke, that Christs descending into Hell, was nothing else but the suffering of hellish paines in his Soule, in the time of his Agonie in the Garden, and in the houre of his death upon the Crosse. A third sort there are, that understand by the name of Hell, into which (in this Article) Christ is said to have descended, the receptacles and places appointed for the soules of men after this life sequestred from the presence of God, and not admitted into Heaven. These places the *Romanists* imagine to be foure. Of which, the first is, the Hell of the damned, wherein wicked Cast-awayes and impenitent sinners are punished, not onely with the losse of the sight of God, but with sense also of smart and misery, and that for ever. The second, is by them named *Limbus puerorum*, where Infants dying unbaptized, and in the state of originall sinne, are supposed to be holden for ever exiled from the presence of God, and his holy ones, yet without all sensible smart or paine. The third (they imagine) is Purgatory, where they thinke the soules of good, but yet imperfect men, are punished till they have satisfied the wrath of God for sinnes committed in the time of their life, but not sufficiently repented of, nor satisfied for while they lived. The fourth place imagined by them, is *Limbus patrum*, wherein the soules of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and all the just, were holden till the comming of Christ, and kept from the sight and presence of God, yet without all sensible smart or griefe. These being the different mansions of that place, wherein the soules of men are sequestred from the presence of God, comprehended all in a sort, under the name of Hell, as our Adversaries fancie: the ordinary opinion of the Schoole-men heretofore was, ^{Thom. Sum.} that Christs Soule went locally onely into *Limbus Patrum*, and not into any of the other mansions of ^{max part. 3. qu.} Hell, neither *Limbus puerorum*, Purgatory, nor the lowest Hell: but that he descended into these places virtually onely, in that hee made it appeare to all that were in them, that the worke of Redemption was now wrought, by force whereof, they in Purgatory, after full satisfaction should be received into Heaven: the rest, as well in *Limbus puerorum*, as in the lowest Hell, being excluded from all hope of bettering their estate, and left in endlesse miserie with the Devill and his Angels. But ^{De anima} *Bellarmino* thinketh, he went personally and locally into the place of the damned, even into ^{Christi 15.4.} the lowest Hell. These being the divers and different opinions of men, touching the meaning of the Article of Christs descending into Hell, let us see what is to be resolved touching the same. ^{cap. 16.}

It is true, according to the first and second opinion imputed by *Bellarmino* unto the Protestants, that Christ dying, after a sort suffered the paines of Hell, and being dead, was under the dominion of death three dayes: yet neither of these interpretations seemeth fitly to agree to the Article of our Faith; for that the hellish and bitter sufferings of Christ are sufficiently expressed, in that he is said to have suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, to have beene crucified, and to have died; and his being under the dominion of death, in that he is said to have beene buried. Wherefore the third opinion, which is, that he descended into the places of soules sequestred, and shut out from the presence of God, seemeth more truly to expresse the meaning of this Article, not understanding that he went into Purgatory, *Limbus puerorum*, or *Limbus Patrum*, but that hee descended into the lowest Hell. For the three former imagined places are no where, and so no part of Hell into which Christ descended.

Of Purgatory we finde nothing in the Scriptures, or in the writings of the most ancient Fathers, as I have ^{Booke 3. c. 17.} else-where shewed. Of *Limbus puerorum*, wee reade in *Augustine*, ^{August. in} but confuted and rejected by him, as an erroneous conceit of the *Pelagians*, who imagined a third place betweene Heaven and Hell, and a third or middle estate ^{Hypognosticon} betweene heavens happinesse, and the miseries of the lowest Hell, wherein men dying ^{resp. 5. l. 1. de} in the state of Nature onely, shall continue for ever deprived of the happinesse of seeing God, but no way subjected to sensible smart and griefe. Of this it is, that *S. Augustine* ^{peccator. merit. & remis. c.} saith, he hath heard of the right hand, and the left; of *Come yee blessed*, and *Goe yee* ^{28. & serm. 14.} *cursed*; of *Sheepe and Goates*; of the Kingdome of Heaven, and Hell where the Devill ^{de verb. Apost.} and

and his Angels are everlastingly punished: But of a third estate, of a third sort of men, or of a third place, hee hath never heard or read, and therefore is verily perswaded there is no such.

Touching *Limbus patrum*, it is true, that some among the ancient seeme to speake of some such thing: but we cannot perswade our selves that there is any such place, nor that Christ is to be understood to have descended thither, when in the Article of the Creede, hee is said to have descended into hell. First, because, as *S. Augustine* fitly noteth, wee doe not finde in the Scripture, that the word Hell is ever used to expresse any other place, but a place of woe and miserie: and therefore so direfull a word, used onely to note unto us the Lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, cannot signifie that place where the soules of the iust did rest till the comming of Christ, named in the parable or hiltory of the rich man and *Lazarus*, *Abrahams* bosome. Neither did *Augustine* ever learne any other lesson afterwards, as some untruly report that hee did. Secondly, because wee cannot conceive what Christ did benefit the spirits of the iust, abiding in *Abrahams* bosome, when he went downe into hell: *A quibus* (as *Saine Augustine* rightly noteth) *secundum beatificam Divinitatis presentiam, nunquam recessit sed quemadmodum apud Tartara semper fuit iudicante potentia, ita in paradiso, & sinu Abrahæ beatificante sapientiâ*; that is, from whom according to that presence of his Deity that maketh all them happy that enjoy it, he never departed, but as he was ever present in hell by his power, judging and fastning condemnation to the wofull inhabitants of that place of utter darknesse; so he was alwayes in paradise, and in the bosome of *Abraham*, as that wisdom of God that filleth all with blessednesse, where it vouchsafeth to manifest it selfe. Christ therefore descended into hell, according to the Article of the Creed; into the place of soules sequestred from the presence of God, into the place of damned soules, even into the lowest hell: for there are no soules or spirits of men sequestred from the presence of God, after the separation from the body, but the soules of wicked Cast-awayes: nor other place of soules so sequestred, but the prison of the lowest hell.

The end of Christs going and descending into the hell of the damned, was not, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and some other did think, to preach unto the damned spirits, and to deliver from thence such as should there beleve in him, either all or any. For wee must constantly resolve, that none were delivered out of hell by Christs descending, nor none there converted by his preaching, but that his descending was onely to fasten condemnation to the Devill and his Angels, to triumph over the principalities of darknesse, to secure us from being surprized by them, and to prevent our comming thither, not to fetch back any that were there already. The places that are brought to prove that Christ preached in hell, and sought the deliverance either of all, or at the least of some of them he found there, are specially two. The first is that of the Apostle *S. Peter*, where he saith, *The Gospel was preached to the dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the Spirit*. Here we see the Apostle speaketh of preaching unto the dead; but he is to be understood to speake of preaching to the dead, that is, to such as were dead when he wrote, but not when the Gospel was preached unto them: as we say, Christ shall judge the quick and dead, not as if any should be judged being dead, but because many of them that shall be judged, are then dead when we speake of them, though they shall not be when they shall come into judgment: Or otherwise, that he speaketh of such as were dead in sin, as some interpret his words. The second place is that of the same Apostle, where he saith, that *Christ in spirit went, and preached to the spirits in prison, sometimes disobedient in the dayes of Noe*. But as *S. Augustine* fitly noteth, this preaching of Christ in spirit mentioned by the Apostle, was not after his death in his humane Soule, but in the dayes of *Noe* in his eternall Spirit, and Deity. And as *Andradinus* rightly observeth, they that he preached unto are named *spirits in prison*, because they were spirits in prison when *Peter* wrote of them, not when Christ preached to them: though, if they should be understood to be named spirits in prison, as being such when Christ preached unto them, yet we might rightly conceive as *S. Augustine* doth, that hee preached to the Soules and

/Epist. 99.

Andrad. de-
fens. fidei Trid.
lib. 2. fol. 175.

Ubi supra.

Stromat. l. 6.

1 Pet. 4. 6.

And ad de-
fens. fid. Tri-
dent. lib. 2. p. 173.

Lyra & Glossa
ordinaria in
hunc locum.

1 Pet. 3. 19.

20.

Epist. 99.

Defens. fid.
Trident. lib. 2.

p. 172.

and spirits of men shut up in the prison-house of their sinfull bodies, and the darke dungeons of ignorance, and sinne, and not in the prison of hell.

Thus then our Divines deny the descending of Christ into Purgatory, *Limbus puerorum* and *Limbus Patrum*, perswading themselves, that there are no such places. But his descending into the Hell of the damned, they all acknowledge, though not to deliver men thence, yet to fasten condemnation to them that are there, to binde Sathan the Prince of darknesse, that he may not prevaile against them that beleeve in Christ: and to keepe them from sinking downe into that devouring pit, into which he went, and out of which hee so triumphantly returned. Onely this difference may seeme to be amongst them, that some of them thinke he went personally and locally, others onely virtually, in power and operation: Which diversity of opinions is likewise amongst the Papists; *Bellarmino*, and some other in our time teaching, that hee went locally into the lowest Hell: and the Schoole-men, that hee went not locally into the lowest Hell, but virtually onely in the manifestation of his vertue, and power, and into *Limbus Patrum* locally and personally: so that all the controversie betweene them and us, standeth in two points: The descending of Christ into *Limbus Patrum*, and the suffering of hellish paines. For whereas Cardinall *Bellarmino* laboureth to prove a locall Hell, he busieth himselfe in vaine, no man denying it: But, saith he, *Beza*, and others doe say, the words used in the Hebrew and Greeke, *Sheol*, and *adms*, doe alwayes signifie the Grave in holy Scripture, and not Hell, whence it may seeme to follow, that there is no other Hell than the Grave; and so consequently, no locall Hell for damned soules. Surely this is a most unjust, and untrue imputation. For *Beza*, and the other learned Divines he speaketh of, doe not affirme, that *Sheol* and *adms*, doe precisely and alwayes in holy Scripture signifie the grave, but as *Arias Montanus*, *Andradus*, and sundry other excellently learned amongst our Adversaries doe, that *Sheol*, which the *Septuagint* translate *adms*, doth not precisely, and immediatly signifie the place of damned soules, but in an indifferencie, and generality of signification, noteth out unto us the receptacles of the dead: And that, seeing there are two parts that are sundered one from another in them that are dead, there are likewise two kinds of receptacles of death, or dwelling-places for them on whom death hath her full force: the one provided for their bodies putrifying, and rotting, and the other for their soules tormented everlastingly. So that, when these words, thus indifferently signifying either of these receptacles of death, doe note out unto us the one, or the other of these two places, either the grave for the body, or hell for the soule, cannot be gathered out of the words themselves, but the circumstances of those places of Scripture where they are used. In like sort they say, that the word *Nepheesh* translated *ψυχη* and *anima*, doth not alwayes signifie the spirituall substance of man that is immortall, but the whole person, the life, yea, and sometimes that which hath beene alive, though now dead, even a dead carcasse; according as we reade in *Leviticus*, where God pronounceth, that whosoever toucheth *Nepheesh*, that is, a dead corpes, shall be uncleane. And in this sense it is, that *Arias Montanus* translateth not that place in the *Psalme*, *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno*, that is, *Thou shalt not leave my soule in Hell*, but *Non derelinques animam meam in sepulchro*, that is, *Thou shalt not leave my Soule, Life, or Person, or that Body that sometimes was alive, in the Grave*. For it cannot bee understood, that the reasonable soule, or immortall Spirit of Christ was ever in the grave, either to be delivered thence, or left there. If it be said, that the Greeke and Latine words used by the Translators, signifie more precisely hell, and the reasonable Soule or Spirit, than those Hebrew words *Sheol* and *Nepheesh* doe: we answer, that whatsoever their use and signification be in prophane Authors, yet they must be enlarged in the Scriptures, to signifie all that which the Hebrew words doe, that so the translation may be true and full. *Bellarmino*, to confute this explication, and construction of the Hebrew words made by *Beza*, and the rest, urgeth, that the *Septuagint* never translateth *Sheol* by *ταύτης*, which properly signifies the grave, but by *adms*: and that therefore *Sheol* doth not properly signifie the Grave. Hereunto we answer, that the word of it selfe being indifferent to signifie any receptacles

De anima Christi, lib. 4. cap. 10.

De arcano, sermone c. 21
2. Defens. fide, Trident. lib. 2, fol. 174.

a Levit. 21. 2.
Numb. 19. 11.
b Version. Interlinear. in Bibliis Regiis.
c Psal. 16. 11.

d De anima Christi, lib. 4. cap. 10.

receptacles of the dead, whether of their bodies or soules, must not be translated by a word precisely noting the grave, as *ταφῆ* doth: and that therefore it is not to be marvelled at, that the *Septuagint* never translate the Hebrew word by this Greeke word of a narrower compasse, and straiter signification. Secondly we say, that seeing *Sheol*, when (by the circumstances of the places where it is used) it is restrained to signifie only the place of dead bodies, yet doth not precisely note that fitting receptacle provided for them to be laid in, as in their beds of rest, by the living, as *ταφῆ* doth, but any other receptacle whatsoever, even of such as want that honourable kinde of buriall, whether they be devoured by wilde beasts, swallowed up of the Sea, or received into any other place of stay and abode, till the time of the generall resurrection, the Translators used not the word *ταφῆ*, of too narrow compasse and strait signification, but the word *ᾠδης* enlarged by them to expresse all that the Hebrew word importeth: and in this sense *Jacob* said, he would go down mourning into *Sheol*, or *ᾠδης* to his son, not into a place of soules sequestred from God, or into hell, for he never thought his son to be gone thither, nor into the grave properly so named, for he thought his son had bin devoured of a wilde beast; but into the receptacles of the dead, and into the chambers of death, wherein there are many, and ever different mansions. The words of this holy Patriarch, professing that he would go down mourning to his son into *Sheol*, or *ᾠδης*, & not observing of this generality of signification of the word *Sheol*, but restraining it to note only the receptacles of the damned spirits, gave occasion to some for to thinke, that the soules of the Just were in some part of Hell, or at least in some invisible place far from Heaven; and within the confines of Hell, till the resurrection of Christ, if not till the generall resurrection, and his return, to judge both the quick and dead, as *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, and others imagined. But howsoever the Greek or Latine words may seeme to be restrained, to note only the places of damned spirits; yet it is plaine and evident, that the Hebrew word *Sheol* signifieth any devouring gulfe or pit, swallowing up the dead, in that *Kore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with their wives, children, cattell, tents, and all that ever they had went down into *Sheol*, which cannot be understood to be precisely the place of the damned spirits, unlesse we will imagine, that sheepe, oxen, and tents may finde any place amongst the damned spirits.

The reason why our Divines doe so much urge the generality of the signification of this word, and will not suffer it to be restrained to signifie onely the place of damned spirits, is, because the propriety of the word admitteth no restraint, and there are many things in Scripture said to goe down into *Sheol*, or to be in *Sheol*, that cannot be understood to have gone into Hell, or to be in Hell; and not for that they deny Christs descending into the Hell of the damned: for there is no Protestant but confesseth, that Christ did vertyually descend into Hell, and many thinke he descended locally, and personally; which difference of opinions is also amongst the Papists. For *Durandus* thinketh that Christ descended into no part of hell personally, or locally, but vertyually onely. The rest of the School-men for the most part suppose, that he descended locally into that part of Hell which they call *Limbus Patrum*, but into the Hell of the damned, and the other infernall Mansions vertyually onely. But *Bellarmino* thinketh he went locally into the lowest Hell, or Hell of the damned. moved so to thinke, as hee saith, by the authority of the Fathers, that seeme to have beene of that opinion. So that, as I said before, the onely difference betweene the *Romanists*, and our Divines about the descending of Christ into Hell, is, touching the suffering of Hellish paines, (whereof I have spoken at large before, clearing the opinions of our Divines in such sort, as I thinke our Adversaries will not much resist against the same so understood, as I have shewed they must be) and touching *Limbus Patrum*. Wherefore let us proceede to take a view of the proofes they bring for confirmation of their *Limbus*.

The first place that *Bellarmino* bringeth for confirmation thereof, is that in *Genesis*, where *Jacob* saith, "I will descend or goe downe mourning to my Sonne into *Sheol*." See, saith *Bellarmino*, *Jacob* was a godly man, and so was *Joseph*, and yet neither of them went up into Heaven, but both descended into Hell. That they descended

e Gen. 37.35.

f Cont. haer. 1.5. in fine.

g De anim. ca. 32.

h Num. 16.33.

i In 3 sent d. 32. q. 3.

k Thom. Sum. 2. 2. q. 9. art. 2.

l De anima Christi. l. 4. c. 16.

m Gen. 37.35.
n De anima Christi. lib. 4. c. 11.

into *Sheol*, that is, into the chambers of death, and receptacles of dead bodies, we make no question; but that they went into the Hell of the damned, or into any region of darknesse neare unto it, cannot be proved; howsoever some amongst the Ancient, deceived by the Greeke and Latine words, *αἶδης* and *Infernus*, used by the Translatours to expresse the force of the Hebrew word *Sheol*, have so thought. The second prooffe that he bringeth is this, *Abraham* in the Gospel telleth the rich man in Hell, that betweene them there is *χάσμα*, which signifieth such a separation as is by the renting of the earth, and dividing of one part thereof from another; therefore there is no solide thing betweene them, and consequently, they were all in the same devouring gulfe or pit. But this surely is a strange kinde of prooffe: for his owne friends, and followers understand by this *χάσμα*, the immoveable decree of God, who will never suffer the one to passe to the other, and not literally such a void, empty, and gaping distance, as the word doth properly signifie. Yea *Maldonatus* is so farre from being perswaded by the bare signification of this one word, that *Abraham* and *Lazarus* were in the same devouring gulfe with the rich man, that he saith, the place *Abraham* speaketh of, betweene which and Hell there is so great a distance, is heaven. Whereunto *Augustine* seemeth in part to consent, who pronounceth that he could never find, that *Abrahams* bosome, wherein *Lazarus* rested, was any part of hell. Wherefore it is absurd to imagine upon the bare and onely signification of the word *χάσμα*, that *Abraham*, and the rich man in Hell, were in the same pit, divided onely by an empty gulfe betweene them; seeing *Tertullian* a very ancient Writer, that knew the force of this word, as well as *Bellarmino*, affirmeth, notwithstanding any thing that may be inferred from thence, that *Abrahams* bosome is on high, farre above those infernall dwellings of the damned. Whereunto that in the *Proverbs* agreeth, *The way of life is on high to the prudent, to avoyde from Hell beneath.*

The next place that the Iesuiste bringeth to prove *Limbus*, is that of *Samuel*, whom the *Pythonyse* raised, when *Saul* consulted her, being destitute of other meanes of direction. But this place of all other maketh least to the purpose, it being very doubtfull, whether it were true *Samuel* that appeared, or *Sathan* taking unto him a body, and comming forth in the likenesse of *Samuel*. But let us suppose it was true *Samuel*; could not his Soule returne from some other place as well as out of *Limbus*? No doubt it might: and that which *Bellarmino* hath, that the Soule of *Samuel* appearing unto *Saul*, seemed to come out of the earth, and consequently out of *Limbus*, is a very silly conceit; for what eye could see and discern *Samuels* Soule? But, saith he, *Samuel* appearing, told *Saul*, a wicked and godlesse man, that he should be with him very shortly: therefore he was in some Region of Hell, and not in Heaven, seeing this wicked King could not goe to him into heaven. Wee need not seeke farre for answer to this objection; for the ordinary *Glosse* doth excellently answer it, saying, that if these were not the words of a lying Spirit, they may be understood in respect of the common condition of death, not in respect of the same place, there being so great a distance betweene them, and so surely settled and established.

Touching this appearing *Samuel*; I finde great difference of opinions amongst Divines: some thinking it was true *Samuel* the Man of God; others, a lying Spirit in his likenesse. *Lyra* in his Annotations upon the 1. of *Kings*, Chap. 28. putteth downe the reasons brought on both sides; and first, that it was the true *Samuel*, he sheweth that these reasons are commonly brought. First, because the Scripture speaketh of him, as of his very person, not of any counterfeite likenesse of him, calling him not once, but often by the name of *Samuel*. Secondly, for that it had bin a great dishonour and irreverence offered to *Samuel*, if so often the Devill should have beene called by his name in holy Scripture. Lastly, for that it is said in *Ecclesiasticus*, in the praise of *Samuel* the Prophet of God, that he prophesied after his death, that he afterwards slept againe, and that he made known to King *Saul* his end, & the overthrow of his armies, which prediction is not to be imputed to a lying Spirit, seeing hee so certainly foretold what was to come to passe. On the other side, he produceth these proofes. First the

Glosse upon the 29. of *Esay* saith, the *Pythonisse* did not raise *Samuel*, but evocated and called out the *Devill* in his likenesse. Secondly, it is not likely, that *God*, who would not answer *Saul* by living Prophets, would send any from the dead to advise or direct him. Thirdly, hee that appeared unto *Saul* said unto him, *To morrow thou shalt be with mee*; but *Saul* as a wicked man, was to be in *Hell*, the place of torments: therefore he that appeared was so. Fourthly, he that appeared suffered *Saul* to worship him, which true *Samuel* would not have done, seeing *God* only is to be worshipped. Fifthly, if it were true *Samuel* that appeared, either hee was raised by divine power, or by the power of magicall incantations: if by divine power, *God* should very much have favoured magicall arts, if at the invocation of this *Pythonisse* hee had wrought such a miracle: if by the power of Magick, then was he raised by the *Devill*; and that either with his consent, and then he had done evill, which he could not doe: or without his consent, which could not be, seeing the *Devill* hath no power to, force the Saints of *God* after their death, and departure hence. Lastly, he alleadgeth the authority of *Augustine*, who bringing the reasons on both sides, in the end inclineth rather to this later opinion: and that in the *Decrees*, *Cap. Nec mirum*, &c. adding that if that decree taken out of *Augustine* bee the decree of the Church, no man may thinke otherwise: but if it be not (as he thinketh it is not, because *Augustine* out of whom it was taken, disputeth the matter doubtfully, and many of the Divines since the compiling of that decree, are of another opinion, which they ought not to be, if it were the decree of the Church) he rather thinketh it was true *Samuel* that appeared, than any counterfeit in his likenesse. If any man desire to see the different opinions of the Fathers touching this point, let him reade *Tertullian* in his Booke *de Anima*, the 33. Chapter, and the annotations upon the same place of *Tertullian*. But howsoever, whether it were true *Samuel* that appeared unto *Saul*, or a counterfeit in his likenesse, I hope it is cleare and evident out of that which hath beene said, that this apparition no way proveth the imagined *Limbus* of the Papists.

There remaine yet two other places of Scripture to be examined, that are brought for confirmation of the same, but yeelding as litle prooffe as this. The one is in the propheties of *Zacharie*, the other in the Epistle of *S. Peter*. The words in the former place according to the vulgar Translation are these, *Thou in the blood of thy testament, hast delivered thy prisoners out of the Lake wherein there is no water*. But in the Originall the words are otherwise, & *Arias Montanus* translateth the place otherwise in this sort, *And thou, to wit, Ierusalem, in the blood of thy testament, that is, sprinkled with the blood of thy testament, rejoyce & be glad: I have dismissed thy prisoners out of the Lake wherein there is no water*. So that these words, *Thou in the blood of thy testament*, are not applicable unto *Christ*, but to *Ierusalem*; and the other touching the dismissing of the prisoners out of the Lake wherein is no water, unto *God the Father*, who speaketh in this place to *Ierusalem*, concerning *Christ* her King, and comforteth her, saying: *Rejoyce o Daughter of Sion; be glad o Daughter of Ierusalem; for behold, thy King cometh unto thee meeke, & riding on an Asse used to the yoke, and the foale of an Asse. I will destroy thy Chariot from Ephraim, & the Horse from Ierusalem: He shall destroy the bowes of the fighters, and the multitude, and publish peace to the nations. He shall rule from Sea to Sea, & from the river to the end of the Land; And thou, to wit, Ierusalem, in the blood of thy testament, that is, sprinkled with the blood of thy testament, rejoyce and be glad. I have dismissed thy Prisoners out of the Lake wherein there is no water*. Thus we see this place according to the originall verity and the translation of *Arias Montanus*, maketh nothing for the confirmation of that, for prooffe whereof it is brought. Yea, though we should follow the vulgar Translation, and take the words to be spoken by Almighty *God* to *Christ* his Sonne, yet could not our Adversaries prove *Limbus* out of this place. For the author of the Glosse, and many other, following the vulgar Translation, understand these words of the deliverance of the people of *God*, out of the captivity of *Babylon*, which was as a deepe pit, having in it no water but mire, wherein their teete stuck fast. And *Hierome* himself, though he understand the words of *Christ*s descending into hell, yet mentioneth

Ad Simpli-
anum.
6 Part 2. causa,
26 quæst. 5. ca.
Nec mirum.

2a b 9. 11.
In versione
interlineari.

In eum lo-
cum.

mentioneth the other interpretation also in the same place, not much disliking it. Neither doth his interpretation of Christs descending into Hell prove *Limbus*. For hee speaketh of the prison of Hell, where is no mercie, and calleth it a cruell, or fearefull Hell; and not of *Limbus patrum*, or *Abrahams* bosome. *Bellarmino* cunningly after his manner, to discredit our interpretation of deliverance out of *Babylonicall* Captivitie, maketh, as if *Calvine* onely had expounded the words of the holy Prophet in that sort; whereas yet many excellent Divines, long before *Calvine* was borne, interpreted them in the very same sort as we doe. But if the challenge of novelty faile, hee betaketh himselfe to another of absurdity, and improbability, pronouncing, that our Interpretation hath no probability: first, because in the words immediatly going before, there is a Prophecie concerning Christ, uttered unto *Hierusalem* in these words: *Rejoyce O daughter of Sion, for behold thy King commeth, &c.* Which the Evangelists expound of Christs comming into *Hierusalem*: and then secondly, an Apostrophe to Christ in the words questioned. But first herein he is deceived: for the speech of Almighty God to his Church, begun in the former words, is still continued in these, shewing what favours for Christs sake he had, and still meant to bestow on her: whereas, according to the Translation they follow, there is first a speech directed to the Church concerning Christ, then an Apostrophe to Christ, and then thirdly, a returne unto the Church againe. Secondly, if that were granted, which hee urgeth touching the supposed Apostrophe, it would not prove that there is no probability in our Interpretation. For, this consequence will never be made good in the Schooles: Christ is prophesied of in the words immediatly going before, and in these words God speaketh unto him by way of Apostrophe; therefore they cannot be understood of deliverance out of *Babylonicall* captivitie; seeing it is certaine, that Christ delivered the *Israelites* out of all the miseries, out of which they escaped. But, saith *Bellarmino*, if wee admit this Interpretation, in what blood of the covenant may we understand the *Jewes* to have beene delivered out of *Babylonicall* captivity? Surely, this question is soone answered. For their deliverance out of the hands of their enemies, and all other benefits, were bestowed on them by vertue of the covenant betweene God and them, which was to be established in the blood of Christ; in figure whereof, all holy things among the *Jewes* were sprinkled with blood, as the Booke of the Covenant, the Altar, the Sanctuary, and People.

Wherefore, seeing this place maketh nothing for the confirmation of the Popish error touching *Limbus*, let us come to the last place brought for prooffe thereof, which is that of Saint *Peter* concerning Christs going in Spirit, and preaching to the spirits in prison: and see, whether from thence it may bee proved any better. *S. Aug. 20.* *Augustine* understandeth the words of the Apostle, as I noted before, of Christs preaching in the dayes of *Noe*, in his eternall Spirit of Deity, and not of preaching in Hell, in his humane Soule after death: but this Interpretation of Saint *Augustine*, first *Bellarmino* rejecteth as contrary to the Fathers: and secondly, endeavoureth to improve it by weakning the reasons brought to confirme it, and by opposing certaine reasons against it. The first of the Fathers that he alleadgeth, is *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who indeede understandeth the words of Saint *Peter*, not as Saint *Augustine* doth, but of Christ preaching in Hell after his death in his humane Soule; but, not conceiving to what purpose preaching should serve in Hell, if there were not intended a conversion and saving of some there, he runneth into a most grosse and dangerous error, condemned and rejected as well by *Bellarmino*, and his companions, as by us: so that his authority, as contrary to *Augustines* Interpretation, needed not to have beene alleadged, nor would not have beene, if *Bellarmino* had meant sincerely. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirmeth, as he well knoweth, that so many Infidels as beleevd in Christ, and listened to the words of his preaching when he came into Hell, were delivered thence, and made partakers of everlasting salvation: against which error, himselfe being Judge, Saint *Augustine*, not without good cause, disputeth in his Epistle to *Evodius*. The second ancient Writer that hee produceth for prooffe of Christs preaching in Hell after his death, is *Athanasius*, who indeede doth expound the words of

t. Hæref. 77.

l. Lib. de recta
fide ad Theo-
dosium, & lib.
12. in Ioannem
cap. 36.
m. In cap. 10. ad
Romanos.

n. Act. 7. 18.

• Sess. 4. Decret.
de editione &
usu sacrorum
Librorum.

Peter, of Christs going in Soule to preach in Hell after his death, but no way expre-
seth in what sort, to whom, to what purpose, or with what successe he preached. *Epiphanius*, whom he produceth in the third place, doth not so interpret the words of *Peter* himselfe; but onely upon another occasion citeth the Epistle of *Athanasius* to *Epiſtetus*, wherein hee doth so interpret them. So that the authority of *Epiphanius* might have beene spared. *Ruffinus* in his explication of the Creede, interpreteth the words of *Peter* as *Athanasius* doth. *Cyrill* in the place cited by *Bellarmino*, speaketh of Christs preaching to the Spirits in Hell, but saith nothing in particular of this place of *Peter*. Saint *Ambrose* doth not speake of this place, but that other of preaching the Gospel to the dead. So that there are no moe ancient Writers cited by *Bellarmino*, that doe precisely interpret this place of *Peter*, of Christs preaching in Hell in his humane soule after death, but onely *Clemens*, *Athanasius*, *Ruffinus*, and *Oecumenius*. On the other side we have S. *Augustine*, *Beda*, the authors of the Ordinary and Interlineall Glosses, *Lyra*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, and other, interpreting the words as wee doe: so that our Adversaries have no great advantage in respect of the number of Interpreters: and yet if they had, it would not helpe them for confirmation of their supposed *Limbus*, seeing some of the Fathers cited by him, as namely *Clemens Alexandrinus*, speake directly of preaching in the lowest Hell, for the conversion of Infidels; which they dislike as much as wee. Wherefore let us proceede to examine the reasons that are brought either of the one side, or the other, to confirme their severall interpretations of these words; and let us see how *Bellarmino* weakneth the reasons brought by Saint *Augustine*, and improveth his interpretation by reasons brought against it. The first reason whereby Saint *Augustine* confirmeth his interpretation, is, for that mortification in the flesh, and vivification in the Spirit mentioned by the Apostle, cannot be understood of the Body and Soule of Christ, as they that follow the other interpretation doe understand them, seeing Christ never dying in Soule, could not be said to be quickned in it. Besides that, the very phrase of the Scripture opposing flesh and Spirit in Christ, doth ever import the infirmity of his humane nature, and the power of his Deity: and in other men, that part that is renewed by the sanctification of the Spirit, and that which is not yet so renewed. Against the former part of this reason of S. *Augustine*, *Bellarmino* opposeth himselfe, saying, that it is not good: seeing a thing may be said to be quickned that was never dead, if it be preserved from dying, and kept alive. But he should know, that onely those things may be said to be quickned, in that they were preserved from dying, which otherwise, if they had not beene so preserved, might have beene killed, or dyed of themselves. Which cannot be verified of the Soule of Christ, that could neither die of it selfe, nor be killed by any other; and therefore the Soule of Christ cannot be said to bee quickned in this sense. The place in the seventh of the *Acts*, brought by *Bellarmino* to prove, that those things may bee said to bee quickned that were never dead, besides that it is nothing to the purpose, is strangely wrested. For Saint *Stephen* in that place speaketh nothing of vivification or quickning in that sense wee now speake of it, but of multiplying, and increasing; saying, that "After the death of Ioseph, there rose up another King in Egypt, that knew not Ioseph, who evill intreated our Fathers, and made them cast out their infants, and new borne children, εις το μη ζωονειν, that is, that they should not increase and multiply: and therefore *Bellarmino* should not in reason so have pressed the Latine word of vivification used by the Vulgar Translatour, seeing the Originall importeth no such thing as hee endeavoureth to prove. But to take away all doubt touching the words of *Peter*; there is a decree of the Tridentine Councell, that the *Romanists* in all their disputations, readings, and sermons, shall use the Vulgar Translation, and no way dare to refuse the authority of it under any pretence whatsoever. Now in the ordinary readings of the Vulgar Translation, the words of the Apostle doe lye in this sort; *Christ died for sinners, the just for the unjust, that he might offer us to God, mortified in the flesh, but quickned in the Spirit, in which Spirit he went and preached, &c.* So that according to this reading, the Apostle speaketh not of Christs quickning, but of our quickning in the Spirit, which cannot be understood of

of the humane Soule of Christ, but of the Spirit of sanctification: whence it followeth, that Christ going to preach in that Spirit, by the force whereof we are quickned, and made alive from the death of sin, went in his eternall Spirit of Deity, and not in his humane Soule. But, saith *Bellarmino*, it cannot be said properly, but Metaphorically onely, that Christ did goe in his eternall Spirit of Deitie to preach to the old world. Suppose it to be so; is it so strange a thing, that such locall motions should be Metaphorically attributed unto God, that wee should thereupon deny the going of Christ to preach, to have beene in his eternall Spirit of Deitie? Doe wee not often reade in Scripture of Gods comming downe to see what things are done on earth? But it is hard to understand by Spirits in prison, the Soules of men shut up in the prisons of their bodies, and in the darke dungeons of ignorance and impiety, as *Augustine* doth, and therefore wee must not follow his interpretation. Surely it is true, that it is something hard to understand these words of the Apostle, as *S. Augustine* doth, and therefore we rather follow the interpretation of *Andradinus* before mentioned, who expoundeth the words of the Apostle so as *Augustine* doth, save that he thinketh, that they to whom Christ preached in his eternall Spirit in the dayes of *Noe*, are named Spirits in prison, not for that they were so when he preached to them, but when *Peter* wrote of them. Thus we see, the Cardinall hath not yet greatly weakned any of *Augustines* reasons. One reason more *S. Augustine* hath, so forcible and strong, to confirme the interpretation he followeth, that I thinke the Jesuite will hardly be able to say much against it: If the Apostle (saith *S. Augustine*) had meant to describe the descending of Christ in his humane Soule to deliver the Patriarches, he would not have expressed his meaning, by saying, *He went and preached to the Spirits in prison, sometimes disobedient in the dayes of Noe*. For, to say, as *Bellarmino* doth, that Christ went and preached onely to the good Spirits in *Limbus*, but that the Apostle describing the same, nameth the disobedient in the dayes of *Noe*, lest it might bee thought that they all perished, is frivolous; seeing there was no reason, why the Apostle in describing the descending of Christ into *Limbus*, should be so carefull to let all men know, that they did not all perish that contemned the preaching of *Noe*: And besides, if the Apostle had meant any such thing, he would have added, that howsoever these men were disobedient for a time, yet they did afterwards repent, obeying the voyce of God speaking by the mouth of *Noe*. If any man shall aske, as *Bellarmino* doth, why *Peter* should mention Christs preaching in his eternall Spirit to them in the dayes of *Noe*, more than to them in the dayes of *Abraham*, or *Moses*: the answer is easie: for therefore doth hee mention them rather than any other, because they that lived before the flood, were men of another world, and are named the old world, and it was the greatest mutation of the world that ever was before or since, that followed upon the refusall of Christs preaching by the mouth of *Noe*, who was the same then, that he is now: the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever.

That which the Cardinall hath in the conclusion, that the Fathers generally beleevd that Christ descended into Hell, wee thinke to be most true: but that the soules of all the just were in Hell, till the resurrection of Christ, and then delivered thence, is not the opinion of the Fathers. For *Augustine* clearly denieth, that the Spirits of the just, dying before Christ, were in Hell, till the comming of Christ; and touching the rest of them, some thought, that the Spirits of the just are and shall be in a place of sequestration, separate from the presence of God, till the generall resurrection: so that according to their opinion, Christ by descending into Hell did not deliver them from thence: of which opinion we finde *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, and some others to have beene. Some there were that thought, that Christ delivered out of the west Hell, such as beleevd in him when hee came thither: and some, that hee went not to Hell to deliver any from thence, but to preserve and keepe such from going thither, as otherwise should have gone thither, if by vertue of his descending they had not beene preserved from falling into that hideous and devouring gulfe. So that, though it were ever most certainly resolved, that Christ descended into Hell, to triumph over the Prince of darknesse, to fasten condemnation to the Devill and his Angels, and

p Defens. fidei
Trident. lib. 2.
fol. 172.

g Loco citato.

and to preserve all beleevers, and faithfull ones from falling into the pit of destruction; yet, as it appeareth by *Augustines* Epistle to *Evodius*; there was no certaine resolution amongst the Ancient, whether Christ delivered any, or all: or whom hee delivered, if any, when he went into Hell.

C H A P. 20.

*Of the Merit of Christ: of his not meriting for himselfe,
and his meriting for us.*

HAVING spoken sufficiently of the sufferings of Christ, and his descending into Hell, it remaineth, that in the next place wee come to speake of his merit; where wee must observe three things. First, whether he might or did merit. Secondly, whether he merited for himselfe. Thirdly, how, and in what sort he merited for us.

a S. otus in 3.
Sent. dist. 18.
quest. unica.

The first of these questions is moved, because Christ being *in termino*, and *comprehensor*, that is, in possession of all desired blessednesse, and seeing God face to face, even while he lived here, may seeme to have beene *extra statum merendi*, that is, in such a state and condition, wherein there is no place for merit, and so not to have merited: to merit being proper to them, that are *viatores*, that is, men journeying towards the possession of Heaven-happinesse not yet attained. Wherefore, for the clearing of this point the Divines doe note,^a that Christ in his humane nature in the dayes of his flesh, was both *Viator*, and *Comprehensor*; *in termino*, and *extra terminum*: that is, both a man journeying toward heaven-happinesse, and one that had already attained it, being already come to the uttermost bound of all his desires, and yet in a sort not being come unto it, because, howsoever he was perfectly joyned with God *affectione justitia*, that is, with that affection that yeeldeth unto God the praise, honour, and love that is due unto him, and saw him face to face with cleare and perfect vision: yet he was not so fully joyned to him, as he is to be enjoyed *affectione commodi*, that is, with that affection that seeketh after pleasing delight: but that he suffered many bitter, grievous, and unpleasant things, fasting, watching, weeping and wearying himselfe, in all which respects being *extra terminum*, that is, not yet come to the uttermost extent and bound of that is desired, he was in state of meriting. But, because the enduring of these bitter, grievous, and afflictive evils, may seeme rather to pertaine to the nature of satisfaction, than merit, therefore they adde, that howsoever in respect of the perfection of his Divine and Heavenly vertues, hee were *in termino*, that is, come to the uttermost bound and extent thereof, yet in the expressing of the actions of them, he fitted himselfe to the condition of men here below, as appeared in the actions of his love and obedience, in that he gave himselfe for the pacifying of his Fathers wrath, the satisfying of his Iustice, and the promeriting of our good: and besides, hee had the actions of many vertues that are proper to the conversation of this world: and whereof there is no use in Heaven, or in Heaven-happinesse, but in the way and journey towards Heaven: as Temperance, Sobriety, Fortitude, Patience, and the Observation of the Ceremoniall and Iudiciall Law: in which respect hee may very properly be said, to have beene in a state of meriting, and to have merited.

b Bellarm. de
Christo Meditatore, l. 5. c. 9.
c Philip. 2. 8.

Wherefore, presupposing that Christ might and did merit, let us see whether hee merited any thing for himselfe. The *b* Papiſts impute, I know not what impiety to *Calvine*, because hee saith, Christ merited not for himselfe, but for us onely, and urge against him that saying of the Apostle, when he saith, that *c* *Christ humbled himselfe, & was made obedient unto death, even the death of the Crosse, & that therefore God exalted him, and gave him a name above every name.* Wherefore, let us take a view of that they teach touching this point, that so wee may the better discern whether *Calvine* be justly blamed by them, or not. The School-men generally agree, that Christ neither did, nor could merit the grace of personall union, the habituall perfections of his humane Soule, or the vision of God, because hee possessed all these from the beginning

ning, and it would have bin a matter of more imperfection to have wanted any of them at the first, than of perfection to have gotten them by merit afterwards: Yet the *Master of Sentences*, and others resolve, that he did procure unto himself by his merit, the impassibility and glorification of his Body. But *Scotus* very acutely and wittily objecteth against them that so thinke, that Christ cannot be said to have merited the impassibility and glorification of his body, because they would have bin found in it, from the very first instant of the union, of the Natures of God and Man in him, by vertue of that union, before any act of his, had not the naturall consequence and flowing of them from that union, bin stayed and hindered by speciall dispensation, for the working of our salvation: and therefore he saith, that if wee will defend the *Master of Sentences* from error in this point, we must so construe his words, as that Christ did not directly merit glorification and impassibility, but only the removing of that miraculous stay of the naturall redundance of glory from his Soule, filled with the happie vision of his Deity, into his body. But surely this favourable construction will not helpe the matter, for seeing the miraculous stay of the redundance of glory from the Soule of Christ into his body, was of it selfe to cease, when that should be performed, for the effecting whereof such stay was made, hee could no more merit such remove of stay than the glory it selfe, that in respect of the grace of personall union, would as naturally have bin communicated to his body, as it was in his Soule, had not God for speciall purpose stayed and hindered such redundance. So that we shall find, that howsoever the Papists doe presse certaine testimonies of Scripture, as if they would prove out of them, that Christ merited the name above all names, and the fulnesse of all power both in heaven and in earth, which he could no more merit than to be God; yet in the end they are forced to confesse, (so great is the truth which will ever prevaile) that he neither merited the personall union of his two natures, the perfection of his habituall graces, the vision of God, nor the glorification of his body, but onely the removing of that stay and impediment that hindred the flowing of Glory from his soule into his body: and finding, that this stay or hinderance was to cease of it selfe, so soone as the worke of our Redemption should be wrought, and consequently, that he could not merit it, they flie for help to a distinction of merits, which they make to be of three sorts. For there is, as they say, one kind of merit that maketh a thing due which was not due before; another, that maketh a thing more due than it was before; and a third, that maketh a thing more wayes due than at first it was. The two first kinds of merit, they confesse, did not agree to Christ, there being nothing that was not due unto him in as high degree in the beginning, as ever it was afterwards. But they say, that he merited in the 3^d sort or kind, in that he made those things that were due unto him as consequents of the personall union of his two natures, to be due unto him as a reward of his passion. This truly is a very silly evasion, seeing that cannot be a reward of a mans labors, that was due to him in as high degree before, as after his worke is done. Hee that laboureth in the field or vineyard of another man, and she that nourisheth a child that is not her owne, travaile both in hope of reward, but that reward must of necessity be some thing that was not due to them before such travaile; yea, he that dresseth his owne vine, and shee that nourisheth her own children, looke to the recompense of reward; but that reward is no other thing, but the prosperity and increase of their fields and vineyards, and the growth of their children, like the Olive branches round about their table; which, without such paines and travaile, they could not looke for. In like sort, a man may say to his childe; this land shall be the reward of thy dutifull behaviour; if hee have power to put it from him, if his behaviour be not dutifull: but if he have not, it is ridiculous to promise it as a reward, seeing a reward is ever some good to bee gained by our well doing or patient suffering, countervailing the difficultie in doing, and bitterness in suffering. It is therefore most absurd, that any thing which is a mans owne, in as ample sort before he begin his worke as after he hath done it, should bee the reward of his worke. But some man perhaps will say, that a thing that was due in respect of the habit resting in the minde, may become due in respect of the Act done: and consequently, that that which was due one way, may become more wayes due. Surely we

Lib. 3. di 18.

Scotus in 3. dist. 18.

f Bonavent in Sent. lib. 3. dist. 18. qu 2.

we make no question but it may, because it was due to the Habit, as to the root of such action, when occasion should be offered, and opportunity serve, and not otherwise. But seeing in Christ, the glorification and impassibility of his body was due unto him as a consequent of personall union, and not of any habituall quality, or habit inclining and fitting unto action, therefore that could not become due to any action of Christ, that was due unto him in respect of some former thing, as that may be due to the action of a Man, that was formerly due to the habit that is the roote of such action.

The places of Scripture that are brought to prove that Christ merited for himselfe, are specially two: for though there be a third as pregnant as any of the other, in the first to the *Hebrewes*, where it is said of Christ, *Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity: therefore God, even thy God hath annointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse above thy fellows: yet doe they not much stand upon it, because, if it prove any thing, it proveth, that Christ merited the grace of unction, which they deny, who teach that Christ merited for himselfe. The first of the two places alleadged to prove that Christ merited for himselfe, is in the second to the Hebrewes: where the Apostle saith, Wee see Iesus for the passion of death, crowned with glory and honour. But the words, as some thinke, are not so to be read, but to be placed in this sort: We see Iesus, who was for a little while made lower than the Angels, for the passion of death, that is, that he might suffer death, crowned with glory and honour; so expressing the finall cause of his humiliation, and not the meritorious cause of his exaltation. This conjecture is made exceeding probable by those words added by the Apostle, that hee might taste of death: which otherwise have no coherence with any part of his speech.*

The second place that they bring, is that of the second to the *Philippians*: the words are these: *Christ humbled himselfe, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the crosse: Wherefore God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, &c.* This place, as *Hugo de Sancto Victore* hath fitly noted, importeth, that

the humiliation of the Son of God becomming Man, was the cause of the exaltation of the nature of Man, for when he personally assumed the nature of Man, & became Man, Man became God Almighty, having all power, and a name above all names: according

to that of *Leo*, *Divina Majestatis exinanitio, servilis forma in summa proVectio est; that is, The abasing of the Divine Majestie, & Person of the Son of God, is the high advancing and exaltation of the forme of a Servant: and therefore he addeth, that Ex quo Deus cæpit esse homo, & homo cæpit esse Deus; Deus cæpit esse homo subiectus, & homo cæpit esse Deus perfectus. Si Deus humiliatus est quantum potuit in homine, homo sublimatus non est quantum potuit in Deo?* that is, When God began to be Man, and Man began to be God; God began to be a Man in subjection and humilitie, and Man to be God in the heighth of perfection: For, if God were humbled as much as hee might be, in that he became man; was not Man exalted as much as hee might be, in that hee became God? God was humbled, when first he became Man, *In quantum homo, dignitate, in quantum bonus, voluntate*: that is, In that a Man, in condition and state, in that a good man, in will and mind: but manifested the same more specially in his passion: Likewise, the Man Christ was exalted, when he was borne the Sonne of God, but manifested the same more specially after his resurrection than before. For wee must not thinke, that the Man Christ did then first receive the full and perfect power of Deity, when he said, *All power is given me in heaven and in earth: seeing before*

the uttering of those words, hee commanded the Devils, had the Angels to doe him service, and made the very elements of the world to bow and bend at his pleasure. Wherefore this place is unadvisedly brought by our Adversaries, to prove, that Christ merited for himselfe, it being most cleare and evident, that the name above all names mentioned in this place, which is the name of God Almighty, was given to the Sonne of God *donatione naturali*, that is, by naturall communication, when he was begotten of his Father before all eternity, and to the Man Christ *donatione gratuita*, that is, by free gift, when God was made Man, and Man became God, as the ordinary Glosse upon these words fitly observeth: and so could no more be merited by the passion of Christ, then it was possible for him to doe any thing whereby

g Heb. 1. 9.

h Heb. 2. 9.

i Philip. 2. 8, 9.

k Hugo de S. Victore de Sacram. fidei, l. 2. part. 1. c. 6.

l Leo Serm 12.

m Mat. 28. 18.

to merit to be God. And hereupon ^{Calvine} rightly asketh (which all the Papists in ^{Calvin. instit.} the world are not able to answer) *Quibus meritis assequi potuit homo ut iudex esset mundi, caput Angelorum, atq; ut potiretur summo Dei imperio?* that is, By what merits could man attaine to be Judge of the world, head of Angels, and to have the highest authority and power of God? But some man will say, that Christ pronounceth, ^{o Luke 24. 26.} it was necessary that he should suffer, and so enter into his glory; and that therefore it seemeth, he could not have entred into it, unlesse hee had suffered. *Quomodo ergo suam* (saith Hugo) *si oportuit? & quomodo oportuit, si suam? Si gloria ejus fuit, quomodo ut ad illam intraret, pati oportuit? Sed suam propter se; oportuit propter nos:* that is, How then was it his glory, if he could not enter into it, unlesse he suffered? and how was it necessary that hee should suffer to enter into it, if it were his? Surely it was his in respect of himselfe; and it was necessary he should enter into it by suffering, onely in respect of us. For Christ truly if he had pleased, might have entred into his glory some other way, and have received it in what sort he would, even as he needed never to have wanted it, unles he had pleased: but he would for our sakes by punishment enter into his glory, that dying he might take away the feare of death, and rising again, he might restore unto us the hope of glorification: he would not goe any other way, because we could not goe any other way: we would, but could not; he could, but would not: *Quia si aliter ivisset, pervenisset, sed non subvenisset:* that is, because if he had gone any other way, he might have entred in himselfe, but could not have brought us in with him.

There is nothing therefore that Christ gained to himselfe by his passion, but that he was made an example of suffering to all that beleve in him, and a cause of glorification to all them that suffer with him, that they may be glorified with him: but what did this profit him? He went before, and we all follow him: whose good is this? I finde men out of the way, I goe before them to shew them the way, and all follow me; what doth it profit me? I knew the way, and could have gone it by my selfe alone: *Sed non esset causa pergendi, nisi compassio esset subveniendi:* that is, but there were no cause of my going, if the compassionate consideration of such as know not the way, did not move me by going before them to be a guide unto them. Thus then we say, that Christ merited nothing for himselfe, not because we would detract any thing from him, for he did things worthy of most ample rewards, if there had beene any thing he had not already, that might have beene given and added to him, or that he had not already a just claime unto: but because we admire his perfection, which was so great from the beginning, that nothing could be after added unto it: and praise his goodnesse that came into this world for our sakes onely, and not for his owne good. Wherefore, let us proceed to see how, and in what sort he merited for us.

In the merit of Christ two things are to be considered; The worth of those actions and workes of vertue which he performed: and the dignity of his Divine and infinite Person performing them. Touching the former, though the actions of the best men that ever were, done in the state of grace, proceeding from the working of Gods Spirit, be not worthy of the glory that shall be revealed; yet we constantly affirme and teach, that the actions of Christ, done in his humane nature, were worthy of that glory: and therefore dare not deny, that Christ merited for us *ex condigno*, as some of the School-men doe. But for the better clearing of this point, touching the merit of Christ, we must observe, that to merit, simply, absolutely, and properly so named, foure things concur. For first, hee that will merit or deserve any thing at another mans hand, must doe something that the other had no former claime unto. Secondly, he must doe something that may be beneficiall and good unto him, of whom he desireth to deserve something. Thirdly, he must doe something that may be beneficiall in as high a degree unto him, as he looketh to be benefited by him againe. And fourthly, hee must not hurt and wrong him as much one way, as he benefiteth him another: for if he doe so, he loseth all merit of reward.

These being the things required to the nature of Merit, strictly so named, no creature can in this sort merit any thing at Gods hand, seeing there is nothing that any creature can doe which God may not justly claime and challenge as due, in respect of good already

p Job 35.7.

g: Cor. 2.9.

already done to it; or whereby it may any way benefit or profit him according to that in Job, that *Our righteousness reacheth not unto God*: Yet such is the goodness of Almighty God towards his poore creatures, that, as if hee had no claime to their well doings, in respect of benefits already bestowed on them, and, as if they were as good and beneficiall to him, as they are good in themselves seeking in all his workes to communicate, and not to receive any good in the day hee made them, he covenanted with them, to give them rewards answerable to the worth of their actions: which gracious condescending of Almighty God to the condition of his creatures presupposed, Adam in the state of his innocencie, and before he fell, might have merited and deserved good at Gods hands: but the best men in the world since his fall, are excluded from all possibility of meriting any thing, especially heaven happinesse, properly of him: first, because they have lost all that power of well doing, which originally in the state of their creation they had, and can performe nothing that is good, unlesse it be given unto them by a new free gift, for which they shall rather be indebted to God, than any way binde him unto them. Secondly, because they offend him as much one way, as they please him another. And thirdly, because there is no equality betweene the good actions of vertue which they performe and doe, and the rewards that are laid up in heaven, neither in totall, perpetuall, and constant doing of that they doe, nor in the manner, quality, and measure thereof, the height of heaven happinesse incomparably exceeding all other knowledge and desire, according to that of the Apostle: *The eye hath not seene, the eare hath not heard, neither hath it entred into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him*. But none of these things exclude Christ from meriting in the nature of Man, which he assumed: for hee brought the fulnesse of grace with him into the world, and it was naturall unto him: He no way offended or displeased God his Father: and there was a perfect equality betweene his actions and the rewards of Heaven, in that he loved God with that kinde, degree, and measure of love, wherewith men love him in heaven; ardently, without defect; entirely, and totally without distraction; perpetually without intermission; and constantly, without possibility of ever ceasing so to doe.

Paludanus in
3. sent. dist. 18.

Wherefore, let us passe from the worth and value of those workes of vertue that Christ performed, to the consideration of the dignity of his divine, and infinite Person performing them. Which dignity and infinity of the Person of Christ, to which nothing could be added, made the things he did to promerit, and to procure good to others, and to infinite other. *Christus* (saith a learned Schoole-man) *meruit omnibus quantum fuit ex sufficientia sui, pro eo quod in ipso fuit gratia: non sicut in singulari homine, sed sicut in capite totius Ecclesie; propter quod fructus passionis ejus redundare potuit in omnia Ecclesie membra: & quia, ut dicit Damascenus, ratione unitatis Divinitatis cum humanitate, Christus operatur ea quae sunt hominis, supra hominem, operatio ejus extendebat se ad totam naturam, quod non potest operatio puri hominis. Hujus diversitatis ratio reducenda est non in habitualem aliquam gratiam creatam, sed increatam; quod pro multis sufficit finita gratia, haec sufficientia est ex gratia infinita & increata*; that is, Christ merited for all sufficiently on his part, in that grace was found in him, not as in a particular man, but as in the Head of the whole Church: for which cause, the fruit of his passion might redound to all the members of the same Church: and because, (as Damascene saith) by reason of the union of the Natures of God and Man in his Person, hee doth the workes of a man in a more excellent sort, than any meere man can doe, the benefit and force of his working and operation, extended to the whole nature of Man, which the action of a meere man cannot doe. The reason of which difference is not to be attributed to any habituall, created grace, but to that which is increate: for that the finite grace that is in Christ (that is, his vertue, and worke of vertue) is available for the good of many, it is from his infinite, and increate Grace.

CHAP. VII.

Of the benefits which we receive from Christ.

HAVING spoken of the Satisfaction, and Merit of Christ, it remaineth, that wee speake of the benefits which wee receive from him: which are all most fully expressed by the name of redemption, which is the freeing of us from that miserable bondage and captivity, wherein we were formerly holden by reason of *Adams sinne*. This bondage was two-fold; first in respect of sinne: and secondly in respect of punishment. In respect of sinne, we were bondmen to *Sathan*, whose will we did, according to that of the Apostle, *His servants yee are, to whom yee obey*. In respect of punishment, wee were become bondmen to Almighty God the righteous Judge of the world, who useth *Sathan* as an instrument of his wrath, and an Executioner of his dreadfull Judgements, against such as doe offend him and provoke him to wrath. These being the kindes of captivity and bondage wherein we were holden, it will not be hard to see how wee are freed and redeemed from the same. There is no redemption, as the Divines doe note, but either by exchange of prisoners, by force and strong hand, or by paying of a price. Redemption by exchange of prisoners is then, when we set free those whom we hold as captives taken from our Enemies, that they may make free such as they hold of ours: and this kinde of redemption hath no place in the deliverance of sinfull men from sinne and misery: but their deliverance is onely wrought by strong hand, and paying of a price. For Christ redeemed us from the bondage of sinne, in that by the force and working of his grace, making us dislike it, hate it, repent of it, and leave it, he violently tooke us out of *Sathans* hands, who tyrannically, and unjustly had taken possession of us: but from the bondage of punishment in respect whereof we were become bondmen to Almighty God, he redeemed us not by force and strong hand, but by paying a price, satisfying his justice, and suffering what our sinnes had deserved, that so being pacified towards us, hee might cease to punish us, and discharge *Sathan*, who was but the Executioner of his wrath, from afflicting us any longer.

In this sort doe we conceive of the worke of our redemption, wrought for us by Christ; and therefore it is absurdly and untruely said by *Matthew Kellison*, in his late published Survey of the supposed new Religion, that wee make Christ an absurd Redeemer, for we speake no other wise of Christ the Redeemer, than we have learned in the Church and House of God. But for the satisfaction of the Reader, let us see how he goeth about to convince us of such absurdity as he chargeth us with. The Protestants, saith he, doe teach (than which nothing can be more absurd) that Christs passion was our Justice, Merit, Satisfaction, that there is no Justice but Christs, no good workes but his workes, no merit but his merit, no satisfaction but his satisfaction; that there is no justice or sanctitie inherent in man, nor none necessary; that no Lawes can binde us, because Christs death was the ransome that freed us from all Lawes, Divine and Humane; that no sinnes nor evill workes can hurt us, because Christs Justice being ours, no sinnes can make us sinners: that no Hell or Judgement remaineth for us whatsoever wee neede, because Christs Justice being ours, sinnes can neither be imputed to us in this life, nor punished in the next, and that herein consisteth Christian liberty. A more shamelesse slanderer, and trifling smearer, I thinke was never heard of. For some of these assertions are undoubted truths, against which no man may oppose himselfe, unlesse he will be branded with the marke of impiety and blasphemy: as that Christs passion is our justice, merit, and satisfaction: that there is no merit properly so named, but Christs merit; no propitiatory, and expiatory satisfaction but Christs satisfaction: and the other are nothing else but shamelesse and hellish slanders, and meer devices, and fancies of his idle braine, without all ground of truth as that there is no justice nor sanctity inherent in Man, nor none necessary: that good workes are not necessary: that no lawes can binde us: that no sinnes nor evill workes can hurt us; and that no hell nor judgement remaineth for us whatsoever wee doe.

Lib. 4. de Ju-
lif. cap. 5.

d Booke 3. chap.
5.

For wee most constantly affirme and teach, that there is both justice and sanctity inherent in Man, though not so perfect, as that hee may safely trust unto it, and desire to be judged according to the perfection of it in the day of Tryall. Likewise we teach, that good workes are in such sort necessary to salvation, that without Holinesse, and a desire at the least to performe the workes of sanctification, no man shall ever see God. Neither doe we say, that no Lawes can binde us, as he slanderously mis-reporteth us, but we constantly teach, that not to do the things contained and prescribed in the Law of God, is damnable and damning sinne, if God upon our repentance forgive it not. And therefore *Bellarmino*, though hee wrongeth us in like sort, as *Kellison* doth, yet in the end like an honest man, he confesseth ingenuously that he doth wrong us, and sheweth at large, that *Luther* in his Booke *de votis Monasticis*, defineth the liberty of a Christian to consist, not in being freed from the duty of doing the things prescribed in the Law of God, as if at his pleasure he might doe them, or leave them undone, but in that there are no workes forbidden in the Law, that may stand with Faith, so evill, that they can condemne us, nor none there prescribed, performed by us, so good, as to cleare, defend, and justifie us; So making us free *non ab operibus faciendis, sed defendentibus & accusantibus*: that is, not from the necessity of doing the things that are commanded as good, but from seeking justification in workes, or fearing condemnation for such evill workes as we consent not fully unto, but dislike, resist against, and seeke remission of. Whereunto *Calvine* agreeth, teaching, that Christian libertie freeth not from the duty of doing the things which the Law requireth, but from doing them so, as to have them examined and tried strictly according to the Law and rule of Justice: God in mercie accepting our workes though imperfect, if they proceede from a good conscience, and faith unfained. But, saith *Kellison*, the Protestants teach, that Christ came to be a Redeemer only, not a Law-giver: and therefore it seemeth they thinke men free from the duty of following the prescription of any Law. This surely is a very bad and weak inference. Christian men have nothing to doe with *Moses* and his Law, and many at their pleasure either breake it or keepe it, because Christ came to be a Redeemer, and not a Law-giver. For, though it be true, that Christ came not to give a new, or more perfect Law of morall duties, or to urge it more strictly than *Moses* did, as some imagine, in which sense our Divines rightly deny him to have come as a Law-giver, yet he came to fulfill the Law formerly given by the Ministry of *Moses*: which thing hee performed: first, by clearing the meaning of it, and making it to be rightly understood, where it was mistaken. Secondly, by meriting remission of the precedent breaches and transgressions of it. And thirdly, by giving grace that men may in some sort doe the things it requireth. Wherefore, if any man aske of us, whether it may be truly said, that Christ was a Law-giver to his Church, we answer, that our Divines did never simply deny Christ to be a Law-giver, but onely in sort before expressed. For they confesse, that he may truly be so named; first, because he writeth those Lawes in our hearts, which *Moses* delivered written in Tables of stone; and secondly, because hee gave certaine positive Lawes to Christian men, touching Sacraments, Ministry, and outward meanes of salvation, that were not of force before. Wherefore to conclude this point, we doe not thinke (as *Kellison* slanderously against his owne conscience reporteth of us) that no sinnes can hurt us, that no Hell nor Judgement remaineth for us whatsoever we doe: but we constantly teach, that they who commit sinne with full consent, and persist therein, shall undoubtedly perish everlastingly. So that this is all that we say, that no sinnes, how grievous soever, resisted, disliked, repented of, and forsaken, can hurt us, and that no Hell, nor Judgement remaineth for them, whom the working of divine grace freeth from the dominion of sinne, and the satisfaction of Christ from the condemnation of it: Against which doctrine, or any part of it, neither *Kellison*, nor any Papist in the world, is able to take any just exception.

C H A P. 22.

Of the Ministry of them to whom Christ committed the publishing of the reconciliation betweene God and Men, procured by him.

THus have we seene, first, the excellentie of Christ our Saviour, whom God sent into the world in the fulnesse of time, to be the great Shepheard of his Sheepe, the guide of his people, the light of the *Gentiles*, the glory of *Israel*, and a King to sit upon the throne of *David* for ever, having all power both in Heaven and in Earth. Secondly, what great things he did and suffered for us, to reconcile us unto God. Thirdly, what the benefits are which he procured for us, and bestowed on us. Now it remaineth, that we see to whom he committed the publishing of the joyfull reconciliation betweene God and Man, the conversion of the world unto himselfe, and the government of such as should by beleiving, become his people, when, having finished the great worke he came to performe, he was to returne back to that God his Father that sent him. The Apostle Saint Paul telleth us, that ^a Christ ^a Coloss. 2. 13. having triumphed over principalities and powers, and made a shew of them openly ^{*} upon ^{*} Or in himself. his Crosse, led captivitie captive, and gave gifts unto men: ^{*} that he gave some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints, the worke of the Ministry, and the edifying of the body of Christ, untill we all meete in the unity of Faith, and knowledge of the Son of God into a perfect Man, even into the measure of the Age of the fulnesse of Christ. Amongst all those Messengers of glad tidings, and Ministers of Christ, appointed by him for the gathering together of the Saints, the Apostles were chiefe, and principall; Evangelists were Assistants, which they used for the better setting and perfecting of things happily begun by them, and the writing of the Evangelicall histories concerning Christ: The Prophets were such as foretold future things, that knew all secrets, and opened the hidden mysteries of God, speaking to the consciences of men in a strange and admirable manner: so that, as the Apostle telleth us, ^b They that heard them prostrated themselves at their feete, acknowledging, that God was in them. These were temporary, and to continue but for a time. In the Apostles, two sorts of things are to be considered, and distinguished by us: first, such as were proper to them, as fitting to those first beginnings of Christianity; and secondly, such as are of perpetuall use and necessity, and so to be passed over to other, and continued to the end of the world.

The Divines doe note, that there were foure things proper and peculiar to the Apostles, and not communicable to any other of the Ministers of Christ, appointed by him for the gathering together of his Saints. The first was, Immediate Vocation; the second, Infallibility of Judgement; the third, Generality of Commission, to doe all things pertaining to the Minister of Salvation, in all places, and towards all Persons; the fourth, the speaking in all the tongues and languages of the world, the knowledge of all secrets, and power to confirme their Doctrine by signes and miracles, and by the imposition of their hands, to give the like miraculous gifts of the Spirit to others. These joyntly were not communicable to any other in those times, neither Evangelists, nor Prophets, as either not being called immediatly, but appointed by the Apostles; or not infallibly led into all truth: Generall Commission they had not, but were taken into the fellowship of the Apostles labours, to assist their presence, and supply their absence, to build upon their foundation, and to perfect that they began. Lastly, though the having of miraculous gifts, and the power of working miracles simply, were not proper to the Apostles, yet the having of them in such sort, as by the imposition of their hands to give the Spirit, enabling to worke miracles, and to doe miraculous things, was peculiar and proper to them; and therefore we read, that ^c Philip baptized, but that the ^d Apostles went to confirme them by imposition of hands that were baptized by him, that so they might receive the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost. And as these things were reserved as proper and peculiar

e Aug. de utili-
tate credendi,
cap. 16.

unto the Apostles, and not communitated to any other in their time, so are they not passed over to their after-commers by succession: but instead of immediate calling, we have now succession; instead of infallibility of judgement, the direction of their writings, guiding us to the finding out of the truth: instead of Generall Commission, particular assignation of severall Churches to rule, and parts of Christs flock to feede: instead of miraculous gifts, and the Apostles power to conferre them, a settled course of Schooles and Universities, fitting men for the worke of the Ministerie: instead of their Miracles wherewith they confirmed their doctrine, the Faith already received, and by so many generations recommended unto us, as confirmed by the Apostles Miracles at the first. Neither was it fit, as Saint *Augustine* noteth, that these miraculous courses should still have continued. For even as a man that never had scene the seede cast into the earth, and their rotting; and the trees dead in Winter, after reviving, and flourishing againe in their appointed time, would wonder no lesse at it, than if he should see a blind man receive sight, or a dead man life: but now that these things are ordinary, we little esteeme them: so if those miraculous things appearing in the Apostles, and first Ministers of Christ which with their newnesse and strangenesse moved much at the first, should have beene continued still, they would have growne into contempt, and not have beene regarded at all.

All that which hath beene said touching the dignity Apostolicall, and the things properly pertaining to it, is so cleare and evident, that wise and judicious men make no question of any part thereof. Yet are there some that seeme to doubt, whether the Apostles generally had immediate calling, or universality of commission, supposing that *Peter* onely was immediatly designed by Christ, and the rest by him: that he onely had an illimited commission, without all restraint, and the rest an inferiour commission to that of *Peter*, bounded and stinted.

f Bell de Pont.
lib. 1. c. 22.

Touching the first of these doubts, *Bellarmino* (whose manner it is not to conceale the divisions and differences that are or have beene amongst the friends and lovers of the Church of *Rome*, but to write them in the forehead of every controversie) sheweth, that there are three opinions amongst the Divines of the *Romish* Church touching this point. The first, that as well the Apostles, as succeeding Bishops received their power and jurisdiction from *Peter*, and his supposed successour the Bishop of *Rome*. The second, that both Apostles and Bishops received their Ecclesiasticall power and jurisdiction immediatly from Christ, and not from *Peter* nor his Successours. The third, that Bishops receive their jurisdiction from the Pope, but that the Apostles received all their power and jurisdiction immediatly from Christ; and not from *Peter*. The second of these opinions is wholly true, and I will in due place confirme the same. The third, in part true, and in part false, which *Bellarmino* followeth: and the first wholly false, which hee largely and substantially confuteth;

g Ibid. cap. 23.

h Ioh. 20. 21.

i Act. 1. 16.

k Gal. 1. & 2.

proving first, that the Apostles received all their jurisdiction and power immediatly from Christ, and not from *Peter*, as well out of the words of our Saviour, when hee saith: *As my Father sent mee, so send I you*: as out of the election of *Matthias*, who was not chosen by *Peter*, or the other Apostles, but designed immediatly by God himselfe, shewing by direction of the Lot falling on *Matthias*, that it was he whom he would have to succede into the voyde roome of *Judas* the Traytour: adding, that the Apostles gave him no authority; and that *Paul* professeth the same touching himselfe, protesting, that hee received all his power and jurisdiction immediatly from Christ, and thereby proving himselfe to be an Apostle. Secondly, he proveth, that the fulnesse of all Ecclesiasticall power, was committed to all the Apostles, in as large and ample sort as to *Peter*, by the testimonies of *Chrysostome* and *Theophylact*: and that Christ by those words, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*, made all the Apostles his Vicars or Vicegerents, yea, gave them his owne office and authority; and out of *Cyrill*, that by these words he made them Apostles and Doctours of the whole world: and that to let them know, that in Apostolick power hee gave them all Ecclesiasticall power, he said unto them, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*: it being certaine, that the Father sent the Sonne with all fulnesse of power. Farther hee addeth

addeth out of *Cyprian*, that the same fulnesse of power was given unto the rest of the Apostles by those words, *As my Father sent mee, so send I you*, that was promised to *Peter* by those, *I will give thee the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven*, and performed by those other, *Feed my Sheepe, feed my Lambes*. Now, saith he, it is certaine, that by those words, *I will give thee the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven*, and by those other, *Feed my Sheepe, &c.* is understood all fulnesse of jurisdiction both inward and outward: therefore the fulnesse of Ecclesiasticall power and jurisdiction, was given to every one of the Apostles. Thus then the Cardinall confesseth, first that all the Apostles were immediatly taught of God, without learning any thing of *Peter*, or needing in any thing to be confirmed by him. Secondly, that their commission was generall; so that there was not any act of Ecclesiasticall Ministry to which their commission did not extend, nor any places in which, nor persons towards whom they might not performe the acts of their Ministry. Thirdly, that they received all this authority and power immediatly from Christ, and not from *Peter*; and that therefore they could neither be limited, nor wholly restrained by him in the use and exercise of the same. Thus doth he overthrow the whole frame and fabrick of their building, who ground the pretended supremacie of the Pope upon Christs words spoken to *Peter*. For, to what purpose doe they urge, that to *Peter* onely Christ said, *Feed my Sheepe, &c.*? that to him onely he gave the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, and upon him only promised to build his Church? seeing they are forced to confesse, that the commission of feeding Christs sheepe, was given in as ample sort to the rest as to *Peter*, that they all received the whole power of the keyes; that the Church was builded upon the rest as well as upon *Peter*, and equally founded upon them all.

If the Cardinall shall shrink from this his confession, wee can easily force him to it againe, and make him acknowledge, that whatsoever Christ promised, intended, or performed by any of his speeches directed unto *Peter*, he performed to all. Christ said specially to *Peter*, *Feed my sheepe*: yet had the rest (our Adversaries being Iudges) the same commission. Hee promised to him the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven; so that what hee should binde on Earth, should bee bound in Heaven: hee named him *Peter*, and promised upon that *Rocke* to build his Church: yet all received the same keyes as well as hee, the same power of binding and loosing: and the Church was equally builded on them all. These things I will particularly confirme and prove; and first, that all the Apostles had the same commission of feeding the flock of Christ, that *Peter* had, it is evident. For, whereas there are but foure kindes of feeding; *Vita exemplari, subsidio corporali, doctrinâ salutari, & disciplinâ regulari*; that is, By exemplary conversation, by ministring things necessary for the entertainment of this present life, by wholesome doctrine, and by regular discipline and government; all these wayes, the rest of the Apostles, stood bound to feede the flocke of Christ, as well as *Peter*. For they were all the *Lights of the world*, and their *Light was so to shine before men, that they seeing their good workes, might glorifie their Father in Heaven*: they were all to take care of the poore and needy; they had all power to preach and minister Sacraments by Christs owne warrant, saying unto them all, *Goe teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost*; and to governe and guide the Church and people of God, as well as *Peter*. Christ sending them as his Father sent him, and assuring them, that *whose finnes they remit, they are remitted; and whose finnes they retaine, they are retained*. Neither can this bee doubted of, seeing *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth in the place before alleadged, that in the Apostolick power, all power and Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, as well inward as outward, was contained: so that, that which *Bellarmino* and other Papistes insist upon, that Christ commended all his Sheepe unto *Peters* care and charge, in that hee said unto him, *Feede my Sheepe*, without any limitation or distinction, as if in this respect they would shew us some singular thing in *Peters* feeding of the flocke of Christ, not found in others, is too silly. For, who knoweth not, that every Apostle had generall commission; and that howsoever, for the better dispatch of the worke they had in hand, they divided amongst

Cyp. de unit. Ecc.

m Ockam dial. l. 5. 1. part. c. 15. & l. 4. 1. tract. 3. part. c. 10.

n Mat. 5. 14. Verse 16.

p Mat. 28. 19.

q Bellarmi. de Pont. lib. 1. cap. 14.

amongst them the severall Provinces of the world; yet this was, as *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth, *Provinciarum, non jurisdictionis divisio*; that is, a division of Provinces, not of Jurisdiction: for there was not any of them but had power to preach, minister Sacraments, and exercise discipline wheresoever they would, one of them no way hindering the employment of another, but all with joynt care seeking to set forward the worke they had in hand. Yea this is so cleare, that the Cardinall ingeniously confesseth it to be so, saying in expresse words, that *the rest of the Apostles were Heads, Rulers, and Pastours of the universall Church.*

Touthing the power of the Keyes promised to Peter, and the power of binding and loosing, it will easily appeare, that no singular thing was either promised or given unto him, but that which was common to him with the rest. *Thomas Aquinas* fitly observeth, that in corporall things the Key is an instrument that openeth the doore, and giveth entrance to him that formerly was excluded: Now the doore of the Kingdome of Heaven is shut against us by sinne, both in respect of the staine of it, and the guilt of punishment: whence it commeth, as hee aptly noteth, that the power, by which this stop and impediment is taken away, is named the Key. This power is in the Divine Trinitie principally, and by way of authority, in that God onely taketh away sinne, *dimittendo, quæ facta sunt; adjuvando, ne fiant; & perducendo ad vitam, ubi omnino fieri non possunt*; that is, By forgiving the sinne that is past, by helping the sinner, that he doth not the like againe; and by bringing him to that life, where hee can sinne no more. And therefore the blessed Trinitie is said to have the Key of Authority. Christ had power to remove this stoppe and hinderance by the merit of his passion, by instituting Sacraments, and making them effectually instruments of the communication of his grace, for the taking away of sinne; and therefore he is said to have the Key of Excellencie. In men there is a Ministeriall Power to remove the impediment of sinne, that hindereth from entring into Heaven, and therefore they are rightly said to have a key of Ministry, which is two-fold; of Science, and of Jurisdiction: Of Science, *removendo ignorantiam, & inducendo ad conversionem*; that is, by removing the blindness of heart that is found in men, and inducing them to convert and turne to God: Of Jurisdiction, in receiving men into the society of holy ones, and in admitting those that they thinke meet and worthy to the participation of the holy Sacraments, in which the efficacie of Christs passion communiceth it selfe; as also in rejecting the unholy and uncleane. The Jurisdiction of the Church is rightly signified Metaphorically by the name of a Key, because the chiefe command in a house or Citie, is in him to whom the keyes of that house or Citie are committed; and he that hath the Keyes, hath thereby power to admit and receive into the house or Citie whom he will, and to exclude and shut out whom he pleaseth. And therefore when Princes enter into their Cities and Townes, the Citizens are wont to offer unto them the keyes thereof, thereby acknowledging, that the chiefe power and command of those places doth rest in them. Whereupon, when the Lord promised to *Eliakim*, sonne of *Hilkiah*, servant of King *Hezekiah*, chiefe authority in the Kings Court, and in the Citie of *Jerusalem*, he said by his Prophet; *I will give the key of the House of David upon his shoulders. He shall open, and no man shall shut; he shall shut, and no man shall open.* In which sense also it is said in the Revelation of Christ: that *He hath the key of David, that hee openeth and no man shutteth, that he shutteth and no man openeth*; that is, hath all fulnesse of power in his Fathers house and Kingdome. Thus then the key of Ministry being only the power of teaching, instructing, admonishing, comforting, governing, and yeelding Sacramentall assurances of Gods mercie and grace, by dispensing the Sacraments Christ hath instituted; and this power being the same in Peter, and the rest, it is cleare, that the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven were equally committed unto them all.

The force of these keyes is not onely expressed by the acts of opening and shutting, but of binding and loosing also, thereby to shew, that they are no materiall keyes, but Metaphorically understood, and spirituall; and that heaven is then opened unto men that they may enter into it, when they are loosed from their sinnes that hindered them from

from entring in thither : and hereupon it is, that Christ having promised the keyes of the kingdome of heaven to blessed *Peter*, telleth him likewise, that *what hee shall binde on earth, shall be bound in heaven, and what he shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* The bonds wherewith men are bound on earth, are of foure sorts : First of Lawes, obliging, and tying them to the performance of certaine duties. Secondly, of sinnes. Thirdly, of punishments to be inflicted by Almighty God : and Fourthly, of punishments to be inflicted by men. The bond of Lawes is of two sorts : For there are divine Lawes, and there are humane Lawes. God bindeth men to the doing of what hee pleaseth ; and Men that are in authority, either Civill or Ecclesiasticall, to such things as they thinke fit. Touching these bonds, none have power to loose, but they that have power to binde : so that what God by precept bindeth us to doe, none but God can free us from the necessity and duty of doing it : and what the Church or Magistrate binde us to, no inferiour power can loose us or free us from. *Loosing* in this sense opposed to binding by law and precept, is in two sorts ; By Revocation, and by Despensation. Revocation, is an absolute Abrogation of a Law in respect of all places, times, persons, and conditions, and that either by expresse and direct Repeale, or by generall neglect, and long continued disuse. Despensation is in respect of certaine persons, times, places, and conditions of Men and Things : so that a dispensation permitting the Law to retaine her wonted authority, only freeth some particular person or persons, at some times, in some places, and in some condition of things, from the necessity of doing, or leaving undone that, which, unlesse it be in consideration of such particular circumstances, the Law-giver meant should be observed, but in such cases not so.

Heere the question is moved by occasion of that kinde of loosening, which is by reversing Lawes formerly in force, whether God the giver of the Morall Law, may revoke the same, and dispense with men for the not doing of things there prescribed, or the doing of things there forbidden. The answer is, that these Lawes are imposed upon men by the very condition of their nature and creation : as the very condition and nature of a man, created by God, requireth that he should honour, love, feare, and reverence him that made him : and therefore touching the precepts of the first Table (that concerning the Sabbath excepted) it is cleare and evident, that they cannot be altered, nor Man by God himselfe discharged from the duty of honouring, loving, and fearing God so long as he hath any being. Touching the precepts of the second Table, it is resolved, that God cannot dispense with man, or give him leave to doe the things therein forbidden, as to steale, murther, or lie. For all these imply, and involve in them that which is simply evill, and to be disliked : but by some alteration in the doer, or matter of action, hee may make that not to be evill, that otherwise would be evill, and consequently not forbidden ; as namely, that to be no theft, or murther, which otherwise would be : as when he commanded the *Israelites* to spoyle the *Egyptians*, they did not commit the act of robbery ; for robbery is the taking away of a thing from the owner against his will : but these things which the *Israelites* tooke away, were the *Egyptians* no longer after God the supream Lord had spoyled them of the title they had thereunto, and assigned the same to the *Israelites*. So likewise for one man to take away the life of another, having no authority so to doe, is murther, and no man can be dispensed with lawfully to doe any such act ; but for a Magistrate to take away the life of an offender, is a lawfull act, and no act of murther ; and so, if *Abraham* had slaine his sonne *Isaac*, it had not beene murther, being authorized so to doe by God, who hath supream authority in the world, and may justly, as a Judge, for sinne found in men, take away the lives of whom hee pleaseth, and as supream and absolute Lord, bring all to nothing that for his wils sake hee made of nothing, though there were no sinne nor fault at all. But touching Ceremoniall, Judiciall, and Positive Lawes of God concerning Sacraments and observations of what kind soever, seeing they are imposed after and upon the being of nature, we thinke that God may alter them at his pleasure, so that at one time it may be lawfull to doe that was forbidden at another. The Governours that God hath set over his Church

Paludanus in
Sent. lib. 3. dist.
40. qu. 2. & 3.

Church and people by commission from him, may interpret what is doubtfull in these Lawes of God, or in those of the other sort: but yet according to the Law: but they may not abrogate or dispense with any Law of God, either naturall or morall, or positive established concerning the use of Sacraments, and things pertaining to Gods worship and service. But concerning those Lawes that were made by the Apostles and Primitive Fathers; touching matters of outward observation, the succeeding Guides of the Church may either dispense with them, or reverse them upon the due consideration of the difference of Times, Men, and Things. And so wee see to whom it pertaineth to binde men with their lawes, and to loose them from the bonds thereof.

Rich. de S.
Vice tract. de
potest ligandi
& solvendi,
cap. 2.

The bond of sin, which is the second kinde of those bonds I mentioned, is two-fold; for there is *Vinculum captivitatis*, and *Vinculum servitutis*: that is, a man that is a sinner, is so bound, that he can neither returne to doe good, nor leave off to doe evill: for sinne holdeth him in a bond of captivity, that hee shall not returne to doe good: and with a bond of servitude, that he shall not cease to doe evill. And though God hath so ordered the nature of Man, that he who will doe evill, shall thus be entangled: yet it is man that thus entangleth, wrappeth, and bindeth himselfe, and not God. But for the bond of eternall condemnation, and the punishments following evill doers, which is the third kinde of those bonds wherewith I shewed that men are tyed and bound, it is of God. From these bonds of sinne, and punishment inflicted by God, none but hee alone can free men by his favour, and the worke of his grace, as the supream and highest cause, none but Christ by Merit and Satisfaction. The Ministers of the Church, by the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, may convert Men to God instrumentally, making them partakers of his graces, and bringing them into such an estate, wherein they shall be sure, for Christs sake, to finde mercie with God, for the remission and taking away of their sinnes. They may pray for them, and out of the knowledge of their estate, assure them of remission: But other power to unloose and untie these direfull and horrible bonds of sinne and punishment, they have none: onely the punishments which they have power to inflict, they have authority to diminish, lessen, or take away: so that whom they bind with the bonds of Ecclesiasticall censures, and punishments, those by the same authority they may unloose. For, as the Guides of Gods Church may prescribe, enioyne, and impose certaine actions of Mortification, and penitentiall conversion unto God: so when they see cause, they may release from the same: as by excommunication they may restrain from use of Sacraments, societie of Beleevers, and benefit of the Churches prayers: so by Absolution they may free from all these bonds againe. Neither is this kinde of binding and loosing lightly to be esteemed of, or litle regarded: for he that for his contempt & disobedience, is debarred from the use of the Sacraments, from enjoying the societie of the beleevers, and partaking in the benefit of the Churches prayers, is undoubtedly excluded from all access to the Throne of grace in Heaven, and all acceptation there: and so consequently no lesse bound in Heaven, than in Earth: and he that is unloosed from these bonds on Earth, is unloosed and set free in Heaven, that without all restraint, he may goe boldly to the Throne of Grace, to seeke helpe in the time of neede.

a Heb. 4. 16.

Thus we see the divers kindes of binding and loosing, and that the Guides of Gods Church have power and authority by Lawes and precepts, censures, and punishments, to binde those that are committed to their care and trust, and when they see cause, by reversing such Lawes and precepts, wholly or in part, and by diminishing, releasing, and taking away such censures, and punishments, to untie them, and set them free againe. The bond of Divine Lawes they may no otherwise meddle with, than by letting them know who are so bound, how straitly they are tyed. The bonds of sinne and punishments by Divine Justice to be inflicted, they have no power and authority to unloose, but they concur as helpers to the unloosing of them by the Ministerie of the Word, winning and perswading men to convert unto God, to cast their sinnes from them, and by the Sacraments instrumentally communicating unto them the grace of repentant conversion, and the assurance of remission and pardon.

In

In all these kindes of binding and loosing, the Apostles were equall: seeing (our Adversaries themselves confessing) they had the same power of Order and Jurisdiction in like extent, within the compasse whereof all these kindes of binding and loosing are confined. Wherefore, let us proceede to speake of the power of remitting and retaining sinnes, given to the Apostles by Christ our Saviour. To remit sinne, properly is nothing else, but to resolve, not to punish sinne, and therefore hee onely may properly bee said to remit sinne, that hath power to punish it. Now as sinne is committed against the prescript of God, our Conscience, and Men in authority: so God, the Conscience of the Sinner, and the Magistrate, and Minister, have power to punish sinne: God, with punishments temporall and eternall, of this life and that which is to come: the Conscience, with remorse: the Magistrate, with death, banishment, Confiscation of goods, imprisonment, and the like: and the Guides of the Church, with Suspension, Excommunication, Degradation, and such other censures. Hence it followeth, that God onely is said properly to remitte the punishments that his justice doth inflict: that the Conscience onely upon repentance, can take away that bitter and afflictive punishment of remorse, wherewith shee is wont to torment and disquiet the minde of the offender: and that the Magistrate and Minister onely have power to take away those punishments that in their severall courses they may and doe inflict. Notwithstanding, the Minister by the Word, perswading men to repentance, procuring remission, and out of his prudent observation of the parties conversion unto God, assuring him that it will goe well with him, as also by the Sacrament instrumentally communicating to him as well the grace of repentant conversion, as of free remission (that so hee may heare the very sound and voyce of God in mercie, saying to the heart and spirit of the repentant Sinner, *I am thy Salvation*) may bee said in a sort to remitte sinne, even in that it is an offence against God, not by way of authority and power, but by winning and perswading the sinner to that conversion which obtaineth remission from God, and by the Sacrament instrumentally making him partaker as well of the grace of remission of sinne from God, as of conversion from sinne to God. There are but foure things in the hand of the Minister, the Word, Prayer, Sacraments, and Discipline. By the word of Doctrine hee frameth, winneth, and perswadeth the sinner to repentance, conversion, seeking, and procuring remission from God. By Prayer, hee seeketh and obtaineth it for the sinner. By Sacraments, he instrumentally maketh him partaker as well of the grace of remission as conversion: And by the power of Discipline, hee doth by way of authority punish evill doings, and remit or diminish the punishments he inflicteth, according as the condition of the party may seeme to require. By that which hath beene said, it appeareth, that to binde and loose, to remit and to retaine sinnes, are equivalent and the same; save that to binde and loose, is of more ample and large extent, in that it implieth in it the binding by precepts and lawes, and the loosing which is by reversing or dispensing with the same. And therefore having shewed that the Apostles were equall in the power of binding and loosing, we need adde no further proofe that they were equall in power of remitting and retaining sinnes.

Wherefore, let us proceede to the promise of Christ made to *Peter*, that upon the *Rock* mentioned by him, he *would build his Church*, and let us see, whether any peculiar thing were promised unto *Peter* in that behalfe. The Church of God, we know, is compared in Scripture to a *Citie*, an *House*, and a *Temple*; and therefore the beginning, proceeding, and increasing of the same, is rightly compared to building. Now in building there must be a foundation upon which all may rest, and stay, that is put into the same building: and the foundation must be sure, firme, and immoveable; for otherwise its wall faileth, and so all other parts of the building, wanting their stay, will fall to the ground. Now nothing is so firme, sure, and immoveable, as a *Rock*, and consequently no building so strong as that which is raised upon a rockie foundation: whereupon our Saviour sheweth, ^b that a *House builded on the sand, is easily ruinated, & soone* ^{b Matth. 7 24.} shaken to pieces, but that an *House builded upon a rock, standeth firme*, notwithstanding the furie and violence of the floods, winds, and tempests: and compareth a Man rightly

c Matth. 6. 33.

d 2 Cor. 1. 20.

e 1 Cor. 3. 11.

f Aug. tractat.

ult. in Ioan-

nem. Serm. 13.

de verb Dom.

Retract. lib. 1.

cap. 21.

h Heb. 6. 1.

i Leo in anni-

vers. assumpt.

Serm. 2.

j Matth. 16. 16.

k De Pontif.

Rom. lib. 1.

cap. 11.

l Revel. 21. 14.

m Ephes. 2. 20.

rightly grounded, and established in his perswasion and resolution, to an house so built. By a Rocke therefore in this place is meant a sure foundation, that will not faile, nor be moved or shaken, how great a weight soever bee laid upon it. In a foundation there are three things required. The first is, that it bee the first thing in the building: the second, that it beare up all the other parts of the building; and the third, that it be firme and immoveable. For as Christ saith; *If the eye that is the light of the body, be darknesse, how great is that darknesse?* So, if that which is to support and beare up all, doe faile and shrinke, all must needs be shaken, and fall asunder. These being the things required in a foundation, simply, and absolutely, in respect of all times, persons, and things, Christ onely is that foundation, upon which the spirituall building of the Church is raised, because he onely is that beginning whence all spirituall good originally floweth, and commeth, upon whom all the perswasion of the truth of things revealed stayeth it selfe, as being the *Angel of the great Covenant*, and that eternall Word, that was with God in the beginning, upon whom all our hope, confidence, and expectation of any good groundeth it selfe: *all the promises of God being in him* yea and Amen. And in this sense the Apostle Saint Paul saith, *Other Foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Iesus Christ.* And Saint Augustine, and other of the Fathers understand by that rock upon which our Saviour promised Peter to build his Church, the rock that Peter confessed, which rock was Christ, upon which foundation even Peter himselfe was builded, for that *other Foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Iesus Christ.* But in respect of some particular times, persons, and things, and in some particular and speciall considerations, there are other things that may rightly bee named foundations also, in respect of the spirituall building of the Church. So in respect of the frame and fabrick of vertue and wel-doing raised in this building, the first vertue, namely Faith, upon which all other vertues doe stay themselves, and from which they take the first direction that any vertue can give, is rightly named a foundation. In respect of the forme of Christian doctrine, the first principles of heavenly knowledge are rightly named a foundation, *Not laying againe, saith the Apostle, the foundation of faith, and of repentance from dead workes, of the doctrine of Baptismes, and of the imposition of hands, of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternall judgement, let us be led forward unto perfection.* These first principles of heavenly knowledge are named a foundation, because they are the first things that are knowne, before which nothing can be knowne; and because upon the knowledge of these things, all other parts of heavenly knowledge doe depend. In respect of the confession of the true faith concerning Christ, the first cleare, expresse, and perfect forme of confession that ever was made concerning the same, may rightly be named a foundation, and in this sense Peters faith and confession is by divers of the Fathers named the Churches foundation. But they understand not by the faith and confession of Peter, either the vertue and quality of faith abiding in his heart and minde, or the outward act of confessing, but the forme of confession made by him when he said, *Thou art the Christ, the Sonne of the living God*: upon which forme, as being the rule of all right beleiving, the Church of God is builded. In respect of the supernaturall knowledge of God in Christ, the first and immediate revelation made to the Apostles, from whom all other were to learne, and by whose Ministerie, accompanied with all things that might win credit, they were to be gained unto God, may very rightly and justly bee named a foundation, upon which the faith of all after-commers is to stay it selfe, and from which in all doubts they must seeke resolution. And in this sort Bellarmine saith truely, that the Apostles may be named Foundations of the Church: according to that description, in the Revelation of Saint John, of the wall of the Citie of God, that had *12 foundation-stones upon which it was raised, and in them written the names of the Lambes twelve Apostles*; and that of S. Paul, that *we are builded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Iesus being the Head corner-stone*: And this in three respects. First, because the Apostles were the first that founded Churches, and converted unbelievers to the faith. Secondly, because their doctrine, which they received immediately,

diatly from God by most undoubted revelation, without mixture of errour, or danger of being deceived, is the rule of the faith of all after commers, and that sure, immoveable, and rockie foundation, upon which the perswasion of all succeeding generations and posterities, may and doth, most securely stay and ground it selfe. Thirdly, because they were Heads, Guides, and Pastors of the whole universall Church, having not only supream, but prime and originall government of the same, out of whose most large and ample commission, all Ecclesiasticall power and authority of after-commers, was in an interior degree and sort to be derived, and taken. In all these respects, all the Apostles were that strong rock, and those strong rockie foundation stones on which the Church is builded, though in a peculiar sense Christ alone be the Rock: and in all these respects, as S. Hierome saith, "*Super omnes ex aequo Ecclesie fortitudo solidatur*:" Hier. l. i. contra Iovinian. that is, the strength and firmnesse of the Church doth equally and indifferently stay it selfe upon them all: and consequently no more upon Peter than any of the rest. Hitherto we find nothing peculiar to Peter, and not common to all the Apostles: so that all the allegations of our Adversaries touching the feeding of the Sheepe of Christ committed to Peter, the power of the keyes, of binding and loosing, of remitting and retaining sinnes, and the promise that on him as on a rockie foundation stone elect and precious, Christ would build his Church, are to no purpose, seeing they are forced to confesse, that all these things were likewise either by direct words, or by intendment bestowed on all the rest. Wherefore let us see how, notwithstanding this their confession, they can make good, that there was a primacie of power in Peter, and how they goe about to confirme the same.

Cusanus de Concord. Cathol. l. 2. c. 13.

CHAP. 23.

Of the primacie of power imagined by our Adversaries, to have bene in Peter, and their defence of the same.

For the avoyding of the cleare evidence of the truth of all that which hath bene said, touching the quality of the Apostles of Christ amongst themselves (which our Adversaries cannot but see & acknowledge) they have two shifts; The first, that the Apostles were equall towards the people, but not amongst themselves. The second, that they were equall in the Apostolick power, but that Peter had that amplitude of power (which the rest had as Apostles by speciall favour, and onely in and for their owne persons) as an ordinary Pastour, and in such sort that he might leave the same to his Successors. These their silly shifts and evasions we will examine, that so the truth of that which hath bin said, be more fully cleared, and that all men may see and perceive, that nothing can be substantially objected against it, nor no evasion found to avoid it.

Stapleton re-
lect. contro. 3.
q. 1. art. 1.
Cajetan, o-
pusc. tom. 1.
tract. 1. c. 3.

Touching the first thing that they say, it is an Axiome, as I thinke, that may not be doubted of, that *whatsoever things are equall in respect of a third thing, are in the same sort, and so farre forth equall amongst themselves*. So that if the Apostles were equall in the respect they had to the people, and as Governours of the same, they were so farre forth, and in that respect equall amongst themselves. But they will say perhaps, that the Apostles were indeed equall amongst themselves in the power and office of teaching, directing, guiding, and governing the Christian World, but that yet amongst themselves there was an inequality, and one was superiour, and had power over the rest, not in respect of the acts of their office of teaching and governing the world, but in respect of their personall actions. This surely is one of the strangest paradoxes that ever was heard of. For who can imagine, that God would trust the Apostles, with the managing of the weightiest affaires of his Church, and the government of the whole world, without being any way accountant in respect thereof, unto any one amongst them as superiour, and that he would appoint an head and chiefe, and subject them to his censure in their personall actions? Nay this is impossible, and cannot be. For if in their office of teaching, and governing the rest of the Church they were equall, and could not therein be limited or restrained one by another, then was there none amongst them that could put any of the rest from his office, dignity, and imployment.

Now

c Gal. 2. 11.
d. 18. 15. 39.

Now it is most cleare and certaine, that he who hath not power to suspend another from the execution of his office in the Church, hath no power to suspend him from the Sacraments, or to excommunicate him, whatsoever his personall misdemeanours be. For as to be a Minister of the Church, presupposeth to be a member of it: so to be put from being a member of the Church, implieth and presupposeth a putting from all office and dignity in the Church: so that there neither was, nor could be any amongst the Apostles, that had power to put any of the rest out of the Church, or to suspend them from the use of the Sacraments, seeing there was none found amongst them that had authority to limit, restraints, or debarre any of the rest from the execution of his office; and therefore all that any one of them could doe in respect of another, was but to admonish him, and upon his rejecting of such admonitions, to refuse to communicate with him; which thing any one may doe in an absolute equality, as well as when one is superiour to another; as we see by the example of *Paul* reprovng *Peter*, and resisting him to his face; and likewise by that of *Paul* and *Barnabas* parting the one from the other upon such dislikes and differences as grew betweene them.

Wherefore I suppose our Adversaries will not much insist upon this their first shift and evasion. Let us see therefore if their second be any better. It is true (say they) that all power Ecclesiasticall, and all degrees of the same are included and implied in the Apostolick office and dignity; that the Apostles, as Apostles were all equal; and consequently, that there was no one amongst the Apostles, but in his time had as much to doe in governing of the Church as *Peter*, without receiving any thing from him, or being any way subject to his controule, and to be restrained, limited, or directed by him: But this amplitude of power which all the Apostles had in common, the rest had onely for themselves, and as a personall priviledge that was to end with them, but *Peter* had the same in such sort, that hee might leave it to his Successours. So that that power which in the rest was Apostolick and temporary, and to end with them, was ordinary, Pastorall, and perpetuall in *Peter*, and to be derived from him to his Successours and after-commers. Surely this second evasion will bee found much worse than the first: for it is absurd to say, that *Peter* left all the dignity and Ecclesiasticall power he had in common with the rest of the Apostles, to his Successours: for then all Popes should bee immediately chosen by God, not by the Cardinals; then should they all be consecrated and ordained immediately by Christ, not by Bishops: then should they all see Christ in the flesh: then should they all have power to write Bookes of Canonickall Scripture, and be free from danger of erring, whensoever they either preach or write; for so the Apostles were: yea then should they confirme their doctrine by miracles, and give the Holy Ghost by imposition of their Hands. Whereas yet no Pope dareth challenge any one of these preëminences. If they say, that all the dignity and power that was in the Apostles, was not ordinary, Pastorall, and perpetuall in *Peter*, and so to bee passed over to his Successours, but some part of it onely, it is just nothing they say. For then this is all that they affirme, that some part of that dignity and power that was in *Peter*, is in *Peter's* Successours, and so there is in the silliest Priest in the world.

But they will say, immediate vocation, the seeing of Christ in the flesh, infallibility of judgement, power to write Canonickall Bookes of Scripture, and the confirmation of doctrine by miracles, together with the giving of the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands, were fitting to the first beginnings of Christianity, and not of perpetuall necessity and use, and therefore to cease after things were established; but that universality of jurisdiction, and a kinde of infallibility of judgement, are perpetually necessary, and therefore these were to passe from *Peter* to others, though the rest of the Apostolicke preëminences were not. Thus then first they amplify the excellent dignities of *Peter*, as if the rest had not had the like; but being convinced, that he had nothing the rest had not, they make shew as if they would prove, that the Apostle *S. Peter* had all those things in such sort that he might leave them to his Successours, which the rest had as personall priviledges onely; because hee is described to bee a Pastour of the Church, in that Christ saith unto him, *Feede my Sheepe*, and the office

e Job 21. 16.

office of a Pastour is of a perpetuall necessity. But being urged, that there are many excellent dignities found in *Peter* and the rest, that are not communicable to any other, as immediate vocation, seeing of CHRIST in the flesh, absolute infallibility in word and writing, speaking in divers tongues, power to doe miracles, and power to give the visible giftes of the Holy Ghost by the imposition of hands, they confesse, that precisely *Peters* being a Pastour of the Christian Church, will not prove, that any dignitie of his mentioned in the Scripture is perpetuall, pastorall, and to continue for ever, unlesse the necessity of the perpetuity of it bee made to appeare otherwise. Whence it will follow, that they cannot prove, that any speciall preëminences in *Peter* which hee had in common with the rest, as namely, infallibility of judgement, and universality of Jurisdiction, were pastorall and perpetuall in him, and to bee passed from him to his after-commers, and thereby entitle the Pope unto them. For *PETERS* being a Pastour, which is the onely thing they can alleadge to prove, that what hee had was pastorall and perpetuall, proveth it not: and the prooffe of the necessitie of the continuance of any preëminence found in *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles, sheweth, that such a preëminence must continue, but not in what person or persons it must continue.

But let us see whether infallibility of judgement, and universality of Jurisdiction bee amongst the things that were proper to the beginning of Christianity, or amongst those that are perpetually necessary. Surely, touching the first, *Bellarmino* see- f De Pont. Ro. meth to confesse, that the being taught immediately of God, and the being absolute- lib. 2. cap. 12. ly free from error, so that their writings and sayings were Canonically, were temporary in the Apostles, as necessary onely in those first beginnings of Christianity; and whether hee confesse it or not, it is most undoubtedly true, that that absolute infallibility that was in *Peter*, for whose faith Christ prayed that it might not faile, was temporary, and not to bee communicated to any after-commers: for hee was so led into all trueth, that hee could not erre in any of his writings and preachings; whereas all confesse, that even Popes may erre in both these, and that they are free from error onely when they determine those things, wherein the whole Church seeketh their resolution. Touching the second which is universality of jurisdiction, the same Cardinall hath these words: *Fuit in illis Ecclesia* g De Pont. Ro. *si primordiis necessarium ad fidem in toto orbe terrarum disseminandam, ut primis* lib. 1. c. 9. *predicatoribus & Ecclesiarum fundatoribus summa potestas & libertas concederetur*: that is, In those first beginnings of the Church it was necessary, for the quick dispersing of the Faith throughout the whole world, that the first Preachers, and Founders of Churches, should have a most ample power, and free commission, without that streightning and limitation of the same that is in their after-commers; that so every one of them might truly use those words of the Apostles, *Instantia mea* b 2 Cor. 11. 28. *quotidiana sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*; that is, My daily instance is the carefulness of all Churches: or as some other translate it: I am cumbred daily, and have the care of all Churches. And therefore, howsoever the Apostles divided amongst themselves the severall parts of the world, to which each of them should more specially preach the Word of the Lord; yet did they not shut up and inclose their cares within the bounds and compasse of any one Province, but every one of them did so take care of the whole Church, as if that care had pertained unto him alone. Thus farre *Bellarmino*, clearly confessing, that the illimited commission of the Apostles was fitted to those first beginnings of Christianity, and the condition of those first times: so that the same reason that excludeth the other dignities and preëminencies of the Apostles, as namely their being fitted to the first beginnings, excludeth both these from being perpetuall likewise.

But let us let this advantage goe, and take a view of those prooffes which they bring of the power of *Peters* Successours above other Bishops, whereas *Peter* himselfe had no power more than any of the rest. It is true (say they) that *Peter* had no

power which the rest had not, but he had that amplitude of Ecclesiasticall power as an ordinary Pastour, which they had onely as Apostles and Delegates by speciall favour, and personall priviledge. Against this distinction few of our Divines say any thing, many of them confessing they understand it not; so deepe is the learning of our Adversaries, that every Man cannot bee so happie as to understand what they write. Which is the lesse to be marvailed at, seeing many of them scarce understand themselves, and yet contemne us, as if we were silly idiots. But if without offence we may conjecture what the meaning of this their riddle is, surely, under correction, I thinke this it is: The rest of the Apostles had as great authority and power, and as large a commission as *Peter* had; but they had it onely for rearme of life, and could leave none to succede them in the same. He had it for himselfe, and such as hee would leave it unto. Besides, he was first invested with all the plenitude of Ecclesiasticall power and jurisdiction, so that none could have any thing to doe in this businesse, but such as should receive commission from him, save onely that Christ reserved power to himselfe, to give commission to such as by speciall favour he should be pleased to honour, as were the Apostles, separated to the worke of the Ministerie by his owne immediate designement, without receiving any thing from *Peter*: but afterwards all were either to receive of him, or of them to whom hee should leave his office and charge. This their conceit they illustrate by a similitude. A Bishop, say they, hath authority to preach in his Diocesse, as Pastour of the place, and whosoever succeedeth him in his Bishoply office, succeedeth him in the same power likewise. A Fryer by speciall favour from the Pope, may preach in the same Diocesse wheresoever the Bishop may, and cannot be silenced or restrained by him, because hee received nothing from him, but his superiour the Pope; but another desiring to succeed the Fryer, not so favoured and priviledged by the Pope, must fetch his commission and allowance from the Bishop, and be subject to him in the performance and execution thereof. So heere *Peter* was first constituted Pastour of all the World; the Apostles were by speciall favour authorized immediately by Christ to preach in *Peters* charge, and to governe the Church whereof he was Bishop, as well as he; but yet so, that all they that were to follow after, were to derive their commission from *Peter* or his Successour, if they would meddle in the Church which was his charge. Many things are said by *Cajetan*, *Bellarmino*, *Stapleton*, and others to this purpose; but this is the substance of all: Wherefore let us see how they prove that they say.

Touching the first of these two points, thus they prove it. *Peter* was a Pastour, and had that amplitude of illimited commission before described, as a Pastour: but the office of a Pastour is of perpetuall necessity and use: and therefore this his illimited power and commission was to be perpetually continued. That *Peter* was a Pastour they prove, because Christ said unto him expressely, *Feede my Sheepe, feed my Lambes*. This is the frame of their whole building, which may very easily bee throwne to the ground, if any man will put his hand unto it. First, because it is certaine the other Apostles were Pastours also: so that if *Peters* being a Pastour, prove the necessity of the continuance of those ample preheminences hee had, and that hee might leave them to whom he pleased, it would follow, that the rest of the Apostles also had their preheminences, which were equall with those of *Peter*, not as things temporary, but perpetuall, and such as they might leave to whom they pleased. That the other Apostles were Pastours; first the Hymne of the Church wherein they are expressely said to have beene constituted Pastours by Christ, proveth. Secondly, the confession of *Bellarmino*, acknowledging, that what was given to *Peter* by those words, *Feede my Sheepe*, was given unto all, by those other wordes, *As my Father sent mee, so send I you*, confirmeth the same. And thirdly, the enumeration of the severall kindes of feeding, every of which the Divines doe shew to agree to the rest, as well as to *Peter*, demonstrateth that they were all Pastours. Secondly, where-as they say, that the office of a Pastour is a thing of perpetuall use and necessity, and consequently perpetuall, and that the amplitude of power which was in *Peter*

Ockam. Dial.
L. 4. primi tract.
3. partis c. 3.
& *Bellarmino. de*
Pont. l. 4. c. 23.

ter agreed unto him in that hee was a Pastor, and as a Pastor, they bewray notable ignorance and folly. For it is true indeede, that the office of a Pastor is of perpetuall use and necessity, and so to continue for ever: but the amplitude of power and jurisdiction, and the great preëminences, that were in *Peter*, did not agree unto him as to a Pastor, or in that hee was a Pastor: For if they had, then must they agree to every Pastor, and so every Bishop must have the same, and not the Pope only. For, as whatsoever agreeth to a man in that he is a man, agreeth to every man; so whatsoever agreeth to a Pastor in that he is a Pastor, agreeth to every one that is a Pastor. If they shall say, that the great and ample preëminences that were in *Peter*, did not agree unto him as a Pastor, but in some other respect; then his being a Pastor, which is an office of perpetuall necessity, use, and continuance, will not prove the same perpetuall, no more than other things which this Pastor had in that hee was an Apostle. If they shall say, these things agreed unto him, not in that he was a Pastor, but in that he was such a Pastor as was to feed the flock of Christ and people of God, by delivering unto them the doctrine of truth without all mixture of any the least error, to confirme the same by miracles following, and to give the visible gifts of the holy Spirit by the onely imposition of his hands; it is true that they say; but such a Pastour they confesse is necessary onely in the beginnings of the Christian Church, and not afterwards; and therefore from hence it cannot be concluded that the ample preëminences, that were in *Peter*, as his infallibility of judgement, and illimited Commission, were to be passed over from him to his Successors, and after-commers. Their second conceit is more fond than the first: For if *Peter* were by Christ constituted sole supream Pastor and Bishop of the whole universall world, and yet his meaning was, that others should likewise receive immediatly from himselfe power to doe as much in the governing of the Church as *Peter*; he meant to give him something, and presently to take it from him againe. For as if the Pope shall make a man Bishop of such a Citie, or Countrey, and thereby give unto him that supream direction that nothing shall be done within that compasse without his authority and consent; and shall presently send another with full authority to doe any thing that the former may doe, and no way to bee subject to his controule or restraint in the performance thereof, or accomptant for it; he revoketh, and maketh voyde his first grant: so here, if Christ make *Peter* supream Bishop, and Pastor of the whole Christian world, and presently constitute eleven other Apostles with power and commission to doe any thing that *Peter* may doe in all parts of the world, and towards all persons (which as they have not from him, so he cannot take it from them, or limit them in the use of it) he absolutely voideth his first grant made to *Peter*.

But they will say perhaps, that Christ meant little favour to *Peter* more than to one of the rest of the Apostles, but that all his care was for the good of the Pope, whom hee meant to make a great man in the world: and that therefore he constituted the other Apostles immediatly as well as *Peter*, put them into equall commission with him, and would not have them beholding to him for any honour or power they had, but appointed that all other Bishops should receive their mission, calling, commission, and authority from *Peter* during the short time of his life, and after his departure in all succeeding ages to the end of the world, from his Successours the Bishops of *Rome*. This truly is well said in favour of the Pope, if it were as truly said as it is kindly meant; but we shall find, that there is no truth in that they say: For it is cleare and evident, that each Apostle by his commission he had from Christ, without being any way beholding to *Peter* for it, had authority to preach the Gospel to such as never heard of it before, to plant Churches, and ordaine and constitute in them Pastors and Bishops, and out of his more large and ample commission to make other, though somewhat more restrained and limited; whence it will follow, that they whom any of the other Apostles ordained and constituted Pastours and Bishops which were innumerable in all parts of the world, received nothing from *Peter* nor his pretended Successour. Now they whom the Apostles thus constituted, and ordained, might constitute and ordaine other by vertue of their office and calling they had

De Pont. Ro.
lib. 4. c. 23, 24,
& 25.

from the Apostles, and those other, other againe to succcede them, so that none of these to the end of the world, one succeeding another, should ever receive any thing from *Peter* or his pretended Successor. And therefore it is absurd that *Bellarmino* saith, that the Apostles received all their jurisdiction immediatly from Christ, and that yet notwithstanding all Bishops receive the same from the Pope. And those Papists are better advised that say, that the Bishops of other Churches receive not their jurisdiction from the Pope, but from Christ by those Apostles that constituted their Churches, and planted their Predecessours in the same, setting them the bounds of their Bishop-like charge: whence it will follow (as *Bellarmino* wisely foresaw, and therefore declined this opinion) that the Pope cannot either take away or diminish their authority, unlesse any man can shew where Christ gave him power to limit, re-
straine, or take away that power from men, which they have from himselfe by the hands of the other Apostles, and their after-commers, without being any way beholding to *Peter* for the same.

De Pont. Ro.
lib. 1. c. 23.

Ibidem.

Lib. 4. cap. 23.
p John 20. 21.

Wherefore, they have yet one more strange conceit behinde to helpe the matter, than any of those wee have hitherto heard; which is, that *Peter* being not onely an Apostle, but supream Pastour and Bishop of the whole world constituted by Christ, made the other Apostles Bishops and Pastours; and that they ordained Bishops, not by vertue of their Apostolick power (which they received immediatly from Christ, without being beholding to *Peter* for it, or inferiour to him in it) but by vertue of their Bishoply authority and office which they received from *Peter*. *Alioqui enim, saith Bellarmine, cum omnes Apostoli plurimos Episcopos in variis locis constituerint, si Apostoli ipsi non sint facti Episcopi à Petro, certè maxima pars Episcoporum non deducit originem suam à Petro;* that is, For otherwise, seeing all the Apostles constituted exceeding many Bishops in divers places, if the Apostles themselves were not made Bishops by *Peter*, certainly the greatest part of Bishops will not fetch their originall from *Peter*. This his fancie of *Peters* making the other Apostles Bishops, immediatly after as his manner is, like an honest man hee contradicteth, confessing, that the Apostles were all Bishops, and the first Bishops of the Church, in that they were Apostles, without any such ordination. *Omnes Apostoli, saith hee, fuerunt Episcopi, imò etiam primi Episcopi Ecclesia, tametsi non sunt ordinati;* that is, All the Apostles were Bishops, nay, which is more, the first Bishops of the Church, without any other, or new ordination besides their Apostolick mission and calling. And ^o in another place hee pronounceth peremptorily, that by vertue of these words; ^p *As my Father sent mee, so send I you,* the Apostles were made Vicars of Christ, nay that they received the very office and authority of Christ, and that in the Apostolick power all Ecclesiasticall power is contained: and though in the former place hee said expressly, *Non eo ipso quòd aliquis est Apostolus, est Episcopus;* that is, A man is not therefore a Bishop, because an Apostle: for the twelve were Apostles before they were either Bishops or Priests: yet in the later place hee saith, it is not to bee marvelled at, that they were Apostles before the passion of Christ, and yet neither Priests nor Bishops: for that the Lord at divers times gave the Apostles divers kindes and degrees of power: but especially in the twentieth of *John*, perfected that hee began before his passion. So that an Apostle perfectly constituted and authorized, hath both Priestly and Episcopall dignitie and power, though in the beginning, when the Apostles were rather designed than fully constituted, not having received their full Commission, they were neither Priests nor Bishops. But to leave *Bellarmino* lost in these mazes, it is most easie demonstratively to prove, that the Apostles, in that they were Apostles perfectly and fully constituted, had both Priestly and Bishoply dignity and power in most eminent sort. For, did not CHRIST give the Apostles power to doe any Ecclesiasticall act that a Bishop can doe? Did hee not give them power to preach and baptize, when hee said unto them, ^q *Goe, teach all Nations, baptizing them,* &c. to minister the holy Eucharist, when hee said, ^r *Doe this as oft as yee shall doe it in remembrance of mee?* Did hee not give them the power of the Keyes, of binding

q Mat. 28. 19.

r Luke 22. 12.

binding and loosing, of remitting and retaining finnes, and consequently all that cometh within the compasse of Ecclesiasticall office and Ministry? doubtlesse hee did: Neither is there any that dareth to deny any part of that which hath beene said. And therefore it is an idle fanſie, that *Peter* made the rest of his fellowes Bishops, the Apostolick power implying in it eminently Episcopall, as the greater the lesser.

But they will say, *Peter* made *James* the lesser Bishop of *Hierusalem*. Indeed *Baro-* / *Baron. annal*
nus falsifieth *Chrysostome*, and maketh him say, that the Doctour of the world made *an. Christ. 34*
James Bishop of *Hierusalem*, whereas he saith no such thing; but asking the question *291. Chrysost.*
 why *Peter*, whom Christ so much favoured, was not preferred to bee Bishop of *Hie-* *in Ioan. homil.*
rusalem, answereth, that Christ made him Doctour of the world; which was a greater *87.*
 honour than to have beene fastened to the Church of *Hierusalem*, and to have bin set
 in the Episcopall Throne there. But it is cleare by the testimonies of Antiquity, that
Peter, *James* the greater, and *John*, ordained *James* Bishop of *Hierusalem*. So saith
Anacletus, in his second Epistle, if any credit be to be given unto it, where hee hath
 these words: A Bishop must be ordained of three Bishops, as *Peter*, *James* the greater,
 and *John*, ordained *James* the lesser Bishop of *Hierusalem*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*; *Clem. Alex.*
 also, as we reade in *Eusebius*, saith the very same, and *Hierome de viris illustribus*, at *apud. Euseb.*
 tributeth the ordaining of *James* not to *Peter* alone, but to the Apostles. His words *l. 2. c. 1.*
 are, *Iacobus statim post passionem Domini, ab Apostolis Hierusalem Episcopus ordinatus*; *Hier. de viris*
tur: that is, *James* presently after the passion of the Lord, is ordained Bishop of *Hie-* *illustr. in Jac.*
rusalem by the Apostles. If any man aske how the Apostles did ordaine or make *James*
 being an Apostle, a Bishop, if the Apostolick office imply in it the office and dignity
 of a Bishop, as the greater the lesser: we answer, that a Bishop differeth from an A-
 postle, as in other things, so in this, that he is fixed to some certaine place whereof
 specially he taketh the care, whereas the care and employment of an Apostle is more
 at large: When the Apostles, after the conversion of Nations and people began to re-
 tire themselves to certaine places there to rest, and specially to take care thereof, they
 were in that respect rather Bishops than Apostles; and in this sort *James* the lesser
 being appointed by the Apostles, to make his principall abode at *Hierusalem* a chiefe
 Citie of the world, whence the faith spread it selfe into all other parts, and more spe-
 cially to take care thereof, is rightly said to have beene constituted Bishop of that
 place by them, not as if they had given him any new power and authority, that hee
 had not before, or not in so perfect sort; but that they limited, and restrained him more
 specially to one certaine place where he should use the same.

The place in the *Acts* maketh nothing for the confirmation of the Popish error: *x. Act. 13. 2. 3.*
 for *Paul* and *Barnabas* formerly designed by Christ to be Apostles, were againe by the
 Ministry of Prophets revealing the will and pleasure of Almighty God, separated
 more specially to bee Apostles of the *Gentiles*, and put forth into that employment
 with fasting, prayer, and imposition of hands: not thereby receiving any new power,
 but a speciall limitation and assignation of those parts of the world, wherein princi-
 pally they should be employed. Besides, these were not Apostles but Prophets, such as
Agabus was, that are mentioned in this place, inferiour in degree to Apostles, and such
 as might not make an Apostle to be a Bishop; but did onely signifie and reveale what
 the will of God was, and whither he meant to send these worthy Apostles, and so
 with prayer and fasting commended them to the grace of God; and therefore this
 place maketh nothing for prooffe of *Peters* ordaining and appointing the rest of the
 Apostles to be Bishops.

C H A P. 24.

Of the preeminence that Peter had amongst the Apostles, and the reason why Christ directed his speeches specially to him.

THat there was no more power and authority in *Peter* than in any of the rest, I hope it appeareth by that which hath beene said: and therefore it remaineth, that now we examine, what was the reason why so many things were specially spoken to him, why so many wayes he may seeme to have beene preferred before the rest, and what in truth and in deede his preeminence, and primacie was. Touching the speeches of Christ for the most part specially directed to *Peter*, it is most certaine by that which hath beene said, that they did give no singular and speciall power to *Peter* that was not given to every of the rest.

And therefore the Divines doe observe the difference of the speeches of Christ, and note that Christ sometimes directed his speech to particular men precisely in their owne persons, as in the remission of sinnes, healing the sick, and raising the dead: sometimes in the person of all, or many others, as when he saith, *Goe and sinne no more*, which he is intended to have done so often, as there is the same reason of speaking a thing to one and to others; as when a man is induced to doe or not to doe a thing, to beleve or not to beleve a thing, which other in like sort are bound to doe or not to doe, to beleve or not to beleve as well as he. So it being as necessary for one to watch as another, Christ saith, *That I say unto you I say unto all, Watch*. And so here, seeing it is confessed and proved by our Adversaries themselves, that there was nothing promised or performed to *Peter*, that was not in like sort intended unto, and bestowed on every of the rest, it must be granted, that what he spake to him, he meant to all, and would have his words so understood and taken. The reason why more specially, notwithstanding this his generall intendment, he directed his speech to *Peter*, than to any of the rest, was either, because he was more ancient, and more ardent in charity than the rest, thereby to signifie what manner of men they should be that should be chosen Pallours of the Church, namely men of ripe age and confirmed judgement, and full of charitie: or lest hee might seeme to be despised for his deniall of Christ, which the Glosse seemeth to import, when it saith, *Trine negationi reddidit trine confessio, ne minus amoris lingua serviat, quam timori*; that is, Therefore he was induced by Christ thrice solemnely to protest and professe his love unto him, as hee had thrice denied him, that his tongue might shew it selfe no lesse serviceable unto love that rested in him, than it had done unto feare: or else because he first confessed Christ to be the Sonne of the living God, consubstantiall with his Father, because hee was much conversant with Christ, and acquainted with his secrets and counsels; or lastly, because Christ meant there should bee a certaine order amongst the Guides of his Church, and some to whom the rest in all places should resort in all matters of importance, as to such as are more honourable than other of the same ranke and degree who are first to be consulted, from whom all actions must take their beginning, therefore he so specially spake to *Peter*, whom hee meant in this sort to set before the rest. Thus then, there is a primacie of power when one hath power to doe that act of Ministry another hath not, or not without his consent; and when one may by himselfe limit, restraine, or hinder another in the performance of the acts of Ministerie; and such primacie we have shewed not to have beene in *Peter*. But there is another of order and honour, which he had, whereby he had the first place, the first and best employment, the calling together of the rest in cases where a concurrence of many was required (as for the better sorting out of the worke they had in hand, the joynt decreeing of things to be every where alike beleaved, and practised) and in these assemblies thus called, the sitting and speaking first, the moderation and direction of each mans speaking, and the publishing and pronouncing of the conclusion agreed upon, if so he pleased. In this sense *Cyprian* saith, *Erant utique & ceteri Apostoli quod fuit*

*¶ Ockam. Dialo-
g. l. 4. primi
tractat. 3. part.
cap. 3.
b. 106 s. 14.*

¶ Mark. 13. 37.

*¶ Ockam. ubi
supra.*

*¶ Cyprian. de
unitate Eccle-
siaz.*

& Petrus, pari consortio pradi & honoris & potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur; that is, The other Apostles doubtlesse were that which Peter was, having the same fellowship both of power and honour, but the beginning proceedeth from unity, that the Church may be shewed to be one. And in the same sense Hierome saith against Iovinian; Thou wilt say, the Church is founded upon Peter: it is true it is so, ^{f Hieron. lib. 1. contra Jovinian.} and yet in another place the same frame of the Church is raised upon all the Apostles: and all receive the keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, and the firmenesse of the Church stayeth it selfe equally upon them all: but therefore doth Christ more specially promise to build his Church upon Peter, that he being constituted and appointed head and chiefe amongst them, all occasion of Schisme might be taken away. To the same purpose it is, that Leo writeth to Anastasius, where he saith, ^{Leo epist. 24.} *Inter beatissimos Apostolos in similitudine honoris fuit quadam discretio potestatis, & cum omnium par esset electio, uni tamen datum est, ut ceteris preemineret*; that is, Amongst the most blessed Apostles like in honour, there was a certaine difference of power; and when all were equally elected, yet it was given to one to have a preeminence amongst the rest. In which saying of Leo, that it be not contrary to that of Cyprian, who saith, that the Apostles were companions, and consorts equall both in honour and power, wee must not understand that one Apostle had more power than another, or that power another had not; but that in the same power one was so before the rest, that hee was the partie to whom they were to resort, and without consulting whom first and before all other, they might attempt nothing generally concerning the state of the whole Church, by vertue of this power. In which sense hee saith in another place: *Petro pro ceteris solvendi & ligandi tradita est potestas*; that is, The power of binding and loosing was so given to Peter, that therein he was before the rest; and againe, *Siquid cum eo commune ceteris Christus voluit esse Principibus, nunquam nisi per ipsum Petrum dedit quicquid aliis non negavit*: that is, If Christ would have any thing to be common to the rest of the Princes, that is, Apostles, with Peter, hee never gave that which he vouchsafed unto them, any otherwise than as by Peter; which words must not bee so understood, as if Peter had first received the fulnesse of power, and others from him; for all the Apostles received their power and commission immediately from Christ, and not from Peter, as I have largely proved, and all confesse; but that what he gave to others, it did so passe unto them, as that in the first place it was given to Peter, and he thereby set in order and honour before the rest put in the same commission with him; so that Peter received not a different or more large commission from Christ than the other Apostles, but onely a kinde of honourable precedence, preeminence, and priority, such as the Duke of Venice hath amongst the great Lords of that State, to whom all Embassies and messages are directed from forreine Princes, and in whose name all letters, warrants, and mandates are sent out, as representing the whole State: yet can he doe nothing without the rest, nor crosse the consenting resolution of those noble Senators.

And in this sense it is, that Augustine saith of Peter, that he was by nature one particular man, by grace a Christian man, by more ample and abundant grace a chiefe Apostle; but that when hee received the Keyes, he represented the whole universall Church, not as a Legate that representeth the person of his Prince, and receiveth honours, dignities, and titles for him and not for himselfe, but as chiefe of the company of the Apostles receiving for himselfe in the first place, that which in him and together with him was intended to them all. This primacie of honour and order found in blessed Peter; who is thereupon named by the Fathers Prince and head of the Apostles, is the originall of all that superiority that Metropolitans have over the Bishops of their Provinces; and Primates and Patriarches over Metropolitans, and in a word of all that order that is in the Church, and amongst her Guides, whereby unity is preserved.

C H A P. 35.

Of the distinction of them to whom the Apostles dying left the managing of Church affaires: and particularly of them that are to performe the meaner services in the Church.

HAVING spoken of the Apostles power and office, and the largenesse of that commission, it remaineth that wee come to speake of them to whom they recommended the managing of Church affaires, and the ministerie of holy things when they left the world. They to whom they recommended the care of these things, when having finished their course, they were called hence to receive the Crowne laid up for them in Heaven, were of two sorts: first such as they trusted with the ministerie of the Word and Sacraments, and government of Gods people; and secondly, such other as they appointed to be Assistants to them, and to performe the meaner services, though necessary also.

^a In 4. sent. di.
24. qu. 2.

The former sort are all comprehended under one common name of Presbyters, that is, Fatherly Guides of Gods Church and people; the later are Deacons, and such other inferiour Ministers, as attend the necessities of the Saints, and assist the principall Guides of the Church. In the ordination of a Presbyter, saith ^b *Durandus*, there is a certaine power conferred on him, and assigning of him to an employment, whereby after his ordination, hee may doe something which hee could not have done before, *etiam quoad genus facti*, no not in the kinde and nature of the thing it selfe; as he that is ordained a Presbyter, may consecrate the Lords Body, and absolve in the Court of Penitencie; neither of which things without such ordination can be done: but to them that are in the inferiour orders there is no power given, neither have they any assignement to doe any thing which they could not doe before, and without such ordination, but to doe such things as they could not lawfully doe; nay in many of them there is no designement of them that are so ordained to the performance of any thing, but that which according to the use of the universall Church, men without such ordination may lawfully doe. So that the ordination of men to the performance of such things, and the execution of such offices, seemeth to have proceeded from the institution of the Church, for the greater solemnitie of Divine worship and service: and therefore such inferiour orders are neither simply orders (order being a sacred signe or character, by vertue whereof a power is given to the ordained, not only to doe that he could not otherwise lawfully doe, but to doe that which otherwise hee could not doe at all) neither are they Sacraments, but Sacramentall Solemnities onely, seeing the Church can institute no Sacraments. Hitherto *Durandus*. These being the sorts of them to whom the Apostles recommended the managing of Church affaires, and this the difference of their orders, I will first speake of the divers orders and degrees of them that performe the meaner services in the Church, and then come to speake of them that have the government of the Church.

^b Lib. 4. c. 24.

^a Addit. ad 3.
part. Summæ,
q. 37. art. 2.
^c Cyp. l. 2. epist.
10.

^d Idem l. 2. ep.
5. & l. 4. ep. 5.

^e Lib. 5. ep. 14.
^f Euf. hist. Ec-
cles. l. 6. c. 42.

^b The *Master of Sentences* saith, that the order of Subdeacons, and other minor orders below the degree of Deacons, as *Acoluthes*, *Exorcists*, *Lectors*, and *Ostiaries*, were brought in by the Church, and that they were not in the Apostles times; and ^c *Thomas Aquinas*, and others, are of the same minde. Notwithstanding there is no question but these minor orders and degrees were very ancient. For ^c *Cyprian* maketh mention of one *Mettius* a Subdeacon, and *Nicephorus* an *Acoluthe*. In another place hee writeth, that he had ordained ^d *Anrelius* and *Calerinus* *Lectors*: and in a third place hee mentioneth ^e *Exorcists* and *Lectors*. *Cornelius* Bishop of Rome, in his Epistle recorded by ^f *Eusebius*, describing the Clergie of the Roman Church in his time, sheweth, that there were in the same 46 Presbyters, 7 Deacons, 7 Subdeacons, 42 *Acoluthes*, 52 *Exorcists*, *Lectors*, and *Ostiaries*, Widowes with distressed people, more than 1500. *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Antiochians*, omitting the *Acoluthes*, reckoneth the rest, as *Subdeacons*, *Lectors*, *Ostiaries*, and *Exorcists*, adding to them *Cantores*, and *Laborantes*,

res,

us, or *Copiata*, whose imployment was to bury the dead; of whom also *Epiphanius* Epiphani. in epitome doct. Catholicæ. speaketh. Whereupon Bishop *Lindan* saith, that howsoever in these times they make of account but seven Orders, yet in the primitive Church there were more, now scarce knowne. But let us see what the office, employment, and manner of the admission of these men was in former times. Touching *Ostiaries*, the Councell of *Carthage* ordaineth thus: *Let the Ostiary after he hath bene instructed by the Archdeacon how to behave himselfe in the house of God, at the suggestion of the Archdeacon be ordained; and let the Bishop take the Keyes from the Altar, and give them to him, saying; So des meane thy selfe as being to give an account to God for the things that these keyes lock up*

The *Lectors* were to reade in the Church whatsoever was to be read out of the old or new Testament; whereupon *Cyprian* having ordained *Aurelius* the Confessour, a Lector, giveth a reason why hee had so done: *Quia nihil magis congruū vocis, quam Dominum gloriosa predicatione confessa est, quàm celebrandis divinis Lectionibus per- sonare*; that is, Because nothing doth more fit or better becomme the voyce that by a glorious publicke testimony hath confessed the Lord, than to give a sound in the Church, in reading the divine Scriptures of the Lord. Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 5.

The *Exorcists* were such as tooke care of the *Energumenes*, or men vexed with the Devill, who in ancient times came to the Churches in great companies, and were there provided for, and kept under rules and disciplinary government. These *Exorcists* received of the hands of the Bishop the Booke wherein the *Exorcismes* were written, which they were to commit to memory, that so by earnest invocation of the name of Christ, who is to returne to judge the quick and the dead, and to judge the world in fire, they might obtaine of him the repressing of Sathans furies, and the ease and deliverance of such as were disquieted and vexed by him. These had power to impose hands on them that were disquieted with Devils; whether baptized or not; and in solemne manner to commend them unto God, who onely hath power to rebuke Satan.

Acoluthes were so named, for that they were to follow and attend the Bishop whithersoever he went, that so they might not only be witnesses of his blamelesse conversation, but doe unto him such service as he should require and stand in need of; whereupon in later times, for that they were to goe before the Bishop in the Churches, bearing wax lights in the night watches, and other meetings for divine service in the night time, they were named *Ceroferarii*, that is, *Taper-bearers*. Subdeacons were to assist the Deacons in all things pertaining to them. The order of Subdeacons in ancient time was not accounted a sacred order, so that they might not touch the sacred Vessels, nor none might be chosen a Bishop out of their ranke: but the later Bishops of *Rome* decreed, that the order of Subdeacons should bee reputed a sacred order. Concil. Load. can. 21. Decret. part. 1. dist. 23. cap. 26. & dist. 60. cap. 4.

These were the inferiour orders of ministry in the Church in ancient times, to which were added * *Widowes*, or holy women, which being aged and destitute of friends, were maintained by the Church; and being of good report, were chosen and appointed to minister to the women that were baptized, to teach and direct them how to answer the Baptizer, and how to live afterwards, as also to take care of them that were sick. Concil. Carthag. 4. can. 12.

All these, as well *Ostiaries*, *Lectors*, *Exorcists*, and *Acoluthes*, as Subdeacons, in ancient times served for a certaine space in these degrees: and therefore the solemne designing of them thereunto was not to be disliked; but now, when they execute the office of *Ostiaries*, who are no *Ostiaries*: of *Lectors*, who are no *Lectors*: of *Psalmists*, who are worthy to be driven not onely out of the Quire, but out of the Church also, as Bishop *Lindan* rightly noteth: when none of these performe the duties their names import, and every man almost is made a Presbyter the first day, as if none might be made the next, it is but for shew and fashion onely that men are ordained to the performance of these offices, and in truth and in deede, nothing else but a meere mockery, as the same Bishop *Lindan* ingenuously confesseth. With whom *Duarenus* agreeth: His words are: *Hodie nec Diaconis nec aliis inferioribus Clericis ullus locus est* Lindan. Pannopoliz, lib. 4. cap. 78, & 79. Duaren. de fact. Eccles. mi-hist. & Benef. lib. 1. cap. 16.

est in Ecclesia, ullumve ministerium aut munus quod exequantur; sed quia priscis Canonibus statutum est, ut nemo Presbyter ordinetur, nisi per omnes gradus inferiores ascenderit; ideo dicis causa, ut ita dicam, gradatim ordinari solent, idque certo quodam solenni ritum, ut ad honorem Presbyterii aut quemvis alium sublimiorem capeffendum idonei reddantur, potestque dici imaginaria hac ordinatio: that is, At this day neither is there any place for Deacons, nor other inferiour Clergi-men in the Church, nor any ministry or function for them to execute; but because it is ordained in the ancient Canons, that no man be ordained a Presbyter, unlesse hee ascend and climbe up by all inferiour degrees: therefore, for names sake, they are wont to be ordained to every of these degrees in order, and that with a certaine solemne rite, that they may bee made capable of Priestly honour, or any other higher dignity. And this ordination may rightly be termed an Imaginary Ordination, or in imagination onely. And therefore our Adversaries cannot justly blame us, who omitting the other inferiour Ordinations, give no lower order than that of a Deacon.

All these both Ostiaries, Lectors, Acoluthes, and Subdeacons, in former times, were sanctified and set apart to serve God in these meaner employments, that they might be trained up thereby to performe the duties of higher orders. For in those times, men were not promoted to the highest roomes but by degrees, being found to have demeaned themselves well in the lower: and therefore they were under a stricter kinde of government than they of the Laity: and both in their conversation, habit, and all things befitting modesty and gravity, they were more precisely tyed to the keeping of order than other men. * Hereupon they were not suffered to weare their haire long like wantons, uncivill men, or men of warre; but were commanded to polle their whole heads, leaving onely a circular crowne in the lower parts thereof.

* Concil. Carthag. 4. can. 44.

And here truly we cannot but condemne the absurd custome of the *Roman Church*, violating old Canons, degenerating from ancient use, and exposing her Priests and Levites to the scorne and contempt of the world, by those triobolar shaven crownes, which daily shew setteth before our eyes. For first, whereas the *Councell of Toledo* in *Spaine* provideth, that all Clergi-men, Lectors, Deacons, and Priests, polling the whole head above, shall leave onely a circular crowne below, and not as the Lectors hitherto had done in the parts of *Galicie* (who wearing their haire long as Lay-men, were polled in a little round compasse in the tops of their heads onely) for that this had beene the custome of certaine Hereticks in *Spaine*, the Church of *Rome* abandoneth the forme of polling prescribed by the Councell, and alloweth the observation of those ancient Heretickes the Councell condemned. Heere wee see, saith Bishop

* Concil. Tolosan. 4. can. 40.

* Panoplia, lib. 4. cap. 77.

Lindan, whence these triobolar crownes on the tops of Clergi-mens heads did come, namely from certaine ancient Hereticks in *Spaine*. But these lesser things might easily be reformed, if the unspeakable scandals, shames, and dishonours of the Church, were first removed and taken away. This is the censure of that learned Bishop. Secondly, whereas Rasure was not used in ancient times, but condemned by the Fathers, as most unseemely; they of the Church of *Rome* have left tonsure, and brought in rasure in steed thereof. That rasure was not used in ancient times, it appeareth by

* Lib. 1. Pzdogog. cap. 11.

* Lib. 2. contra Parmenian.

Clemens Alexandrinus, where hee saith, that the haire is to be cut off not with the razor, but with the Barbers sheares; and by *Optatus* Bishop of *Milevis*, where hee reprehendeth the *Donatists*, that tooke certaine Catholick Priests, and by force did shave their heads. Shew us (saith hee) where you are commanded to shave the heads of Priests, when as on the contrary side, there are so many examples proposed that it ought not so to be done. With *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Optatus*, *Hierome* agreeth, who upon the 44. of *Ezekiel* saith in expresse words, that Priests must neither nourish their haire, nor be shaved, but so polled, that their skinne may still remaine

* Bell. lib. 2. de Monach. c. 40.

hid and covered; and *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth, that *Dionysius*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Athanasius*, *Palladius*, *Augustine*, *Isidore*, *Bede*, and the Councils of *Carthage* and *Toledo*, doe speake of tonsure onely, and never mention rasure, and that the Epistle of *Anicetus* the Pope alleadged for rasure, is not indubitate. What then will the Cardinall bring for defence of the contrary custome now prevailing in the Church

Church of Rome? and what will he answer to these authorities of the ancient? We reprehend not, saith he, the customs of those times, neither doe they of those times condemn our observation. For howsoever tonsure, and not rasure, was anciently used, yet were not they of the Clergie forbidden to use rasure, or to shave their heads. A strange answer of so great a *Rabbi*, and contrary to that he knoweth to be undoubtedly true. For *Optatus* directly condemneth rasure, as we have heard; and *Hierome*, writing upon the 44. of *Ezekiel*, hath these words: *Quod autem sequitur, Caput autem suum non radent, neq. comam nutriunt, sed tonsentes attondebunt capita sua, perspicue demonstratur, nec rasis capitibus, sicut Sacerdotes cultoresq. Isis atq. Serapis nos esse debere; nec rursus comam dimittere, quod propriè luxuriosorum est barbatorumque & militantium. &c.* That is, that which followeth, They shall not shave their heads, nor let their haire grow long, but polling, they shall polle their heads, doth clearly demonstrate, that wee should neither shave our heads like the Priests and worshippers of *Isis* and *Serapis*, nor on the other side let our haire grow long, as wantons, barbarous men, and Souldiers are wont to doe: that that which is fitting, honest, and seemely, may appear in the faces of the Priests. The *Septuagint* readeth the words of the Prophet somewhat otherwise, in this sort: *They shall not shave their heads, nor cut their haire too neere, sed operientes, operient capita sua*: that is, but hiding, they shall hide their heads: whereby wee learne, that wee must neither make our selves bald by shaving, nor cut the haire of our heads so neere as if wee were shaven; but let our haire grow, so that the skinne may be hid and covered. These are the words of *Hierome*, whereby it appeareth, that the absurd and ridiculous ceremony of the *Romanists*, in shaving the heads of those of their Clergie, is condemned by the Fathers, and that *Bellarmino* speaketh against his owne conscience, when hee saith the contrary. Wherefore, ceasing any longer to insist upon the refutation of the absurdity of so ridiculous a ceremony, and leaving those inferiour orders and degrees of Ministerie in the Church of God, wherein men in ancient times were trained up under the rules of strict and severe government and discipline, and fitted for higher and greater employments, let us come to the office of the Deacons.

The office of Bishops and Presbyters, was from Christs owne immediate institution: but the institution of Deacons was from the Apostles, as *Cyprian* delivereth. These the Bishop alone may ordaine, neither is it necessary that other impose their hands with him, as in the ordination of Presbyters, seeing they are consecrated onely to bee Assistants to the Bishop and Presbyters, and not admitted into the fellowship of the same power and order with them. Cyprian. l. 3. epist. 9.

The Deacons, according to the intendment of their first institution, were to take care of the poore, and the treasure of the Church, and thereupon *Chrysostome*, and after him the Fathers of the sixth generall Councell, doe thinke they were not the same wee now have; ours being busied in other affaires of the Church. But I am of opinion, that they were the same: and that (the end of their first institution being principally to ease the Apostles of the care of providing for the poore, and to take the charge of the Church-treasure) when the treasure of the Church encreasing was committed to certaine Stewards, and the poore otherwise provided for, they were more specially used for the assisting of the Bishop and Presbyters in things pertaining to Gods service and worship. Whereupon wee shall finde in some cases they might baptize, reconcile penitents, preach, and doe sundry other things pertaining to the office of the Bishop and Presbyters. That in some cases they might baptize, *Tertullian* witnesseth. That they might reconcile penitents, wee have the authority of Saint *Cyprian*. That they might preach, wee have the testimony of Saint *Gregory*. And that they assisted the Bishops and Presbyters in ministring the Sacrament of the Lords body and blood, and ministring the cup, it appeareth by *Cyprian*. And hereupon *Hierome* amplifieth the dignity of them exceedingly, shewing, that for avoyding presumption, the Presbyters may not take the cup of the Lord from the holy Table, unless it be delivered unto them by the Deacons. These are they, saith hee, of whom wereade in the *Revelation*, *Septem Angeli Ecclesiarum hi sunt septem candelabra au-* Tertull. lib. de Baptismo. Cyp. l. 3. epist. 17. Greg. ep. l. 4. c. 88. Cyp. Sermon. 6. de Lapsis. Hier. tom. 4. de septem. ordinib. Eccles.

rea, hi sunt voces tonitruorum, virtutum operatione praelari, humilitate praeclari, quieti Evangelizantes pacem, annunciantes bona, dissensiones, & rixas & scandala refecere docentes soli Deo colloquentes in templo, nihil penitus de mundo cogitantes, dicentes Patri & Matri, non novi vos, filios suos non agnoscentes. Sine his Sacerdos nomen non habet, ortum non habet, officium non habet: that is, These are the seven Angels of the Churches; these are the seven golden Candlesticks; these are the voyces of the thunders; these are renowned for the operation of vertues, humble, quiet, preaching peace, publishing good things, teaching how to cut away dissentions, brawles, and scandals, communing with God alone in his holy temple, having no thought of the world, saying to Father and Mother, I know you not, and not acknowledging their own sons; without these the Priest hath not the name, not the beginning, not the office of a Priest. And a little after he addeth, *Sacerdotibus etiam propter presumptionem non licet de mensa Domini calicem tollere, nisi eis traditus fuerit a Diaconis: Levita componunt mensam Domini: Levita Sacerdotibus cum Sacramenta benedicunt, assistunt: Levita ante Sacerdotes orant, ut aures habeamus ad Dominum Diaconus acclamat:* that is, Even the Priests themselves for the avoyding of presumption must not take the holy cup from off the Table of the Lord, unlesse it be delivered to them by the Deacons. The Deacons or Levites prepare the Table of the Lord, and make all things ready on the same. The Levites assist the Priests when they blesse and sanctifie the Sacramentall elements. The Levites pray before the Priests. The Deacon crieth out aloud unto us to open our eares, and to listen and heare what the Lord will speake unto us. Great and glorious are these dignities of the Deacons; yet the Councell of Carthage maketh the

c Concil. Carth
4. can. 37. & 39.

d Hieron. ad
Evagrium.

Ministers not of the Bishop alone but of the Presbyters also: so that they might not sit in the presence of the Bishop or Presbyters. And when some went about to preferre them before Presbyters, Hierome with great violence opposeth himselfe against the same, saying: *Quid patitur mensarum & viduarum minister, ut supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisq, conficitur?* that is, What passion is this, that thus transporteth the Minister of the Tables and Widowes, that swelling in pride he should lift up himselfe above them, at whose prayers the body and blood of Christ is consecrated? And objecting to himselfe the custome of the Roman Church, where a Presbyter is ordained upon the testimony of a Deacon, he passionately breaketh into these words: *Quid mihi proferis unius urbis consuetudinem? Diaconos paucos honorabiles, Presbyteros turba contemptibiles facit. Ceterum etiam in Ecclesia Roma Presbyteri sedent, & stant Diaconi, licet paulatim increbrescentibus vitiis, inter Presbyteros, absente Episcopo sedere Diaconum viderim:* that is, Why dost thou urge mee with the custome of one Citie? the fewnesse of Deacons maketh them honourable, and the number of Presbyters make them to be lesse esteemed. Yet even in the Church of Rome Presbyters doe sit, and Deacons stand; although things (growing worse and worse by degrees, and many things growing out of order) I have seene a Deacon in the absence of the Bishop, sit amongst the Presbyters.

e Hier. ad Ru-
sticum Mona-
chum.

* This maketh
nothing against
them who with
us are named
Arch-deacons,
and under that
name exercise
Jurisdiction. For
by the Canons of
our Church they
are Presbyters
chosen to assist
the Bishop in his
government, &
not meeke Dea-
cons as some-
times they were.

Out of the societie and company of the Deacons in each Church, there was one chosen, who not onely was to performe the things pertaining to the Deacons office, but also to prescribe unto others what they should doe. The institution of these is not new but very ancient, as it appeareth by Hierome, who urging the necessity of order and government, sheweth, that the heardes of cattell have their leaders which they follow; that Bees have their King; that the Cranes flye after one that leadeth them the way; that there is one Emperour, and one Judge of each Province; that Rome could not have two brethren to reigne in her as Kings, but was dedicated in parricide: that Esau and Jacob were at warre in the wombe of Rebecca: that every Church hath her Bishop; every company of Presbyters and Deacons, their Arch-presbyter, and Arch-deacon.

* These chiefe Deacons, or Archdeacons were in proesse of time (notwithstanding all Canons to the contrary, and the violent opposition of Hierome and other Worthies of those times) lifted up not only above the Presbyters, but the Arch-presbyters also. The reason of which their advancement was, first because the number of

was

of Presbyters made them little esteemed, and the paucity and fewnesse of Deacons made them honourable, as I noted before out of *Hierome*. Secondly, because they were busied about money-matters, and had the charge of the treasure of the Church, which kinde of employments are usually much set by. Thirdly, because being Ministers unto the Bishop, they were used by him for the viewing of such parts of his Diocese, as he could not conveniently come unto himselfe, the dispatch of things for him, and in the end for the reformation of the lesser and smaller faults, which upon such view they should finde. Whereupon at the last they obtained a kinde of jurisdiction and power of correction by prescription and custome, whereof I shall have occasion to speake more hereafter. Thus have we spoken of the inferiour degrees of Ministry, by which men were wont to ascend to the higher, being trained up for a certaine space in the lower, that they might thereby be fitted for the higher, according to that of *Hierome* touching *Nepotian*, *Fit Clericus, & per solitos gradus Presbyter ordinatur*; that is, Hee is made a Clergi-man, and passing through the ordinary degrees, he is ordained a Presbyter.

f Hieron. in Epitaph. Nepotiani ad Heliodorum.

CHAP. 26.

Of the orders, and degrees of them that are trusted with the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and the government of Gods people: and particularly, of Lay-elders, falsely by some supposed to be Governours of the Church.

NOW it remaineth that we speake of them that are trusted with the Ministerie of the Word and Sacraments, and the government of Gods people, comprehended under one common name of Presbyters, that is, Fatherly Guides of Gods Church and people. Touching these Presbyters, or fatherly Guides of Gods Church; some in our time have a new and strange conceit, making them to be of two sorts: whereof some have charge of government onely, and some together therewith the ministry of the Word and Sacraments; the one sort Lay-men, and the other Clergi-men; the one for governing onely, and the other sort preaching, teaching, ministering Sacraments, and governing also.

Touching these newly supposed governing Elders, that are not Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, I will first set downe the reasons that move us to thinke there never were any such in the Church: and secondly, I will shew the weakenesse of their reasons that are induced to thinke there were.

The first reason that moveth us to thinke, there never were any such, is, because Bishops, Presbyters, that preach and minister Sacraments, and Deacons that assist them, howsoever they much degenerated in later times, yet all still remained in all Christian Churches throughout the world (though in many things exceedingly different, as *Greeke, Latine, Ethiopian, and Armenian*) in their names and offices also in some sort: But of these Lay-elders, there are no foot-steps to bee found in any Christian Church in the world, nor were not for many hundred yeares, whereas there would have bene some remaines of these, as well as of the other, had they ever had any institution from Christ and his Apostles, as the other had.

Our second reason is, for that *S. Paul* prescribing *Timothy* how he should establish the Church and appoint her Pastours, and shewing who should be Bishops and Ministers, who Deacons, yea who Widowes, passeth immediately from describing the quality of such as were to be Bishops and Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, to the Deacons, omitting these Lay-elders that are supposed to lye in the midst betweene them, no way describing unto us of what quality they must bee, which in reason hee neither might nor would have omitted, if there had bene any such.

Our third reason is, for that neither Scripture, nor practice of the Church, bounding the government of such Governours, nor giving any direction how farre they may goe in the same, and where they must stay, lest they meddle with that they have nothing to doe with, men should be left to a most dangerous uncertainty in an office

and employment of so great consequence, either of not doing that their office and place requireth, or presuming beyond that they should: which is not to be conceived, seeing Christ our gracious Saviour by himselfe or his Apostles, left certaine direction for farre lesser things than these mens government is supposed to bee. That the government of these supposed Lay-elders is not bounded in the Scripture, or Fathers, it is most evident, neither can any man living shew us any such bounding of the same in either of them. The government of the Church is in respect of two sorts of men; the Clergie, and the Laity: Touching the former, they are to be tryed and approved for their life and learning, they are to be ordained with solemne imposition of hands, and if they deserve it, they are to bee suspended from the execution of their office, or utterly deprived, and degraded. Shall Lay-elders have as much to doe in all these actions, as they to whom the Ministerie of the Word and Sacraments is committed? are they competent Iudges of mens learning and aptnesse to teach, that neither are Teachers nor learned? Can they give the sacred power of holy Ministerie to others, that have it not themselves? Or is it not a certaine Axiome on the contrary side, that the lesser is blessed of the greater? Surely they that in *England* sought to bring in the government of the Church by Lay-elders, were of opinion, that they ought to have interest in all these things, as well as the Pastours of the Church. And indeede admit them to the government of the Church by force of certaine doubtfull words of Scripture, mentioning government without any distinction or limitation; and there is no reason to straighten them, but that they should have their sway in all parts of it. But they of *Geneva*, *France*, and other parts, exclude these Elders from intermeddling in ordination, and leave the power to trye, examine, approve, and ordaine, to the Pastours onely. Likewise, as I thinke, they referre the deciding of doubts in matters of Faith and Religion to the Pastours onely, and not to the suffrages of Lay-men by multitude of voyces over-ruling them. Touching the other sort of them of whom the Church consisteth, which are Lay-men, who are to be admonished, corrected, put from the Sacraments, yea from the communion of the Church for impiety, disobedience, and wickednesse, and upon repentance and submission to bee received againe; doth not the ordering of these men in this sort come within the compasse of the power of the Keyes, and of binding and loosing? Did Christ leave these to his Apostles as speciall favours, and are they now transferred from their Successours, the Bishops and Pastours of the Church to Lay-men, that have neither part nor fellowship in the worke of the Ministerie? Hath God committed the dispensation of his Sacraments to the Pastours of the Church? Is it on the perill of their soules, that they duly give them, or with-hold them as cause shall require? And shall there bee in others that are not trusted with them, as great a power to direct the use of this Ministeriall authoritie as in them? nay greater, the other being more in number, and their voyces more to carrie any thing that shall bee brought into deliberation? Besides all this which hath beene said, there are many more doubts touching the authoritie of these men, wherein I feare there will bee none found amongst the friends and favourers of these Lay-elders that will bee able to give us any satisfaction. For first, I would gladly know, whether these ruling Elders must bee in every Congregation with power of ordination, and deprivation, suspension, excommunication, and absolution? or whether this power bee onely in the Ministers and Elders of divers Churches concurring? Surely in *Geneva* there are Elders in the Congregations that are abroad *in agro*, that is, in the Countrey, but these have no power of excommunication, much lesse of ordination or deprivation: They may onely complaine to the Consistorie of the Citie. Nay they that are in the Congregations within the Citie, have no separate power with their owne Ministers, but a joynt proceeding with the rest of the Ministers and Elders of the other Churches and Congregations; all which concurring, make but one Consistorie. Secondly, let them tell us, whether these offices be perpetuall, as the offices of Bishops and Pastours; or annuall, and but for a certaine time.

But to leave them in these uncertainties; the fourth reason that moveth us to reject the

See Beza's Epistles, and Calvin's Institut. l. 4. c. 3. sect. 16.

the conceit of these Lay-elders, is, because the Founders of this new government, fetch the patterne of it from the *Sanedrim* of the *Jewes*, the platforme whereof they suppose Christ meant to bring into his Church when hee said, ^b *Tell the Church.* ^b *Mat. 18. 17.* Whereas it is most cleare, that that Court was a Civill Court, and had power to banish, to imprison, yea and to take away life, till by the *Romans* the *Jewes* were restrained: which made them say in the case of Christ, that ^c *it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death.* ^c *Ioh. 18. 31.*

Our fifth and last reason is, for that all Fathers and Councils mentioning Elders or Presbyters, place them betweene Bishops and Deacons, and make them to bee Clergi-men: and that in the *Acts*, where the Apostles are said to have constituted Elders in every Church, Pastours and Ministers are meant, and not Lay-men, is strongly confirmed by that in the twentieth of the *Acts*, where the Elders of the Church of *Ephesus* convened before *Paul* are commanded to feed the flock of Christ, over which they were appointed overseers; whence it followeth inevitably, that they were Pastours.

The places of Scripture brought to prove this kinde of government by Lay-elders are specially three: The first is that to *Timothie*, ^d *Let the Elders that rule well, be esteemed worthy of double honour, especially they that labour in the word and doctrine.* ^d *1 Tim. 5. 17.* The second is that in the Epistle to the *Romans*: ^e *He that ruleth, let him doe it with diligence.* ^e *Rom. 12. 8.* The third is that to the *Corinthians*, where ^f *Governours or Governments are mentioned.* ^f *1 Cor. 12. 28.* The two later allegations are too too weake to prove the thing in question. For, will any man that knoweth what it is to reason, reason *à genere ad speciem affirmativè*, that is, From the generall to the particular and speciall affirmatively? Or will ever any man of common sense bee perswaded that this consequence is good: There were Governours in the primitive Church mentioned by the Apostles, and required by them to rule with diligence; therefore they were Lay-governours? Surely I thinke not. Wherefore, let us see if the first place alleadged by them yeeld any better prooffe. Touching this place, some interpret it in this sort. The Guides of the Church are worthy of double honour, both in respect of governing and teaching, but specially for their paines in teaching; so noting two parts or duties of Presbyteriall offices, not two sorts of Presbyters. Some in this sort: Amongst the Elders and Guides of Gods Church and people, some laboured principally in governing and ministering the Sacraments, some in preaching and teaching: So *Paul* sheweth, that hee preached and ^g laboured more than all the Apostles, but ^h baptized few or none, leaving ⁱ that to bee performed by others; and when *Paul* and *Barnabas* were companions, and their travels were equall, yet ^j *Paul* is noted to have beene the chiefe speaker; ^j *Acts 14. 12.* so that though both were worthy of double honour, yet *Paul* especially. Some interpret the words in this sort: There were some that remained in some certaine places, for the guiding and governing of such as were already wonne by the preaching of the Gospel; other that travailed with great labour and paines from place to place, to spread the knowledge of God into all parts, and to preach Christ crucified to such as had never heard of him before. Both these were worthy of double honour, but the later that builded not upon another mans foundation, more especially than the former that did but keepe that which others had gotten, and governe those that others had gained. Thus wee see that these words may have a very good and true sense, without pressing of them to confirme the late conceit of some few men touching Lay-elders. Which construction wee have no reason to admitte, seeing the circumstances of the place doe not enforce it, nor no Ecclesiasticall writer did ever so interpret the words before our age. So that to conclude this point, the name of Presbyter, (one place onely in the first of *Timothy* and the fifth excepted, where it is a name of age and not of office) in the writings of the Apostles doth ever note out unto us a Minister of the Word and Sacraments. The reason why the Apostles chose this word rather than the name of *Sacerdos*, which wee commonly translate Priest (though the English word Priest come of Presbyter) was lest there should be a confusion of the Ministers of the old Testament, who were to offer

sacrifices unto God, figuring the comming of Christ, with those of the new : and to shew, that none should be appointed Ministers, but men of ripe age, and confirmed judgement. But some man will say: The ancient Writers mention Seniors, without whose advice nothing was done; an Ecclesiasticall Senate and a Presbytery, or company of Presbyters, which governed the Church together with the Bishop: therefore the matter is not so cleare against Lay-elders, as some would make it.

Wee deny not but that there were Presbyters in the Primitive Church constituted and ordained by the Apostles and their Successours, not onely to preach and minister Sacraments, but to governe, direct, and guide the people of God also ; but that they were Lay-men it cannot bee proved. The Bishops in the greater Churches, and in the Cities had a great number of Clergi-men serving in divers sorts, as it appeareth by *Cyprian*, and the whole Ecclesiasticall historie ; but out of the whole Clergie at large, the Presbytery or company of Presbyters was called forth to the weightiest deliberations, and to assist the Bishop for the preservation of discipline ; *Admonitos nos & instructos sciatis dignatione divinâ, saith Cyprian, ut Numidicus Presbyter ascribatur Presbyterorum Carthagenensium numero, & nobiscum sedeat in Clero*: that is, Know yee, that we have beene admonished and directed by God himselfe, to choose *Numidicus*, and to make him one of the company of the Presbyters of *Carthage*, that he may sit together with us as a Clergi-man : by which words it appeareth, that there was in *Cyprian's* time a Colledge of Presbyters or Elders in the Church of *Carthage*, which sate together with the Bishop, for the hearing and determining of the causes of the Church ; but that these Elders were Clergi-men, and not such Lay-seniors as some would have. *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* writeth to *Cyprian*, *se totum Presbyterium contraxisse*, that is, that hee drew together the whole Presbytery, or company of Presbyters, for the reconciling of certaine Schismatics to the Church, and that he called together five Bishops also, and by common consent ended the whole matter. Of this Senate and company of Presbyters, *Tertullian* speaketh in his Apologie, when he saith : *With us the most approved Seniors doe sit as Presidents to censure offenders, and to exercise discipline*. And of these likewise is it that *Hierome* saith, writing upon *Esay* : *Wee also in the Church have our Senate, the company of Presbyters*: And upon *Titus* : *The Churches were governed by the common advise and counsell of the Presbyters*. For to put it out of doubt that he meaneth not Lay-elders, hee saith in the same place. *Idem est ergo Presbyter qui Episcopus* : that is, Therefore a Presbyter and Bishop are all one.

There is only one place in *Ambrose* that hath some shew of prooffe for Lay-elders. His words are ; *The Jewish Synagogue, and after the Church, had Seniors or Elders, without whose counsell nothing was done in the Church; which, by what negligence it grew out I know not, unlesse it were by the sloth or pride of the Teachers, whilst they alone would seeme to be something*. Here is mention of Elders, without whose advise nothing was done ; but it is not said, they were Lay-men. But some man perhaps will reply, that the Elders which *Ambrose* speaketh of, ceased before his time, which cannot be understood of Clergi-men, therefore they were Lay-men. To this wee say, that *Ambrose* doth not say, the Elders without whose counsell nothing was to be done, ceased before his time, and were no more, but that the advising and consulting with them ceased, whilst some would doe all themselves. If it bee said, that they who thus assumed more than was fitte, and excluded those Seniors without whose counsell anciently nothing was done, are not said to have bin Bishops, but Doctors, and that therefore *Ambrose* speaketh not of Bishops, excluding other Ministers of the Word and Sacraments from their consultations, but of Clergi-men refusing the advise of Lay-seniors ; wee answer, that *Ambrose* by the name of Teachers, whose sloth or pride hee condemneth in this place, might fitly understand the Bishops, seeing none but Bishops have power to preach in their owne right, and other but only by permission from them. Hereupon it is, that *Possidonius* in the life of *Augustine* saith, that *Valerius* Bishop of *Hippo*, gave *St. Augustine* his Presbyter leave to preach, because being a *Grecian*, hee could not very well expresse himselfe in *Latine*.

Cyprian. l. 4. epist. 10.

Apud Cypri. lib. 3. epist. 11.

Tertul. in Apolog. cap. 39.

Hieron. in 3. Esai. 2.

In 1. ad Titum.

Ambros. com. in 1. ad Tim. 5.

Cap. 5.

In the¹ Councell of *Vase* leave is given by the Councell of Bishops to Presbyters for ^{Canone 4.} to preach. But because this question touching Lay-elders is excellently handled by fundry of our Divines, I will not trouble the Reader with any farther discourse of this matter.

C H A P. 27.

Of the distinction of the Power of Order and Jurisdiction, and the preheminence of one amongst the Presbyters of each Church, who is named a Bishop.

C Easing to speake of supposed Lay-eldes, which the Church of God knoweth not, let us come to the other that were appointed to teach and governe the people of G O D. Where first wee are to speake of the divers degrees of honour and preheminence found amongst them. Secondly, of their calling and appointing to the same. And thirdly, of their maintenance. For the clearing of the former of these three things, the Schoole-men note, that there is a two-fold power found in the Ministers of the Church of G O D, the one of Order, the other of Jurisdiction. The power of Order is that, whereby they are sanctified and enabled to the performance of such sacred acts as other men neither may nor can doe, as is the preaching of the Word, and ministratiō of the holy Sacraments. This power is to bee exercised orderly, and the acts of it to bee performed in such sort that one disturbe not another. Whereupon the Apostles, the first Ministers of C H R I S T J E S V S, though equall in the power of Order and Jurisdiction, yet for the better and more orderly dispatch of the great worke of converting the world, which they had in hand, and that they might not hinder one another, divided amongst themselves the parts and Provinces of the World; but when ~~to~~ the assisting of them while they lived, and succeeding them dying, they were to passe over part of their power to other, they so gave authoritie to such as they made choyce of for this worke, to preach, baptize, and doe other acts of sacred Ministry (which are to bee performed by vertue of the power of order) that before they invested them with this power, they divided the parts of the world converted to Christianity into severall Churches, and when they ordained them, assigned each of them to that particular Church wherein hee should preach and minister Sacraments. So that these successours of the Apostles had not an illimited commission, but were confined within certaine bounds; that they were not to preach, nor minister Sacraments, but onely within the limits and compasse of those places which were assigned unto them, unlesse it were with the consent, desire, and liking of other, willing to draw them at sometimes for speciall causes, to performe such sacred acts, within the limits and bounds of their charge.

This assigning of men having the power of order the persons to whom they were to minister holy things, and of whom they were to take the care, and the subjecting of such persons unto them, gave them the power of jurisdiction which they had not before. And thus was the use of the power of order which is not included within any certaine bounds, limited in those the Apostles ordained, and their power of Jurisdiction included within certaine bounds: so that the one of these kinds of power they have not at all without the extent of their owne limits, nor the lawfull use of the other. Hence is that resolution of the Divines, that if a Bishop adventure to doe any act of Jurisdiction out of his owne Dioceſſe, as to excommunicate, absolve, or the like, all such acts are utterly voide, and of no force; but if hee shall doe any act of the power of order in another mans charge, as preach, or minister Sacraments, though he cannot bee excused as not offending, if hee doe these things without his consent, yet are the Sacraments thus ministred truly Sacraments and of force.

When the Apostles first founded Churches, and assigned to such as they ordained to the worke of the Ministerie the severall parts of the flock of Christ, and people of God, of which they appointed them to take care and charge, they so sorted and divided out particular Churches, that a Citie, and the places neere adjoyning made but one Church: Whereupon wee shall finde in the holy Scriptures, that to ordaine Presbyters ^a κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, and ^b κατὰ πλῆθος, that is, in every Church, and in every Citie are all one. Now because Churches of so large extent required many Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, and yet of one Church there must bee but one Pastour; the Apostles in setting the state of these Churches, did so constitute in them many Presbyters with power to teach, instruct, and direct the people of God, that yet they appointed one onely to be chiefe Pastour of the place, ordaining, that the rest should be but his assistants, not presuming to doe any thing without him; so that though they were all equall in the power of order, yet were the rest inferiour unto him in the government of the Church whereof hee was Pastour, and they but his assistants only. As another of my ranke cannot have that jurisdiction within my Church as I have, but if he will have any thing to doe there, he must be inferiour in degree unto me. So wee read in the *Revelation* of Saint *Iohn*, of the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, to whom the Spirit of God directeth letters from heaven, as to the Pastour of that Church. It is not to be doubted but that there were many Presbyters, that is, Ministers of the Word and Sacraments in so large a Church as that of *Ephesus* was; nay wee read expressly in the *Acts*, that there were many in that Church, ^d that fed the flock of Christ, and consequently were admitted into some part of pastorall office and employment; yet was there one amongst the rest to whom onely the Lord did write from heaven, to whom an eminent power was given, who was trusted with the government of that Church and people in more speciall sort than any of the rest, and therefore challenged by name by Almighty God for the things there found to bee amisse, the rest being passed over in silence. The like wee read of the rest of the seven Churches of *Asia*, compared to seven golden candlesticks, in the midst whereof the Sonne of God did walke, having in his hand seven starres, interpreted to have beene the seven Angels of those seven Churches. Neither was this orderly superiority of one amongst the Presbyters of the Church, found onely in the seven Churches of *Asia*, but in other Churches also. For Saint ^e *Hierome* testifieth, that in the Church of *Alexandria*, from the time of *Marke* the Evangelist, there was ever one whom the Presbyters of that Church chose out of themselves to be over the rest. Neither was this proper to the Church of *Alexandria*, but wee can shew the successions of Bishops in all the famous Churches of the world, even from the Apostles times: and therefore all admitte and allow a kinde of preëminence of one above the rest in each Church. ^g Heresies have sprung, saith *Cyprian*, and schismes risen from no other fountaine than this, that Gods Priest is not obeyed, nor one Priest in the Church acknowledged for the time to bee Judge in Christs stead. ^h If one, saith *Hierome*, in each Church be not above and before the rest of the Presbyters, there will be as many Schismes as Priests; and the best learned in our age that affect presbyteriall government, ingenuously confesse it to be an essentiall, and perpetuall part of Gods ordinance, for each Presbyterie to have a chiefe amongst them, the necessity whereof, wee may learne from all Societies, both of men indued with reason, and of other things also to which God hath denied the light of understanding. ^k The dumbe beasts, saith *Hierome*, and wilde Heardes have their leaders which they follow; the Bees have their King; the Cranes flie after one in order like an Alphabet of letters: there is but one Emperour, one Judge of a Province; *Rome* newly built, could not endure two brethren to bee Kings together; and therefore was dedicated in parricide; *Esau* and *Jacob* were at warre in the wombe of *Rebecca*: every Church hath her owne Bishop, her owne Arch-presbyter, her owne chiefe Deacon, and all Ecclesiasticall order consisteth herein, that some doe rule and direct the rest. In a ship there is but one that directeth the helme. In a house or family there is but one master. And to conclude, in an armie, if it be never so great, yet the direction of one Generall is expected.

Thus

^a *Acts* 14. 23.^b *Tim* 1. 5.^c *Revel* 2. 1.^d *Acts* 20. 28.^e *Revel* 1. 20.^f *Hieronym* ad *Evagrium*.^g *Cyprian*, l. 1. *Epist.* 3.^h *Hieronym*, *adversus* *Luciferian*.ⁱ *Beza* in resp. *ad tract.* de *minist.* *Evang.* *gradib.*^k *Hier.* *ad Rusticum* *monachum*.

Thus then all confesse, that there alwayes hath beene, and must be in each Church, a preëminence of one above the rest of the Presbyters of the same; but some thinke this preëminence should be onely a priority of order, in sitting before, in propounding things to be thought of, and in moderating the whole action of deliberation, and that all things should be swayed by voyces, the President or Bishop having no voyce negative or affirmative; but as the major part shall direct him. Likewise this presidentie they thinke should bee but annuall, or to end with the action about which they meete, whether it be to determine a doubt, to ordaine a Minister, or to doe any other such like thing.

This new conceit wee cannot approve of, because we finde no patterne of any such Bishop or President in all antiquity. But the Fathers describe unto us such a Bishop, as hath eminent and peerelesse power, without whose consent the Presbyters can doe nothing. ¹ Hence have heresies sprung and schismes arisen, saith Cyprian, because one Priest in the Church is not acknowledged for the time to bee Iudge in Christs stead, to whom if all the brethren would bee subject according to the divine directions, no man would, after the divine judgements, after the suffrages of the people, after the consent of other Bishops, make himselfe Judge, not of the Bishop, but of God. ^m Let the Presbyter, saith Ignatius, doe nothing without the Bishop; ^m The Bishop (saith Hierome) must have an eminent and peerelesse power, or else there will be as many schismes in the Church, as there are Priests. And ^o Tertullian sheweth, that without the Bishops leave and consent, no Presbyter may baptize, minister any Sacrament, or doe any ministeriall act. So that it is most cleare and evident, that the Bishop in each Church is above and before the rest of the Presbyters of the same, not in order, but in degree also and power of Jurisdiction.

Yet on the other side, we make not the power of Bishops to be Princely, as Bellarmine doth, but Fatherly: so that as the Presbyters may doe nothing without the Bishop, so he may doe nothing in matters of greatest moment and consequence without their presence and advice. Whereupon the Councell of Carthage voideth all sentences of Bishops which the presence of their Clergie confirmeth not; and even unto this day they have no power to alienate lands, and to doe some such like things without the concurrence and consent of the Presbyters of the Cathedrall, and great Church.

It is therefore most false that ¹ Bellarmine hath, that Presbyters have no power of Jurisdiction, and the prooffe he bringeth of this his assertion most weake, when hee alledgeth, that all Councils both generall and provincially wherein jurisdiction is most properly exercised, were celebrated and holden by Bishops; as if Presbyters had had nothing to doe therein. For it is most cleare and evident, that in all provincially Synodes Presbyters did sit, give voyce, and subscribe as well as Bishops. And howsoever in generall Councils none did give voyce but Bishops alone, yet those Bishops that were present, bringing the resolution and consent of the provincially Synodes of those Churches from whence they came, in which Synodes Presbyters had their voyces, they had a kinde of consent to the decrees of generall Councils also: and nothing was passed in them without their concurrence. Thus were things moderated in the primitive ages of the Church; and though Bishops had power over Presbyters, yet was it so limited, that there was nothing bitter or grievous in it, nothing but that which was full of sweetnesse and content. For if any difference grew betweene the Bishop and his Presbyters; the Presbyters might not judge their Bishop, whom they were to acknowledge to be a Judge in Christs stead, but an appeale lay unto a provincially Synode, to which not onely the Bishops of the Provinces were to come, but a certaine number of Presbyters also out of each Church, to sit as Judges of such differences. Neither might the Bishop of himselfe alone deprive, degrade, or put from their office and dignity the Presbyters and Deacons of his Church; but if there were any matter concerning a Presbyter, he was to joyne unto him five other Bishops of the Province; and if any matter concerning a Deacon, two other Bishops, before hee might proceede to give sentence against Presbyter or Deacon. The causes of

^m Ignat. ad
Mageniam,
epist. 3.

^o Cyprian. l. 1.
epist. 30.

^m Ignat. ad
Mageniam,
epist. 3.

^o Hier. adver-
sus Luciferia-
nos.

^o Tertul. de
Baptismo.

^o Tertul. de
Baptismo.

^p Concil. Car-
thag. 4. can. 23.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

^o Bellar. l. 1. de
Clericis, c. 14.

of other inferiour Clergi-men the Bishop might heare and determine himselfe alone, without the concurrence, and presence of other Bishops, but not without the concurrence of his owne Clergie, without whose presence no sentence of the Bishop was of force, but judged and pronounced voyde by the Canon.

Touching the preheminence of Bishops above Presbyters there is some difference among the Schoole-divines: For the best learned amongst them are of opinion, that Bishops are not greater than Presbyters in the power of consecration or order, but only in the exercise of it, and in the power of Iurisdiction, seeing Presbyters may preach, and minister the greatest of all Sacraments, by vertue of their consecration and order, as well as Bishops. Touching the power of consecration or order, saith *Darandus*, it is much doubted of among Divines, whether any be greater therein than an ordinary Presbyter: For *Hierome* seemeth to have beene of opinion, that the highest power of consecration or order is the power of a Priest or Elder; so that every Priest in respect of his Priestly power, may minister all Sacraments, confirme the baptized, give all orders, all blessings and consecration; but that for the avoyding of the perill of schisme, it was ordained that one should be chosen, who should be named a Bishop to whom the rest should obey, and to whom it was reserved to give orders, and to doe some such other things, as none but Bishops doe. And afterwards he saith, that *Hierome* is clearely of this opinion; not making the distinction of Bishops from Presbyters, a meere humane invention, or a thing not necessary, as *Aerius* did; but thinking that amongst them who are equall in the power of order, and equally enabled to doe any sacred act, the Apostles (for the avoyding of schisme and confusion, and the preservation of unity, peace, and order) ordained that in each Church one should be before and above the rest, without whom the rest should do nothing, and to whom some things should bee peculiarly reserved, as the dedicating of Churches, reconciling of penitents, confirming of the baptized, and the ordination of such as are to serve in the worke of the Ministerie: Of which the three former were reserved to the Bishop alone, *Potius ad honorem Sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem*, that is, Rather to honour his Priestly and Bishoply place, than for that these things at all may not be done by any other. And therefore we reade, that at some times, and in some cases of necessity, Presbyters did reconcile penitents, and by imposition of hands confirme the baptized. But the ordaining of men to serve in the worke of the Ministerie, is more properly reserved to them. For seeing none are to be ordained at randome, but to serve in some Church, and none have Churches but Bishops, all other being but Assistants to them in their Churches: none may ordaine but they onely, unlesse it be in cases of extreame necessity, as when all Bishops are extinguished by death, or fallen into heresie, obstinately refuse to ordaine men to preach the Gospel of Christ sincerely. And then as the care and charge of the Church is devolved to the Presbyters remaining Catholick; so likewise the ordaining of men to assit them, and succede them in the worke of the Ministerie. But hereof I have spoken at large else-where. Wherefore, to conclude this point, we see that the best learned amongst the School-men are of opinion, that Bishops are no greater than Presbyters in the power of consecration or order, but only in the exercise of it, and in the power of Iurisdiction, with whom *Stapleton* seemeth to agree, saying expressly, that *Quoad ordinem Sacerdotalem, & ea quae sunt ordinis*; that is, In respect of Sacerdotall order, and the things that pertaine to order, they are equall, and that therefore in all administration of Sacraments which depend of order, they are all equall *potestate*, though not *exercitio*; that is, in power, though not in the execution of things to be done by vertue of that power: whence it will follow, that ordination being a kind of Sacrament, and so depending of the power of order, in the judgement of our Adversaries, might bee ministred by Presbyters, but that for the avoyding of such horrible confusions, scandals, and schismes, as would follow upon such promiscuous ordinations, they are restrained by the decree of the Apostles; and none permitted to doe any such thing, except it bee in case of extreame necessity, but Bishops, who have the power of order in common together with Presbyters, but yet so, as that they excell them in the execution of things to be done by vertue of that power

Darandus in
4. Sent. dist. 24.
quest. 4.

Ambrosius in 4.
ad Ephes.

Relect. con-
tra 2. q. 3. art. 3.

power, and in the power of Iurisdiction also.

But *Bellarmino* saith, the Catholick Church acknowledgeth, and teacheth, that the degree of Bishops is greater than that of Presbyters by Gods Law, as well in the power of order as jurisdiction: and addeth, that the Schoole-men upon the fourth of the *Sentences* defend the same, and *Thomas* in his *Summe*; which yett else where hee confesseth to be untrue. This his opinion he endeavoureth to confirme, because none but Bishops doe ordaine; and if they doe, their ordinations are judged voyde: which they could not bee by the Churches prohibition, or decree of the Apostles, if they were equall in the power of order to Bishops. Hereunto I have answered elsewhere, shewing; that ordinations at large, or *sine titulo*, and ordinations in another mans charge by Bishops, who by the character of their order may ordaine, are likewise pronounced to be voyde by the ancient Canons: and that therefore the prohibition of the Church and decree of the Apostles for the avoyding of confusion and schisme, reserving the honour of ordaining to Bishops onely (unlesse it were in the case of extreame necessity) might make the ordinations of all other to be voyde, though equall with them in the power of order.

C H A P. 28.

Of the division of the lesser Titles, and smaller Congregations or Churches, out of those Churches of so large extent, founded and constituted by the Apostles.

Hitherto we have seene how the Apostles dividing the Churches in such sort, that a whole Citie and the places adjoyning made but one Church, set over the same one Bishop, as Pastor of the place, and divers Presbyters, as Assistants unto him. But in proceesse of time, wee shall finde certaine portions of these greater flocks of Christ, and Churches of God, to have beene divided out and distinctly assigned to severall Presbyters, that were to take the care and charge thereof, yet with limitations and reservations of sundry preëminences to the Bishop, as remaining still Pastour of those smaller particular congregations, though in a sort divided and distinguished from that greater Church, wherein especially hee made his abode. Two words we finde in Antiquity used to expresse the flocks of Christ, and Churches of God thus divided for more convenience, and yet still depending on that care of one Pastour or Bishop, *παροικία* and *διοίκησις*, that is, Parish and Diocesse: The former contained the Citizens, and all such borderers, as dwelt neare and repaired to any chiefe Church or Citie, though now we use the word Parish to signifie another thing: namely, some particular, smaller, and lesse congregation, divided out from the Mother Church: the later which is Diocesse, both then and now, importeth the Villages and Churches dispersed in divers places, under the regiment of one Bishop.

The first that began thus to divide out smaller Churches and congregations out of those great ones first founded, and to assigne Presbyters distinctly to take care of them, was *Evaristus* Bishop of *Rome*, whose example others did follow in all parts of the world. These parts of Gods Church thus divided, and assigned to the care of severall Presbyters, were called *Tituli*, that is, Titles, because God was intituled unto them, and did specially claime them as the lot of his inheritance. These Titles, or smaller Churches and congregations were of divers sorts: for some were more principall, wherein Baptisme might bee administred, and the like things performed, which were thereupon named Baptismall Churches: and in respect of meaner in time growing out of them and depending of them, Mother Churches also: Other there were not having so great liberties. To such of these Churches as he pleased, the Bishop himselfe went and preached one day in one of them, and another in another, carrying great companies with him, and drawing great multitudes to him, which solemn assemblies and meetings were named stations, from their standing at prayer used in those times: and were like the mighty armies of God keeping their watches, & standing ready to encounter their furious and dangerous enemies. In this sort *Gregory the Great* went

Libr. 1. de Clericis, c. 14.

De Sacram. Ord. l. 1. c. 5.

Booke 3. chap. 39.

See D. Bilson perpet. govern. Chap. 11.

Euseb. l. 4. c. 4, 5, 15, 19, & 23

Platina de vitis Pont. in Evaristo.

Onuphr. in libello de statio. urbis Romæ.

went and preached in such Churches in *Rome*, as he thought fit, whose Homilies and Sermons then preached, are yet extant, with the names of the particular Churches or places where they were preached, which were thereupon named Churches of station, though now in another sense they call those Churches of station, whither men out of devotion resorting to visite Reliques and Monuments, are made partakers of ample Indulgences and pardons, for dayes, yeares, nay hundreds, and thousands of yeares. In those times when the ancient Bishops of *Rome* were wont to goe to the Churches of station, because all Churches had not their Quire and Ministers fit to performe the service of God with that solemnity that was wished, there were some specially appointed for this purpose, that they might attend the Bishop, and goe with him in the dayes of station, that so nothing might be wanting to all joyfull solemnity and divine exultation.

d Bel. de Cleri-
cis, l. 1. cap. 16.

e De sacris Ec-
cles. Ministr. lib.

1. cap. 13.

f Canone 54.

g In vita Greg.

lib. 3. cap. 11.

h Onuphr. lib.

de Episc. tit. &

Diaconis. Car-

dinal.

i Bellar. ubi su-

pra.

Those principall titles or Parish Churches, as now we use to speake, that enjoyed the greatest liberties and priviledges, were called Cardinall Titles, or Churches; and those Presbyters that attended the service of God in those principall or Cardinall Churches, were called Cardinall Presbyters; and in proesse of time some amongst the Deacons also, Cardinall Deacons; and amongst the Bishops of *Italie*, certaine Bishops were named Cardinall Bishops. Neither were these Cardinall Presbyters onely in the Church of *Rome*, but in other Churches also, as *Duarenus* sheweth; whence it is, that wee reade in the Councell of *Melden*, that the Bishop must canonically order the Cardinall Titles in the Cities or Suburbs, and that we reade in *Joannes Diaconus*, that *Gregorie* called back the Cardinals violently ordained in the parishes abroad, into their ancient title againe. *Onuphrius* a great Antiquary, giveth another reason of the name of Cardinall, supposing that they were called Cardinall Priests and Deacons in each Church, which were over all the other Priests and Deacons of the same; for that they were chiefe Priests and Deacons, and of more principall esteeme than the rest. But this conceit of his, *Bellarmino* refuteth, for that there were sometimes many Cardinals in the same title, as appeareth by Saint *Gregorie* in his Epistles. So that it seemeth more probable, that Cardinals are so named from the Titles and Churches that are Cardinall and chiefe Churches, enjoyning greater liberties and priviledges than others, than for that they are Cardinall or chiefe amongst the Priests of those their Churches and Titles.

But whatsoever was the reason that they were named Cardinals, which perhaps cannot now certainly bee knowne, it is strange to see from how meane beginnings they have growne so great in state and dignity, as therein to match and equall the greatest Princes of the world. That at first they were but Parish Priests of *Rome* (besides that it is confessed by all) it is most evident, for that yet still in this their greatness, they are stiled but Cardinall Priests of such a Title or Parish Church in *Rome*; and that for a long time there was no more respect had to one Presbyter than another, but all equally interessed in the government of the Church, were indifferently called to the election of the Bishop, and his consultations, it is most cleare and evident. Whereupon *Cyprian* writing to the Clergie of *Rome*, writeth not to the Cardinals onely, but to all the Priests and Deacons of the Church of *Rome*. In the time of *Gregorie* the Great, it may seeme that all the Presbyters were not called to the consultations of the Bishop, but Cardinall Presbyters onely: For, *onely* foure and thirty were present at the Synode holden by him, and mentioned in his Epistles; whereas no doubt in his time there were many more Presbyters of that great and large Church, seeing there were six and fortie in the dayes of *Cornelius* in the time of persecution, when the greatest part of the Citie remained yet still in infidelity, and heathenish superstition. But whether all the Presbyters of the Church of *Rome*, or onely some certaine were called to the consultations of the Bishop in *Gregories* time, it is certaine, that all the Clergie had interest in the choyce and election of the Bishop. But afterwards in proesse of time, the Cardinals onely had interest in the election of their Bishop, and they and no other were admitted to sit in Councell with the Bishop, all other Presbyters being excluded. By which meanes the dignity of these Cardinals was greatly increased.

k Cyprian. lib.

3. Ep. 5. & 21.

l Greg. lib. 4.

Registr. cap.

88.

creased. So that whereas before all Bishops were preferred before those Cardinals that were not Bishops, and to be a Cardinall was but a step to the degree of a Bishop, as *Onuphrius* in his booke of Cardinals sheweth, and as is collected out of the first Booke and seventh Chapter of the life of *Gregory*: afterwards, this order was changed, and the dignity of a Bishop was made but a step to the degree and honour of a Cardinall. Neither did they onely exclude the rest of the Clergie of the Church of *Rome* from the election of their Bishop, and from sitting in Councell with him: but whereas from the yeare three hundredth, to the yeare eight hundredth after Christ, for the determining of all weighty matters concerning the Church, the Bishops of *Italy* were convoked to Nationall Synodes, as it appeareth by the Tomes of the Councels, they excluded them also: so that the managing of the weightie affaires of the Church, was wholly referred to these Cardinals, the other being no longer called according to the old manner, though yet till they take an oath yearly to visite the Apolliticall thresholds, and to present themselves unto the *Roman* Bishop their Metropolitan, as they were wont to doe, when being called by him to Nationall Synodes, they were bound to make their repaire to *Rome*. Of this change *Cardinall Cusanus* speaketh, shewing, that in his opinion the first steppe to the due reformation of the Church, were the choosing of these Cardinals out of those severall Churches which were heretofore interested in the deliberations of the *Roman* Bishop, and the making of them to be but agents and procurators for them, and in their names, till such time as the Bishops might be convoked againe to Nationall Synods, as in former times they were wont to bee. From hence, saith *Duarenus*, wee may easily gather the same that the Interpreter of the decrees somewhere writeth, that howsoever in time, and by spoyling other of their right, the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome* are growne exceeding great, yet in trueth and indeed, every Bishop of what Citie soever, is of greater dignity than any Cardinall, Priest, or Deacon of the *Romish* Church: which thing, saith *Duarenus*, if any man should doubt of, might easily be confirmed by the authoritie of Saint *Augustine*, in a certaine Epistle to Saint *Hierome* Priest of the *Roman* Church, where hee saith expressly: *Quamquam secundum vocabula, qua usus obrinnit, Episcopatus sit Presbyterio major; Augustinus tamen Hieronymo minor est*: that is, Although according to the titles which now are in use, it is a more honourable thing to be a Bishop, than a Presbyter, yet *Augustine* is lesse than *Hierome*. His meaning is, in merit, and personall worth: for otherwise, that there is no other reason of Priests and Deacons of the Church of *Rome*, than of any other Citie, in respect whereof *Hierome* as Priest of *Rome*, might be greater than *Augustine* being Bishop of little *Hippo* in *Africa*, *Hierome* himselfe demonstrateth at large in his Epistle to *Evagrius*, But this prooffe of *Duarenus* perhaps will bee found too weake, because it is greatly doubted by some of excellent learning, whether *Hierome* were a Priest of the Church of *Rome*, or not. Surely in his * Epistle against *Iohn* of *Hierusalem*, hee tearmeth himselfe a Priest of the Church of *Antioche*, and not of *Rome*: So that it may bee probably thought, that howsoever for a time he were in *Rome*, and did * helpe *Damasus* the Bishop in certaine writings, matters of learning, and resolution of doubts, yet hee never had any title or charge in the *Roman* Church. *Bellarmino* taketh great exception to *Calvine*, for saying, that *Hierome* was Priest of the *Romish* Church, which if hee had beene well advised, hee should not have done (howsoever perhaps *Calvine* were deceived in that point) not only because many of his owne friends have erred with *Calvine* in this point, if it be an error, but because they have for a long time in their Churches, and all other places, painted him in his scarlet robes, and * red hat, like a Cardinall. And howsoever *Bellarmino* perhaps will not bee much moved with these paintings; yet *Campian* a great Champion of the *Roman* Church, bringeth the painted glasse windowes of their

De concord.
cathol. l. 2. c. 17.
citat. d. 93. c. 4.

De sacris Ec-
cles. ministeriis
l. 1. c. 13.

* Epist. 61. ad
Pammachium,
de erroribus
Ioannis Hiero-
solymit.
* Hier. ep. ad
Gerontium de
Monogamia.
* De Clericis
l. 1. c. 16.

* Innocent. 4.
in Concilio
Lugduni habi-
to plures Car-
dinales creavit.

Primusque fuit qui Cardinalitiam dignitatem rubeo pileo adauxit, eâ intentione ut admonerentur, teste Martino Pe-
lono, se semper paratos esse debere sanguinem pro Christianâ Religione profundere, præsertim eo tempore quo Ro-
mana Ecclesia à Frederico secundo quondam Imperatore vehementer oppugnabatur. Bin. Conc. tom. 3. part. 2. pag.
1481. in vita Innocentii 4.

9 Nicholas
Clemangis de
corrupto Ec-
clesiaz statu.

8 Confer. with
Harr. Cap. 7.
division 6. pag.
384, 385. &c.
1 Math. Parifi-
en. in Henrico
3. p. 848.

their Churches are pregnant witnesses against us, which we may not except against; and *testes fenestrae* are not the meanest of those witnesses, which in his *Omne genus testimonium* (wherein hee maketh a search in heaven, and raketh hell, to see who will speake for him, and depose against us) hee produceth and bringeth to the barre. But to leave this prooffe of the dignity of Bishops brought by *Duarenus* as uncertaine, it is most certaine which the same *Duarenus* hath, that Cardinals of the Church of *Rome* in ancient time, were not matchable in honour and dignity with the meanest Bishop in the world; that they were but Parish Priests, and Deacons of the Church of *Rome*, and bound by all Canons to be resident in their Parishes and Titles, as all other Priests, and Deacons are; and that they can no way justifie their possessing of Bishopricks, being no Bishops, but Presbyters, and Deacons onely. What havock and spoyle these Parish Priests have made throughout the whole Christian world, since they came to that greatnesse they are at now, by seizing into their hands the richest Abbeyes, Bishopricks, and Archbishopricks by vertue of the Popes provisions, not contenting themselves with one or two, but getting to themselves so great a number of the greatest dignities and Church-livings, as is incredible, ⁹ all stories report, and the wofull experience of all Christendome doth sufficiently testifie. If any man desire to see how the Pope, as a wilde Boare, hath laid waste the Vineyard of the Lord in former times, spoyling the Church and people of God for the enriching of these his Cardinals, that so they might be equall in state and magnificence to the Princes and Potentates of the world, let him reade that which Doctor *Reynolds* in his most learned and worthy Conference, hath collected and gathered out of most authentick records touching these *Romish* practices, to the everlasting shame & ignominie of the Court of *Rome*; which long since for the intollerable and insatiable covetousnesse thereof, ¹ *Grostead* the renowned Bishop of *Lincolne* fitly compared unto that *Behemoth*, that thinketh hee can drinke up the whole River of *Jordan*, and saith, that among other the praises of the *Romish* Court, these two are not the least, that *Ejus avaritia totus non sufficit orbis, ejus luxuria meretrix non sufficit omnis*: that is, That the Courtiers of the Court of *Rome* are so insatiable in covetousnesse, that a whole world of wealth is not sufficient to satisfie their greedy desires; and so impure in their filthy lusts, that all the stewes in the world are not able to give them content.

C H A P. 29.

Of Chorepiscopi, or Rurall Bishops, forbidden by old Canons to encroach upon the Episcopall office; and of the institution and necessary use of Arch-presbyters, or Deanes.

10 Canone 13.
11 Damasc. ep. 5.

FOR the more easie governing of their Churches, in number many, and in place farre distant one from another, some of the Bishops in ancient times communicated part of their authority to some principall men, which in places farre remote from them supplied their absence, and performed some things pertaining to them. These were called *Chorepiscopi*, either for that they were *χωρει ἐπισκοποι*, that is, rurall Bishops; or else for that they were in steed of the Bishops, and in many things supplied their places, and did their duties. The first institution of these as it appeareth by the Councell of ^a *Neocæsarea*; and ^b *Damasus* in his Epistle written concerning these Rurall Bishops, was specially, that they might be assistant to the Bishop in receiving such contributions, oblations, and set rents, as were for the maintenance of the Bishop, and his Clergie, the reliefe of the poore and needy, and the entertainment of strangers; as also in taking care of the poore, and providing for them out of the common treasury, the Bishop himselfe being farre off. Afterwards in proceesse of time there were some Bishops that put over unto these the care, execution, and performance of such things as properly pertained to themselves, that they might take their ease, and attend their owne private affaires; like harlots, that put out their children to be nursed by others, that themselves in the meane while may satisfie their lusts,

as a great Bishop, not without some bitternesse, speaketh: whence it came that these *Chorepiscopi* waxed proud and insolent, and in the end being but Presbyters, presumed to ordaine Priests and Deacons, and to doe such things, as none but Bishops ought to doe: whereupon they were controlled by the learned Bishops that lived in those times, and the Councils holden by them, *Damasus* so farre disliketh their presumption in ordaining Priests and Deacons, that hee will not have them to ordaine sub-deacons or inferiour Clerkes. The Councils of *Ancyra*, and *Hispalis*, *Leo* the great, and *John* the third, forbid them the ordaining of Priests and Deacons, mentioning not the other inferiour Clerkes. The Councell of *Antioche* saith, the rurall Bishops that have received imposition of hands of Bishops and have bin ordained as Bishops, may ordaine Sub-deacons, and other inferiour Clerkes; but Priests or Deacons without the Bishop of the Citie, or as some reade it, without the privity of the Bishop of the Citie, they may not; thereby insinuating that with his consent they may. Out of which Councell *Bellarmino* collecteth two things: The first that in the primitive Church there were two sorts of *Chorepiscopi* or rurall Bishops, whereof the former had Episcopall ordination, that is, were ordained of three Bishops like the Suffragan Bishops of our time: the later were but Presbyters: The second, that the Councell appointing the rurall Bishop to be ordained by the Bishop of the Citie, meant to forbid that there should be any more such rurall Bishops as have Episcopall ordination, whereunto the concurrence of three Bishops at the least is required: and thereupon he thinketh, the Councell of *Antioche* permitting rurall Bishops to ordaine Subdeacons, and the Decretall of *Damasus* forbidding them so to doe, may bereconciled; for that the Councell permitting the ordination of Subdeacons to rurall Bishops, speaketh of such as were ordained of three Bishops: and the Decretall of *Damasus* forbidding them to meddle in such ordination, of such as were but meere Presbyters. But whosoever shall take a view of the Decretall Epistle of *Damasus*, shall finde that he condemneth the intermeddling of any rurall Bishops whatsoever in ordination, and shutteth them out of the Church, as men that neither have or can have any place in the same. What is *Chorepiscopus*, saith *Damasus*, but a countrey Bishop? and if he be a countrey Bishop, what doth he in the Citie? the Canon altogether forbidding, that there should be two Bishops in one Citie. If he be not in the Citie, but in some countrey village, and in such place where there never was any Bishop before (the Canon forbidding Bishops to be ordained in meane cities, villages, or forts, or in any place whatsoever where Bishops have not bin placed in former times, least the authority, and name of Bishops grow into contempt) what I pray you shall he be? For behold, neither doth the place agree with his ordination, nor his ordination with the place: because, if such rurall Bishops have received the imposition of the hands of many Bishops, and have bin ordained as Bs, they should not have bin consecrated in a country village, such as the Greek word *206* importeth, the Canon forbidding Bs to be placed in villages, small forts, or litle Cities. Give me therefore a reason, saith he, I pray you, of the constituting of these men: or if you cannot, as I know you cannot, lay your hand on your mouth, and assure your selves, that they have no place nor authority in the Church of God, divers things making voyd their ordination, and whatsoever thing they attempt to doe by vertue of such ordination: Whereof the first is, for that they are wont to be ordained by one B. wherein their ordination is against the Canons concerning Bishops, which will have Bishops ordained by the imposition of the hands of 3 Bishops at the least. The 2^d, for that if they be ordained by many Bishops, yet they are placed in some village, litle fort, or small City: or at least in some such place where lawfully Bishops may not be ordained, or formerly have not bin, & where the authority, and name of a Bishop will grow into contempt: or if they be placed in a Citie, they are placed there with another B., whereas the Canons permit not 2 Bishops in one Citie. The 3^d is, for that if they have bin ordained at large, & neither placed in city, nor country village, as it hath bin reported unto us of some, their ordination is voyd, because the Canons do voyd all ordinations at large: so that which way soever we turn us, we shall finde that these men neither have, nor can have any Episcopall authority or place. This is the resolution of this great

Damasus ib.

Canone 12

Hispalens. 2.

Canone 7.

Epist. 86. &

88.

In epist. ad E-

piscop Germani-

niz & Galliz.

Canone 10.

De Clericis,

lib. 1. c. 14.

Epist. supra

citat.

1 Aug. ep. 110.

Roman Bishop, who wholly rejecteth this kinde of rurall Bishops, and will not have them at all to intermeddle in any thing peculiarly pertaining to the Episcopall office. But some man will say, May not a Bishop when he is growne aged, infirme, and unable to sustaine and beare the weight of that great office, have a *Coadjutor* or Assistant? Surely there is no doubt but that he may have one joyned unto him, to beare part of his burthen; but that that other should have Episcopall ordination, the Canons permit not: whereupon S. *Augustine* now aged, and distracted with multiplicitie of manifold busineses concerning the state of the whole Church, desirous, with the consent of his Clergie and people, to have *Eradius* a Presbyter of his Church joyned unto him as a *Coadjutor* while he lived, and designed to succede him after his death, would by no meanes have him ordained a Bishop, but to continue a Presbyter still, though himselfe had bin ordained a Bishop, while *Valerius* yet lived. His words are these, *Adhuc in corpore posito beata memoria Patre & Episcopo meo Valerio, Episcopus ordinatus sum, & sedi cum illo: quod Concilio Niceno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam, nec ipse sciebat. Quod ergo reprehensum est in me, nolo reprehendi in filio meo: erit Presbyter, ut est; quando Deus voluerit, futurus Episcopus. Obsecro vos, & obstringo per Christum, ut huic juveni, huic Presbytero Eradio, quem hodie in Christi nomine designo Episcopum successorem mihi, patiamini refundere onera occupationum mearum, &c.* that is, While my Father and Bishop *Valerius* yet lived, I was ordained a Bishop, and sat together with him, which I knew not to have bin forbidden in the *Nicene* Councell, neither did he know it. What therefore was disliked in me, I will not have to be blamed in my sonne, hee shall continue a Presbyter as he is, and when God will he shall be a Bishop. I beseech you, and earnestly entreate you for Christs sake, that you will give me leave, in some sort to ease my selfe, and to cast the burthen of my employments upon the shoulders of this young man, this Presbyter *Eradius*, whom this day in the name of Christ, I appoint and designe the Bishop that shall succede me. My counsell shall not be wanting to him, neither will I faile to supply what shall be any way defective or wanting in him. Thus wee see, a *Coadjutor* was allowed, but yet such a one as should be but a Presbyter: and therefore long after the time of *Augustine*, when *Zacharias* Bishop of *Rome* associated another Bishop, as a *Coadjutor* to *Bonifacius* the Bishop of *Mentz*, he confesseth it to be a thing that was forbidden, and worthy reprehension: but that upon his importunity, of speciall favour, he had yeelded so much unto him, that he might have such a *Coadjutor*, whom with the advice of his brethren he might appoint to succede him when he should die. But notwithstanding the Canons forbidding any such thing to be done, and the dislike of many the greatest Bishops of the world, yet in the later ages of the Church, the Bishops giving themselves to ease, or attending secular busineses, and greatly neglecting their Episcopall function, againe reduced into the Church these rurall Bishops, whom they named suffraganes. To these they committed the doing of such things as are most proper unto Bishops, as Ordination and Confirmation, but kept the power of Iurisdiction to themselves, or gave it to some other, and not to these: contrary to the example of Saint *Augustine*, that put over to *Eradius* the hearing of causes, and the performing of thing pertaining to Iurisdiction, himselfe onely directing and overseeing him, but held still himselfe that which is most properly Episcopall. Such Bishops *Melchior Canus* entreating of Councils, and the persons whereof Councils consist, saith, are so faire from having any place or voyce in the Councils, that they neither have, nor ought to have any place in the Church at all.

m Nauder.
vol. 2. gener.
36. p. 667.
Decreti part. 2.
causa 7. q. 1.
c. Petiisti.

n Loc. Theol.
lib. 5. cap. 2.
The Bishops bee
speake of, hee
callesth annular
Bishops, haply
for that where-
as full Bishops
had both staffe
and ring, ex-
pressing their
Iurisdiction as
well as their
espousing to the
Church, these
had the ring
onely.

o Aug. de mo-
rib. Eccl. Cath.
p Duarenus de
fact. Eccl. mi-
nist. l. 1. c. 8.

But whatsoever wee thinke of these, the Bishops in former times for the better governing of their Churches, chose out certaine of their Presbyters to assist them in the supervision and direction of the rest, whom they first named Arch-presbyters, and afterwards Deanes. The name of *Decanus* or Deane being first used, to note out such a Prefect or Governour of Monkes, as had the rule of ten Monkes living together in common: And in this sense the name of a Deane is found in S. *Augustine*. The Arch-presbyters, which Bishops anciently appointed to assist them, were of 2 sorts, *Urban* & *Vicani*, that is, such as lived in the great Church in the City, and such as lived abroad

in the countrey, and were thereupon named rurall Arch-presbyters, or rurall Deanes. Touching the former, who lived in the great Church in the Citie, because the Bishop alone either in respect of absence, or employments, could not execute all things that pertained to the service belonging to his place, nor give paticular direction to every other what he should doe, they were chosen out of the whole number of Presbyters, partly to execute and performe what the Bishop in his own person should have done, and partly to prescribe to others what they should doe. The rurall Arch-presbyters had the oversight and direction of the Presbyters, that were placed in the lesser Titles, or meaner Churches, abroad in the countrey. Concerning these we finde it thus decreed; *Ut singula plebes Archipresbyterum habeant, qui non solum imperiti vulgi sollicitudinem gerat, sed etiam Presbyterorum qui per minores Titulos habitant, vitam iugi circumspeditione custodiat, quâ quisque industriâ divinum opus exerceat. Episcopo enunciet; nec contendat Episcopus non egere plebem Archipresbytero, quasi ipse eam gubernare valeat; quia etsi valde idoneus sit, decet tamen ut sua onera partiatur, ut sicut ipse matriçi Ecclesia præstet, ita Archipresbyteri præstent plebibus, ut in nullo titubet Ecclesiastica sollicitudo; cuncta tamen referant ad Episcopum, nec aliquid contra ejus decretum ordinare præsumant;* that is, That each division of the people of God in their severall limits have their Arch-presbyter, who may not onely take care of the rude and ignorant multitude, but may also with continuall circumspection observe and look unto the life and conversation of the Presbyters, which dwell in the lesser Titles, and shew unto the Bishop with what diligence each of them performeth the work of God. Neither let the Bishop contend and say, that the people committed to his charge neede no Arch-presbyter, as if he himselfe were able sufficiently to govern the same, because, though he be exceeding worthy, yet it is fit he should divide his burthens, that as he is over the Mother Church, so the Arch-presbyters may be over the people abroad, that the Ecclesiasticall care itagger not, or be not too weake in any thing. Yet notwithstanding let them referre all things to the Bishop, neither let them presume to order any thing against his liking and decree. These rurall Arch-presbyters were to be chosen by the Clergie, and confirmed by the Bishop, and being so placed, might not be removed without the consent of the Clergie. *Archipresbyterum, saith the second Councell of Turone, sine omnium Presbyterorum consensu de loco deicere Episcopus non præsumat: quem autem negligentia ejicit, cum omnium Presbyterorum consilio refutetur:* that is, Let not the Bishop presume to remove, or put an Arch-presbyter from his place, without the consent of all the Presbyters: but when the negligence of any one of these maketh him worthy to be rejected and put out, let him be rejected with the counsell and advise of all the Presbyters. Touching the power and authority of these Arch-presbyters; first they were to admonish such as they saw to live scandalously, or any way to offend, as well Lay-men as Clergi-men; and the Councell of *Antisiodorum* decreeth, that if any Lay or secular man shall contemne, and despise the information and admonition of the Arch-presbyter, he shall be kept from entring or setting his feete within the thresholds of the holy Church, till he shall submit himselfe to the wholsome information and admonition: 2^{ly}, they were twice in the yeare to visit all the Churches within the limits subject to them, to see what was there amisse, defective, or weake, that so they might either reforme, supply, or strengthen and confirme the same: 3^{ly}, they were to receive warrants from the Bishop or his Substitute, and by vertue thereof to cite all such to make their appearance before the chiefe Pastour or Bishop, as were upon any occasion to be convented before him: and this their citation of such parties to be convented, under the seale of their office they were to certifie the Bishop of. Fourthly, they were to hold Chapters in a set course foure times in the yeare, and at other times as often as urgent occasions should require; and all Parish Ministres within a yeare after their being possessed of their Livings, were to swear to the Deane, and so to be admitted as brethren to sit in Chapters with him, & to be bound to come to the yearly Chapters, and otherwise also when as upon urgent cause the Deane should call a Chapter; and to beare part of the charge. This oath which the Ministres were to take before they were admitted to sit in Chapter, was

Decret. Greg.
9. ex Synod. h.
bit. Ravennæ
l. 1. Tit. 25.

Concil. Tur.
nonens. 2. ca.
nonc 7.

Canone 44.

Synod. Aug.

Linwood. li.
2. de iudiciis,
fol. 45.

Idem. l. 1. de
Constitution.
Synod. Tre-
bitens. de De-
canis Christia-
nitaris.

not simple, but with this limitation, *Salvis juribus Capituli*; that is, No way to prejudice the rights of the Chapter. In these Chapters the Arch-presbyters were to publish the decrees of Provinciaall and Episcopall Synodes, excluding Lay-men at such times as they published things precisely concerning the Clergie, which otherwise might be present at the publication of things generally concerning all. Neither were they onely to publish such decrees in their Chapter, but to urge the execution of the same, to take notice of all places of Ministry voyd, upon what occasion, and by whose fault they continued voyd; of all intrusion into places of Ministry, and of the investiture of all such as newly entred into the charge of Ministry, and the authority by which substitutes supply the places of other men. And besides, they were to admonish such as either by their visitation or other information they found to be faulty: And if by other good meanes they could not winne them to suspend Lay-men from the Sacraments, and Clergi-men from the execution of their offices, but farther they might not goe. But in case of obstinate continuance of disordered persons in their misdemeanours, notwithstanding these proceedings, they were to complaine to the Bishop, if the matter required haste, or otherwise to the next Episcopall Synode. For the Bishop in each Diocesse having certaine thus appointed to assist and helpe him in the supervision of the rest, as well of the Clergie as the people, was once in the yeare to hold a Synode with the chiefe of his Prelates, Deanes rurall, and other worthy men. *Annis singulis* (saith Gratian) *Episcopus in sua Diocesi Synodum faciat de suis Clericis & Abbatibus, & discutiatur alteros Clericos, & Monachos*; that is, Let the Bishop every yeare hold a Synode in his Diocesse of his Clerkes and Abbots, and let him therein discusse and examine the learning, conversation, and behaviour of other Clerkes and Monkes. The Synode of *Coleine* under *Adolphus* confirmed by *Charles* the fifth, appointed this Diocesan Synode to bee holden twice every yeare, according to the old manner and custome. And the Synode of *Coleine* under *Hermannus* ordaineth, that the Bishop or his officiall Generall with the Prelates of the Metropolitick, Cathedrall, and Collegiate Churches, especially the Archdeacons and Deanes rurall, who in some part are taken into the fellowship of the Bishops cares, shall enquire into things out of order; and what hee shall find by their judgement to need reformation, he shall with their advise amend and reforme. The like doth *Laurentius* the Popes Legate decree and ordaine. Yea the Councell of *Trent* confirmeth the same also; and the Councell of *Coleine* under *Adolphus* taketh order, that Deanes of Colledges comming to the Episcopall Synode in the name of their Colledges, and rurall Deanes in the name of the Parish Ministers within their divisions, shall have their charges borne by such their Colledges and Ministers, according to the number of dayes the Synode endureth, seeing they goe on warfare for God. The forme of holding a Diocesan Synode *Joverius* out of *Burchardus* describeth in this sort: *At a convenient houre when it seemeth good to the Bishop or his Vicegerent, all other doores being locked, let the Officiaries stand at that, by which the Presbyters are to enter, and comming together, let them goe in and sit according to their ordination: after these the approved Deacons which order shall require to be present; let some Lay-men also of good conversation be brought in, and then let the Bishop or his substitute enter; who entring into the Synode, is first to salute the Clergie & people; and then turning towards the East to say a certaine prayer: and the Deacons to read the Gospel, When it was late the first day of the Sabbath, and the doores were shut, &c. after which reading and prayers, all are to goe out save the Presbyters and Clerkes only: and after departure of the rest, another prayer being made, the Bishop shall will the Presbyters to propose their doubts, and either to learne or teach, and to make knowne their complaints, that so they may receive satisfaction. This is all that is done the first day. The second day, if the Clergie have no matter of complaint or doubt, let the Laitie be let in to propose their doubts, and make knowne their grievances, or otherwise let their comming in be deferred till some other day. Besides this Synode, which every Bishop was to hold once every yeare, he was to goe from Church to Church, and see all the Churches in his Diocesse. The second Councell of *Bracar* appointed, that the Bishop shall goe through all his Churches, enforming both*

2. Statu Syno-
da. Episc. Hil-
dement.

4. Decret. part.
1. dist. 18. cap.
Annis Conc.
Tarrac. can. 8.

6. Reformat.
Cleri Germani-
z. per Laur.
Legat. Clem.
7. apud Iove-
rium. class. 2.
sect. 3.
c. 24. cap. 2.

4. Iover. clas. 2.
sect. 2.

c. Canon. 1.

both Presbyters and people : and the third Councell of *Arles* prescribeth, that hee ^{f Canone 17.} shall enquire and take notice of the wrongs offered to those of meane and poore estate, by them that are great and in authority, and first seeke to reforme such evils by Episcopall admonition and counsell; but if he cannot so prevaile, he shall acquaint the King with it. The Bishop, saith the fourth Councell of *Toledo*, must goe every yeare ^{g Canone 33.} through his Diocesse, and see all his Churches and Parishes, that he may enquire what what reparations the Churches doe neede, and what other things be amisse. But if he be either detained by sicknesse, or so entangled with businesse that he cannot goe, let him send some approved Presbyters or Deacons, which may not onely consider of the ruines of each Church, and the needfull reparations thereof, but enquire also into the life and conversation of the Clergie, and Ministers. According to the decree and direction of this Councell, we shall finde, that Bishops hindered by other employments, sicknesse, weaknesse, or age, so that they could not go in person to visit their Churches, sent some of their chiefe Presbyters or Deacons, but especially the chiefe Deacons, to performe the worke of visitation for them, because they being the chiefe among the Deacons, which are but Church-servants, were more attendant about them for dispatch of all publick businesse, than Presbyters. These chiefe Deacons, or Archdeacons at first they sent onely to visit, and to make report, but not to sententiate any mans cause, or to meddle with the correcting or reforming of any thing; but afterwards in proceesse of time they were authorized to heare and determine the smallest matters, and to reforme the lighter and lesser offences : and therefore in the Councell of *La-* ^{h Conc. Later: de Sent. & Interlocut. 4.} *terane* under *Alexander* the third, it is ordered, that the Archdeacon shall not give sentence against any one : But in the Councell of *Rhoane* it is appointed, that the ^{i Conc. Rhomag apud Idverium 3. claf. sect. 2. ex Burchard. l. 1. c. 90.} Arch-deacon and Arch-presbyter shall be fore-runners to the Bishop, and shall reforme the lighter and smaller things they finde to be amisse.

Hence in time it came, that Archdeacons much used by Bishops, as most attendant on them in the visitation of their Churches, and reforming some smaller disorders, at length by prescription claymed the correction of greater things, as having of long time put themselves into the exercise of such authority. And thus the Deacons, or at least the chiefe of them, the Archdeacons (which at first might not sit in the presence of a Presbyter, but being willed by him so to doe) in the end became, by reason of this their employment by the Bishop, to be greater, not onely then the ordinary Presbyters, but then the Archpresbyters themselves. And therefore it is confessed by all, that the Archdeacon hath no authority or power of Iurisdiction by vertue of his degree and order, but by prescription onely : neither can he claime more than he can prescribe for; which his prescription is thought reasonable, because the Bishop is supposed to have consented to his intermeddling in such parts of government, as by prescription hee may claime. Yet lest it might seeme absurd for him that is onely a Deacon, to exercise Iurisdiction over Presbyters. the Canon of the Church provideth, that no man shall possesse the place of an Archdeacon, unlesse he have the ordination of a Presbyter.

Besides the Deanes or Arch-presbyters, which the Bishops used for the governing and overseeing of certaine parts of their Diocesse allotted to them, with such limitations as they pleased, and for counsell and advise in managing of their weightiest affaires; and the Archdeacons, which they used as spies in all places, and trusted with the dispatch of what they thought fit; they had for their direction in cases of doubt, and for their ease in the multiplicity of their employments, ^{Annōt. in 2. l. Linwood. de sequestration.} certaine of their Clergie, skilfull in the Canons, and Lawes of the Church, whom they used as Officials to heare all manner of causes, and matters of instance betweene party and party, but suffered them not to meddle in the censuring and punishing of criminall things, or in any matter of office: but in case of absence or sicknesse, they had Vicars generall, that might doe any thing almost that pertaineth to the Bishops Iurisdiction. The former are not onely named Officialls, but Chancellours, though the name of Chancellour bee not in this sense so ancient as the former. ^{Onuphrius in interp. vocum Ecclē.} *Cancellarius* originally, and properly signifieseth a Notarie or Secretarie, because these for the preserving of their writings

and notes of remembrance, were wont to sit and write *Intra cancellos*, that is, Within certaine places inclosing them, made in the manner of Checquer-worke: But from hence in time it came to be used for any one that is employed for the giving of answer unto Sutors, for keeping of Records and notes of remembrance, and generally for the performance of some principall duties pertaining to him, whose Chancellour hee is said to bee.

C H A P. 30.

Of the forme of the government of the Church, and the institution and authority of Metropolitanes and Patriarches.

THis being the forme of government of each Dioceffe, and particular Church, let us consider what dependance or subordination such particular Churches have. For it cannot, nor may not be imagined, that each Dioceffe, or particular Church is absolutely supream, and subject to no higher authority. The Papists are of opinion, that Christ constituted and appointed one chiefe Pastour, with universality of power, as his Vicegerent generall upon earth, placed him in the chiefe Citie of the world, and set him over all the other both Bishops and Churches: But the ancient Fathers are of another opinion. For *Hierome* pronounceth, that all Bishops are equall in order, office, and ministerie, whether of *Rome*, *Eugubium*, *Tanis*, or *Constantinople*, howsoever riches and magnificence of Churches and Cities, may make one seeme to be greater than another: and *Cyprian* speaketh to the same purpose, saying: ^b Let no Bishop make himselfe a Judge of other, every one having received his authority from Christ, and therefore being accountant to him onely. And this hee speaketh upon occasion of a difference betweene him and the *Roman* Bishops of that time, about Rebaptization.

^a Hieron. ad Euagrium,

^b Cyprian lib. 2. epist. 1. & in Concilio Carthaginensi.

^c Ockam. Dialog. 1. 2. tract. 1. part. 3. cap. 30.

Wherefore let us examine these contrary opinions, and see which of them is most agreeable unto truth and reason. For the confirmation of the former of these two opinions, the *Romanists* alleadge many things, to prove, that the best forme of Regiment and government is a Monarchie, and consequently that Christ who undoubtedly established the best forme, appointed one supream Monarch in his Church. To this allegation *Ockam* most excellently and learnedly answereth in his *Dialogues*, shewing and proving at large, that though the government of one, or a Monarchie, bee the best forme of Regiment in one Citie or Countrey, as *Aristotle* rightly teacheth, yet it is not the best forme of policie and government in respect of the whole world, and all the parts of it, so farre distant and remote one from another, because the whole world, and the infinite different countries and regions of it, regularly may be better governed by many, whereof no one is superiour to other, than by one alone: neither is the same forme of government alwayes most expedient for the whole, and for each part; for greater circuits, and for straiter or narrower bounds: seeing one man may sustaine the burthen of hearing, determining, and dispatching the greater causes and more important matters in one kingdome or countrey; but no one can so manage the weightiest businesses of the whole world. And that in like sort, though it be expedient that there should bee one Bishop over some part of the Church and people of God, yet there is not the same reason that there should be one over the whole, seeing no one can dispatch the greater businesses, and manage the weightier affaires of the whole Christian world. Besides, he saith, it would bee most dangerous, that there should be any such one supream Ruler of the whole Church; for that, if he should fall into error or heresie, all the whole world would be in great danger to be seduced, the members, for the most part, conforming themselves to their head, and the inferiours to their rulers and superiours. That which *Ockam* saith, may bee confirmed by the authority of Saint *Augustine*, who thinketh a Monarchie or the government of one supream Ruler, most fit for the severall countries and parts of the world, but not for the whole. His words are: *Feliciores essent res humanae si omnia Regna essent parva,*

^d Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 4. c. 15.

concordi vicinitate latantia; that is, The state of worldly things would bee much more happie, if the whole world were divided out into small kingdomes, joyfully conspiring together in a friendly neighbourhood, than if all should be swayed by one supreme Commander.

Thus then wee deny not, but that amongst all the simple and single formes of government, a Monarchie is the best for each countrey and people; neither doth *Calvine* contradict us herein, as *Bellarmino* seemeth to report; for he doth not simply say, that amongst all the simple formes of government *Aristocratie* is best, and to be preferred, but onely in the respect of often declinings and swarvings of absolute Kings, hardly moderating themselves so in so free and absolute a libertie of commanding all, as that their wils should never swarve from that which is right and good. But *Bellarmino* himselfe thinketh, that the mixt formes of government are to bee preferred before any of those simple formes of Monarchie, Aristocratie, and Democratic, as having in them the best that is found in every of those single and simple formes. And such is the government of the Church of God (Christ undoubtedly establishing the best forme of government in the same.) For the government of each Diocesse, and particular Church, resteth principally in one, who hath an eminent and peerelesse power, without whom nothing may be attempted or done: yet are there others joyned with him as Assistants, without whose counsell, advise, and consent, he may doe nothing of moment and consequence; whom hee cannot at his pleasure displace and remove from their standings, or deprive them of their honour, or any way hardly censure them of himselfe alone; but in the case of a Deacon, he must have two other Bishops to concur with him, and in the case of a Presbyter, five, without which concurrence he may not proceede against either of them. The government of a Province is principally Aristocraticall, resting in the Bishops of the Province and their Assistants, but it hath a kinde of chieftie of one having a primacie of order and honour amongst the rest, who being placed in the *Metropolis* or Mother Citie is named a *Metropolitane*; This government is so mixed, that the Bishops may doe nothing concerning the state of the whole Province, or out of the limits of their owne Churches, without consulting the Bishop of the Mother Citie, nor he without them; and if they differ in judgement and opinion, he is bound to follow the major part of voces for the ending and determining of all controversies that may or doe arise concerning matters of faith, or of fact. Neither is this the forme of government of one Province onely, but the government of larger circuits is altogether like unto it, and in proportion the same. For, looke what the Metropolitan is in respect of the Bishops of the Province, that and no more is the Primate or Patriarch in respect of the Metropolitans, and Bishops of divers Provinces; so that as the Metropolitan can doe nothing out of his owne Diocesse without the concurrence of the major part of the Bishops of the Province, though hee be in order and honour the first and greatest amongst them, who must bee consulted before they can doe any thing; so in like sort, the Primate or Patriarch may doe nothing without the advise and consent of the Metropolitans and Bishops subject unto him. So that wee see the forme of Church government is mixt in such sort, that in respect of a Diocesse or particular Church, there is a speciall authority resting in one, though not excluding nor neglecting the assistance and concurrence of more; but the government of many particular Churches and Provinces is principally Aristocraticall, all things being swayed by the major part of the voyces of the Bishops and Metropolitans, yet admitting a primacie of order and honour of one amongst the rest, who must be first consulted, from whom all deliberations must take beginning, and who sitteth in all their meetings as a President and Moderator.

This *Bellarmino* endeavoureth to improve, and therefore laboureth to shew, that the supreme power of the Church is not in the company of Bishops. His first reason is, because Christ, as hee supposeth, gave no authority to his Apostles and Disciples, but that which he gave to every one of them apart, as to preach, baptize, binde, and loose, remitte, and retaine sinne. But this silly argument is easily answered, and the absurdity

De Pont.
Rom lib. 1. c. 8.
Calvin. Instit.
lib. 4. cap. 6.

De Pont. Ro.
1. 1. c. 3.

Concil.
Carth. 4.

Concil.
Carth. 3.

Lucius 1. in
Epist. ad Episc.
Hispan. & Gallie.
Concil. Anti-
och. 1. canon.
9. Concil. Ni-
cen canon. 4.
& Concil. Anti-
och. 1. canon.
19.

De Pont.
Rom. 1. 1. c. 8.

Conc. Carth
2, can. 12.

absurditie of *Bellarmines* confident affirmation is too too apparant. For to ordaine Bishops, to depose Bishops or Presbyters, and to determine the differences, and controversies that arise amongst them, is, as I thinke, a great part of Ecclesiasticall power and jurisdiction: yet may no one Bishop doe any of these things, but the company of Bishops onely. To the ordination of a Bishop, the presence of the Metropolitane, and of three other Bishops at the least, with the consent of the rest that are absent, signified in writing, is by the old Canons required: neither did the Church ever admit lesse than three Bishops to ordaine, unlesse in certaine cases of necessity: and touching the depriving or degrading of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, the ancient Canon requireth the concurrence and consent of three Bishops, for the censuring and depriving of a Deacon; of fixe for the depriving of a Presbyter; and of twelve for the censuring, judging, and deposing of a Bishop. Wherefore let us see, if the Cardinall have any better reason behinde.

His second reason is, that it cannot bee imagined that CHRIST committed the government of the Church to the company of Bishops; for that then the Church should oftentimes lacke Governours, for that the Bishops are seldome assembled by joynt consent to decree and determine things. Surely this reason hath farre lesse strength than the former; for in the beginning all the Bishops of each Province met to the ordination of every Bishop newly elected; and twice in the yeare besides, there was a Synode holden, consisting of all the Bishops of the Province, the Metropolitane not onely having power, but also being straightly bound to convocate his brethren: and they as surely tyed and obliged to come when hee called them.

His third reason which he bringeth to prove that the government of the Church was not by Christ committed to the company of Bishops, but to some one chiefe and supream amongst them, is, for that the whole multitude of right beleeving Christians is one Church, and therefore must have one chiefe Ruler. For answer hereunto wee say, that a Church may bee named one either in respect of the same faith, hope, profession, meanes of salvation, and communion or fellowship of Saints: and so the whole multitude of right beleevers throughout the world is but one Church: or in respect of the same immediate communicating together in Sacraments, and in the actions and exercises of Gods worship and service. The unitie of the Church of God in this later sort implieth and requireth a necessity of the unity of one chiefe Pastour; but the unity of the Church in the former sort may stand without the unitie of one Pastour. Christian men, saith *Ockam*, in Scripture are compared to sheepe, and the Church of God to a fold. Now though it bee expedient that these sheepe so many as belong to the same particular fold, that goe out to the same pastures to feede, to the same rivers of water to drinke, and doe remaine and abide together, should be fed, directed, and guided by the same Pastour; yet the sheepe of divers folds led out to divers pastures to feede in, and rivers of water to drinke, may have their diversity of Pastours under the same chiefe Shepherd Christ Jesus: neither is there any unitie implied in the whole Church, or in the Churches of divers Provinces which may not be preserved, as well by the multitude and diversitie of Pastours, bound and knit together in the bond of conspiring consent and agreement, as by the unity of one chiefe Pastour. And in this sort wee shall finde the Church of God to have stood in perfect unity in the first and best ages thereof, without finding any want of the helpe of one chiefe Pastour. For how could there bee a more perfect unitie in the whole Church, than when the Pastour of each particular Church chosen by the Clergie, and people of the same, was appointed by the Metropolitane, and all the rest of the Bishops of the Province, for his sincerity in profession, and godlinesse of conversation, and ordained to the worke of the Ministry by the joynt imposition of all their hands? when the Metropolitanes of severall Provinces were confirmed by the Patriarche or Patriarch, but ordained by the Bishops of their Provinces? when the Patriarches elected by the Clergie and people, and ordained by their Metropolitanes, sent their Synodall letters one to another, testifying and expressing their faith and profession

Ockam. Dial.
log. l. 2. tract. 1.
part. 3. c. 30.

Vide Decret.
Damasi ex
Decr. Iuonis
Carnotens. l. 1.
in Tom. 1.
Concil. apud
Binnium, pag.
505.

Greg. lib. 1.
epist. 24.
Vide exemplar
literarum Thar-
asti ad sum-
mos Sacerdo-
tes & Episco-
pos Antiochie,
Alexandrie, &
Sanctæ Urbis.
in 3. Action.
Synodi 7. apud
Binnium.

fection, before they were received and allowed one of another, and before they were accounted and reputed for lawfull Patriarches?

Wherefore, presupposing that the government of the Church is not Monarchicall in respect of any one supream Pastour on earth, but mixt; and having seene how, notwithstanding the diversity of many Pastours, the Church may be preserved in peace and unity, let us more exactly and distinctly consider what the ancient forme of Church policie and government was.

If wee looke into the monuments of Antiquity, wee shall finde, that there were anciently three Subordinations in the Church. For the actions of the Bishop of each particular Church of a Citie, and places adjoyning, were subject to the censure and judgement of the rest of the Bishops of the same Province; amongst whom, for order sake, there was one chiefe, to whom it pertained to call them together, to sit as Moderator in the midst of them being assembled, and to execute what by joynt consent they resolved on. The actions of the Bishops of a Province, and a Provinciaall Synode consisting of those Bishops, were subject to a Synode consisting of the Metropolitans, and other Bishops of divers Provinces. This Synode was of two sorts. For either it consisted of the Metropolitans and Bishops of one Kingdome and nation onely, as did the Councils of *Africa*: or of the Metropolitans, and Bishops of many Kingdomes. If of the Metropolitans and Bishops of one Kingdome and State onely, the chiefe Primate was Moderator. If of many, one of the Patriarches, and chiefe Bishops of the whole world, every Church being subordinate to some one of the Patriarchicall Churches, and incorporate into the unity of it. Thirdly, the actions of the Bishops of a whole Kingdome and Patriarchship, were subject to an Oecumenicall Synode consisting of all the Patriarches, and the Metropolitans and Bishops subject to them.

Touching Provinciaall Councils, to the censures whereof the actions of particular Churches are subject, they were by the ancient Canons of the Church to be holden in every Province twice every yeare. *It is very necessary, say the Fathers of the Council of Nice, that there should be a Synode twice every yeare in every Province, that all the Bishops of the Province meeting together, may in common thinke upon those things that are doubtfull and questionable. For the dispatch of Ecclesiasticall businesses, and the determining of matters in controversie. Wee thinke it were fit, say the Fathers in the Council of Antioche, that in every Province Synodes of Bishops should be assembled twice every yeare. The first Council of Constantinople decreeth the same; and the Fathers assembled in the Council of Chalcedon complaine, that in some Provinces the Synodes of Bishops are not holden, and that thereby many Ecclesiasticall matters needing reformation are neglected: and therefore they appoint, that the Bishops of every Province shall assemble every yeare twice at that place, which the Bishop of the mother Citie shall thinke fit, to amend all things that shall be found to be amisse in the Province.* Here we see the necessity of holding these Synodes, and by whom they were to be called and moderated. Wherefore let us now proceede to see of whom they consisted, what causes they examined and determined, what the power of the Metropolitan originally was, and what in processe of time, by positive constitution, upon due and iust considerations it grew to be.

Touching the persons that Provinciaall Synodes consisted of, it is cleare and evident, that not onely Bishops, but Presbyters also were present in these Assemblies, and had decisive voyces: whereupon the Council of *Antisiodorum* saith; *Let all the Presbyters being called, come to the Synode in the Citie.* The Council of *Tarracon*: *Let letters bee sent by the Metropolitan to his Brethren, that they bring with them to the Synode, not onely some of the Presbyters of the Cathedrall Church, but also of each Diocese.* And the fourth Council of *Toledo*, describing the forme of celebrating Provinciaall Synods hath these words: *Let the Bishops assembled goe to the Church, and sit according to the time of their ordination; and after all the Bishops are entred and set, let the Presbyters be called, and the Bishops sitting in compasse, let Presbyters sit behind them, and the Deacons stand before them.* In the first Council of *Toledo*, we find these words: *Consedensibus*

Concil. Nice.
Canon. 5.

Concil. Anti-
och. canon. 20.

Canone 2.
Canone 19.

Concil. Anti-
fiod. canone 7.
Concil. Tarrac.
canone 13.

Concil. Tolet.
4. can. 3.

¹ *Considentibus Presbyteris, astantibus Diaconis, & ceteris qui intererant Concilio con-*
² *gregato, Patronus Episcopus dixit, &c.* that is, The Presbyters sitting together with
the Bishops, the Deacons standing before them, and the rest, which were present in
the Councell assembled, *Patronus* the Bishop said, &c. The like we reade of a Synode
holden by *Gregorie* the Pope. The words are these: ² *Gregorius Papa coram sacratis-*
³ *fimo corpore beati Petri Apostoli, cum Episcopis omnibus Romana Ecclesia, & Presby-*
⁴ *teris residens, assistentibus Diaconis, & cuncto Clero, dixit, &c.* that is, *Gregorie* the
Pope sitting before the most sacred body of blessed *Peter*, with all the Bishops of the
Roman Church and the Presbyters also, the Deacons standing before them, and all the
Clergie, said, &c. And that Presbyters were not only present in Provinciaall Synodes,
but had decisive voyces as well as Bishops, it appeareth by their ⁵ subscribing to the
Decrees of such Synodes, in the very same forme and manner that Bishops did. So
that it will be found most false and untrue that ⁶ *Bellarmino* hath, that Presbyters have
no voyces in Synodes: and the ancient forme of our Convocation here in *England*,
wherein not onely the Archbishops, and Bishops, but sundry Presbyters also, as well
out of Cathedrall Churches as Dioceffe at large, are present, and have decisive voyces,
will clearely refute the same.

The causes that were wont to be examined and determined, in the meeting of the
Bishops of the Province, were the ⁷ ordinations of Bishops, when any Churches were
voyd, and the depriving and rejecting of all such, as were found unworthy of their
honour and place: and in a word, any complaint of wrong done in any Church, was
there to be heard. ⁸ *Let the Provinciaall Synodes be holden twice every yeare, saith the*
Councell of *Antioch*, and let the Presbyters and Deacons bee present, and as many as
thinke they have beene any way hurt or wronged, there expect the determination of the
Synode. The power of the Metropolitane, was in calling the rest of the Bishops to
the Synode, in appointing the place of their meeting, and in sitting as President in the
middest of them: and so were things moderated, that ⁹ neither the rest might proceede
to doe any thing without consulting with him, nor he to doe any thing without them,
but was tyed in all matters of difference to follow the major part; and if he neglected
his dutie in convocating his brethren, that so things might be determined by com-
mon consent, hee was by the Canons subject to censure and punishment. Thus at first
all matters were to bee heard, determined, and ended by Synodes, and they holden
twice every yeare: But in proceffe of time, when the Governours of the Church could
not conveniently assemble in Synode twice a yeare, the Fathers of the sixth ¹⁰ generall
Councell decreed, that yet in any case there should be a Synode of Bishops once every
yeare for Ecclesiasticall questions. Likewise the ¹¹ seventh generall Councell decreeth
in this sort: *Whereas the Canon willett judicall inquisition to bee made twice every*
yeare by the assembly of Bishops in every Province, and yet for the misery and poverty of
such as should travell to Synodes, the Fathers of the sixth Councell decreed, it should bee
once in the yeare, and then things amisse to be redressed, we renew this later Canon. So
that, whereas at the first there was a Synode of Bishops in every Province twice in
the yeare, now it was sufficient if the Bishops met once. But afterwards, many things
falling out to hinder their happie meetings, we shall finde that they met not so often,
and therefore the Councell of ¹² *Basil* appointeth Episcopall Synodes to be holden
once every yeare, and Provinciaall at the least once in three yeares: and so in time, cau-
ses growing many, and the difficulties intollerable in comming together, and in staying
to heare these causes thus multiplied and encreased, it was thought fitter to referre
the hearing of complaints and Appeales to Metropolitanes, and such like Ecclesiasti-
call Judges, limited and directed by Canons and Imperiall Lawes, than to trouble the
Pastours of whole Provinces, and to wrong the people by the ¹³ absence of their Pa-
stours and Guides.

Thus having spoken of the authority of the Metropolitane and his Councell in
every Province, it remaineth that we come to Synodes of a larger extent. These, be-
sides Occumenicall, whereof wee will not yet speake, were of two sorts; Patriarchi-
call, wherein one of the Patriarches and chiefe Bishops of the world sate as President;
or

or Nationall, consisting of the Bishops of many Provinces, within one Countrey or Kingdome, wherein the Primate sate as President: of which sort the Councils of *Africa* were; concerning which Councils it is ordained in the third Councell of *Carthage*, that once every yeare there shall be a generall assembly of the Bishops of *Africa*, to which all the Provinces which have *primas sedes*, that is, first Sees, and so may hold Provinciaall Councils, shall out of their Councils send two Bishops, or as many as they shall thinke fit; but that out of *Tripolis*, because of the poverty of the Bishops of it, one Bishop shall come. In these Councils, the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* were sometimes present, not as Presidents, but Assistants, as other Metropolitans were. There were many Provinces which had *primas sedes*, that is, first Sees, and so consequently many Primates; yet for distinction, some call him that was Bishop of that first See (which was in honour before all the rest of the same countrey and kingdome, and to whom in all common deliberations the other Metropolitans did resort, by an excellencie, the Primate; and the rest by the common name of Metropolitans; in which sense the Bishop of *Carthage* was Primate of all *Africa*; and so is a Primate in order and honour before Metropolitans, but inferiour unto a Patriarch. Of this distinction of degrees of honour amongst Metropolitans and chiefe Bishops, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* writeth in this sort: *Post Sacerdotes altiores sunt Principes Sacerdotum, id est, Episcopi: supra quos iterum sunt Archiepiscopi: & supra illos qui dicuntur Primates: supra quos quidam Patriarchas constituere volunt: alii eosdem Patriarchas & Primates dicunt:* that is, After Priests wee are to reckon the chiefe Priests, that is, Bishops, as in the first degree and honour above them: above whom againe are Archbishops, and above them they that are named Primates: above whom some will have Patriarches to be placed, but others will have Patriarches and Primates to be all one. *Rabanus* in his Booke *de institutione Clericorum*, sorteth Bishops into three rankes: Patriarches, Archbishops, who also are named Metropolitans; and ordinary Bishops.

Canone 2.

De Sacram.
l. 2. part. 3. c. 5.

Lib. 1. c. 5.

C H A P. 31.

Of Patriarches who they were, and the reason why they were preferred before other Bishops.

Touching the Patriarches, they were in the beginning but onely three: to wit, the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*. The reason, as some thinke, why the Bishops of these places were preferred before other, and made Patriarches, was in respect had to blessed *Peter*, who was in sort before expressed, in order and honour the first and chiefest of the Apostles. For *Antioche* was honoured, for that he sate there for a certaine space, and afterwards governed it by *Evo- dius*: *Alexandria* for that he placed *Marke* his Scholler there: and *Rome* because it was the place of his death and martyrdome, where in his body hee stayeth and expecteth the Resurrection of the dead, and the second comming of Christ. All the Churches founded by any Apostle, are rightly called Apostolick, but these more specially in which the Apostle *Peter* sate. *Secunda sedes*, saith *Anacletus*, apud *Alexandriam* *beati Petri nomine à Marco ejus discipulo consecrata est. Tertia autem sedes apud Antiochiam ejusdem beati Petri Apostoli habetur honorabilis*; that is, The second See, and in degree and honour next unto that of *Rome*, was consecrated at *Alexandria*, by the authority of blessed *Peter*, by *Marke* his Scholler; and the third See honourable for *Peters* presence in the same, is at *Antioche*. *Nihil*, saith *Leo* writing to *Anatholius*, *Alexandria sedi, ejus quam per sanctum Marcum Evangelistam beati Petri discipulum meruit, pereat dignitatis. Antiochena quoq, Ecclesia in qua primum predicante Apostolo Petro, Christianum nomen exortum est, in paterna constitutionis ordine perseveret; & in gradu tertio collocata, nunquam fiat inferior*; that is, Let the See of *Alexandria* lose no part of that dignity which it obtained by Saint *Marke* the Evangelist the disciple of blessed *Peter*. Let the Church of *Antioche* also, in which upon *Peters* preaching, the name of Christians first began, continue in that degree and order, wherein the constitution

Anacletus
epist. 3. iLeo ad Ana-
tol. ep. 53.

c Greg. Epist. l.
6. cp. 37.

stitution of the Fathers set it, and being placed in the third degree, let it never be put lower. This did *Leo* write, when the Bishop of *Constantinople* sought to have the second place in the Church of God, & to be preferred before the Bishops of *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*. *Gregorie* writeth to the same effect to *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*. His words are; *Cum multi sint Apostoli, pro ipso tamen principatu sola Apostolorum Principis Sedes in autoritate convaluit, qua tribus in locis unus est. Ipse enim sublimavit sedem, in qua etiam quiescere & presentem vitam finire dignatus est. Ipse decoravit sedem in qua Evangelistam discipulum misit. Ipse firmavit sedem, in qua septem annis, quamvis discessurus sedit. Cum ergo unus atq; una sit Sedes, cui ex autoritate divina tres nunc Episcopi presidunt, quicquid ego de vobis boni audio, mihi imputo;* that is, Whereas there were many Apostles, yet in respect of the chieftie that *Peter* had, as being Prince of the Apostles, his See onely grew to be in chiefe authority, which in three places, is yet the See but of one and the same Apostle. For hee exalted that See in which he pleased to rest, and end this present life. Hee beautified that See in which he placed *Marke* his Scholler: and he firmly and strongly settled that See in which he sate seven yeares, though with purpose in the end to leave it. When as therefore there is one See of one Apostle, in which by divine authority three sit as Presidents, whatsoever good I heare of you, I impute it to my selfe. And againe in the same place to *Eulogius*, having spoken to him of the dignitie of *Peters* chaire in which he sate, hee saith: Hee hath spoken to me of *Peters* chaire, who himselfe sitteth on *Peters* chaire. This is the opinion of these *Roman* Bishops, touching the reason of the exaltation of the Sees of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* above other Episcopall Sees; who, how partially soever they may be thought to be affected to the chaire of *Peter*, yet herein doe they mainly crosse the conceit of the *Romanists* at this day, in that they teach, that other Bishops succede *Peter* in the chaire, and that chieftie and primacie he had, as well as the Bishop of *Rome*.

d Conc. Nicen.
Canone 6.

e De Pontif.
lib. 2. c. 3.

f Ruff. Hist.
Eccles. l. 1. c. 6.

g Canone 17.

The dignity of these three Apostolicall Churches was confirmed in the *Nicene* Councell, and each of them confined within the ancient bounds and limits thereof. Let the ancient custome, say the *Nicene* Fathers, continue in *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* may have power over all these; seeing the Bishop of *Rome* hath the like custome. In like sort in *Antioche*, and other Provinces, let every Church retaine and keepe her owne degree and honour. *Bellarmino* much troubleth himselfe about this limitation and bounding of these Patriarches, as prejudiciall to the illimited jurisdiction of the *Roman* Bishop: and therefore though it be most cleare that there was a particular assignation of Churches to every of these Patriarches, yet hee seeketh to avoyde the evidence of these words. For whereas *Ruffinus* saith, it was decreede by the Councell of *Nice*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should have care and charge over *Egypt*, as the Bishop of *Rome* hath of the Churches neere that Citie; and *Theodorus Balsamon* in the explication of the *Nicene* Canons, with *Nilus* in his booke against the primacie interpreteth the words of the *Nicene* decree in this sense, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should have the charge of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*, and the confirming of the Metropolitanes in those parts, because the Bishop of *Rome*, who hath a care of the West, confirmeth the Metropolitanes of the West; hee maketh this construction of the words of the Councell: Let the Bishop of *Alexandria* have the charge of *Egypt*, seeing the Bishop of *Rome* was wont to permit him so to have, before any Councell had decreed it. And so, hee saith, *Nicolas* the Pope in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour understandeth the words; which yet is most untrue: for *Nicolas* saith no such thing, but onely that the Councell maketh the custome of the *Roman* Church the patterne for others to follow. But the eighth generall Councell, which no doubt understood the words of the *Nicene* Fathers farre better than *Bellarmino*, sheweth plainly, that the meaning of the *Nicene* Canon was, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should have power over *Egypt*, and the Provinces pertaining to it, to confirme the Metropolitanes in the same, seeing the like custome prevaileth in the *Roman* Church: And this Councell confirmeth the same distinction of the bounds of jurisdiction, within which every Patriarch is to containe

taine him selfe, both for old *Rome* and new, and for the other Churches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. The Canons of the *Nicene* Councell translated out of the *Arabian* tongue, and published by *Turrian*, *Pisanus*, and *Binnius*, will fully cleare this point, if our Adversaries give any credit unto them. * For in the eighth of those Canons, the decree, about the meaning whereof wee contend, is thus set downe: *Constitutum est, ut Episcopus Egypti, id est, Patriarcha Alexandrinus, præsident & habeat potestatem totius Egypti*: that is, It is ordained, that the Bishop of *Egypt*, that is, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, shall sit as President, and have power over all *Egypt*, and over all places, Cities and Townes which are round about it: because so it is fit, and because likewise the Bishop of *Rome*, that is the Successour of *Peter* the Apostle, hath power over all the Cities and places which are about *Rome*. And in like sort let the Bishop of *Antioch* have power over that whole Province, &c. But because perhaps these Canons, though published by themselves, as rare secrets of Antiquity lately brought to light, will bee of little credit with them, I will adde one reason more, which to me seemeth very forcible to confirme our interpretation of the words of the *Nicene* Fathers. ^a There was anciently a great contention betwene the Church of *Rome*, and the Church of *Constantinople*, about the Churches of *Bulgaria*, either of these Churches making claime thereunto, and seeking to bring them within the compasse of their owne jurisdiction: which contention could not have beene, if the one of these two Churches had had an illimited extent of jurisdiction. But that neither of them had any such illimited jurisdiction, it is evident, in that neither *Constantinople*, nor *Rome*, urge any such thing for justification of their claime, but stand upon their converting of the people of *Bulgaria* to the Christian faith, and the planting of Religion amongst them. Which either of these pretending rather than other, sought thereby to justify a title of jurisdiction and authority over them.

Wherefore, resolving that we have the true meaning of the *Nicene* Canon, let us returne thither whence we have a little digressed, namely, to the discourse of Patriarchicall Churches and Bishops set in order and honour before all other. These, as I have already shewed, were at first but three, to which afterwards 2 other were added: First, *Constantinople*, and afterwards *Hierusalem*. Touching the Church and Bishop of *Constantinople*, after that city was by *Constantine* made the seate of the Empire, and thereby as much or more honoured than any city in the world, the Bishop thereof, before little esteemed, grew exceeding great: and in the second Councell, which was the first of *Constantinople*, was made a Patriarch in degree of honour next the Bishop of *Rome*, ⁱ Canone 5. and before the other two: And againe in the Councell of ^k *Chalcedon*, confirmed in the ^k *Actione* 16. same. And though *Leo* resisted against this act of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, and pe- temptorily protested, that he would not suffer the Church of *Alexandria* to lose the dignity of the second See, and the Church of *Antioch* of the third; and his successors many of them persisted in the same resistance; yet they were forced in the end to give way to the exaltation of the *Constantinopolitane* Church; so that after the time of *Justinian* the Emperour, they never made any more words about this matter. Whereby we see that to be true of *Hierome*, ^l *Orbis major est urbe*; that is, The world is greater than any one citie of the world, though *Rome* it self. The Church of *Ierusalem*, as being the place of Christs passion, and whence the preaching of the Gospel took beginning, was ever much honoured; yet was it not so much as a Metropolitan Church at the first; but the Bishop and Clergie thereof were subject to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*, as their Metropolitan, and the Bishop of *Antioch* as their Patriarch; as *Hierome* writing to *Pammachius* against *John* of *Hierusalem* testifieth: And thereupon *Leo* ^m writing to ^m *Leo* epist. 62. *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, blameth *Juvenall* B. of *Ierusalem* for seeking to subject *Palestina* to himselfe, and chargeth him with insolent boldnesse for that attempt. But the ⁿ Fathers of the fifth generall Councell thought good to honour the Church of *Ierusalem*, where Christ suffered, and rose againe from death: and therefore whereas the Bishop thereof had formerly but a bare title, and a preëminence in sitting before other, ⁿ In Fragmento to Council 5. apud Binnium; Tom. 2. Cor. cil. pag 606. they made him a Patriarch in order the fifth; and that hee might have Metropolitan

• Canone 21.

• Canone 17.

tanee subject unto him, they tooke some parts of the Diocesse of *Alexandria*, and *Antioch* from the Bishops of those Churches, and put them under him: So that now we have five Patriarches of the Christian Church. Touching these, the eighth generall Councell taketh order, that no man shall offer any indignity to any of them. To these they were wont to wish all prosperitie and long life in the conclusion of their Councels. Without these, no Councell was holden to bee full and perfect. These might convocate the Metropolitanes of their severall divisions, and hold a Patriarchicall Councell, which was of greater authoritie than either those in the severall Provinces, or of a whole Nation, formerly mentioned, because it consisted of more and more honourable Bishops: yet had the Patriarches no greater authority over the Metropolitanes within their larger circuites, than the Metropolitanes within their lesser compasse. These were by the order of the eighth generall Councell, to confirme the Metropolitanes subject unto them, either by imposition of hands, or giving the Pall: but inferiour Bishops they might not meddle with, but were to leave them to the ordering of their Metropolitanes.

C H A P. 32.

How the Pope succeedeth Peter: what of right belongeth to him: and what it is that hee unjustly claimeth.

WE deny not but that blessed *Peter* had a kinde of primacie of honour and order, that in respect thereof, as all Metropolitanes doe succedee him, as being greater than other Bishops in honour and place; so the Patriarches yet more specially: and amongst them the *Roman* Bishops in the first place. Wee will not therefore put our Adversaries to so much paines, as some other have done, to prove, that *Peter* was at *Rome*, that he dyed there, and that the Bishop of *Rome* succeedeth him. But this is it which we say, that hee succeeded him in the Bishoprick of that Citie, and in the honour of being one of the prime Bishops of the world, as the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* likewise did: but not in the condition of being universall Bishop, that is, such a one in whom all Episcopall power and authority is originally invested: from whom it is derived to others: and who may limit and retrain the use of it in other, as seemeth good unto himselfe. For *Peter* was not such an Apostle, but had onely a joynt commission with the rest, who were put into it immediately by Christ as well as he, though he were in some sort the first man in it.

Wee deny not therefore to the *Roman* Bishop his due place among the prime Bishops of the World, if therewith he will rest contented: but universall Bishop in sort before expressed, wee dare by no meanes admit him to bee, knowing right well, that every Bishop hath in his place, and keeping his owne standing, power and authority immediately from Christ, which is not to be restrained or limited by any, but by the company of Bishops: wherein though one be chiefe for order sake, and to preserve unity, and in such sort, that all things must take their beginning from him, yet hee can doe nothing without them.

The Bishop of *Constantinople*, as I have already noted, in the time of the second generall Councell, obtained to be one of the foure Patriarches, by reason of the greatnesse of his Church and Citie: and in the fourth holden at *Chalcedon*, to have equall privileges with the Bishop of *Rome*: but not contenting himselfe long with this equality, soone after he sought to be above him, and would be called universall Bishop, seeking thereby to subject to himselfe all other Bishops and Churches: in which proud claime he was resisted by *Gregorie* the 1. who professeth,* that whosoever assumeth this title, overthroweth the dignity & honour of all other Bishops, in his pride is like *Lucifer*, & may rightly be thought to be a fore-runner of Antichrist. *Paul* the Apostle, saith *Greg*, when hee heard certaine men say, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, and I am of Cephas*, trembling,

* *Greg.* ep. 1.4.
ep. 34. & 38.

trembling and quaking exceedingly, to heare and see this tearing and renting asunder of the Lords body, through which his members joyned themselves in companies faithfully unto other heads, cryed out aloud, saying, *Was Paul crucified for you? or were yee baptized in the name of Paul?* In such sort therefore did he decline the particular subjecting of the members of the Lords body to certaine Heads, as it were, besides Christ, yea though they were the Apostles themselves. And what wilt thou be able to answer to Christ the Head of the universall Church in the tryall of the last Judgement, which goest about, by assuming the title of universall Bishop, to put under thy selfe all the members of his mysticall body? Who is it, I pray thee, whom thou proposest to thy selfe for imitation, in taking to thee so perverse a title, but hee who despising the Legions of Angels, joyned with him in society as companions, sought to climbe up above them to the heighth of singularity, that neither hee might seeme to bee under any, nor any might be found over whom hee was not: who also said, *I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the Starres of heaven, I will sit in the mountaine of the testament, in the sides of the North; I will ascend above the heigh of the cloudes, and will bee like unto the most high.* For what are thy brethren, all the Bishops of the universall Church, but the Starres of Heaven; whose life, and tongue or speech, doe shine in the midst of the sinnes and errors of men, as it were in the midst of the darknesse of the night; whose name and honour while thou seemest to trample under thy feete, in that thou seekest by this title of pride to preferre thy selfe before them, what else dost thou say, but *I will ascend into heaven, and exalt my seate above the Starres of heaven?* Are not all the Bishops of the Church, cloudes, who by the word of their preaching, powre downe the graces of GOD like showres of raine, and shine through the light of good workes, whom whiles your brotherhood despising seeketh to bring under it selfe, what other thing doth it say, but this, which is said of the old enemy, *I will ascend above the heigh of the cloudes?* And a little after, the same Gregory addeth: Surely Peter the Apostle was the first member of the holy and universall Church: Paul, Andrew, and John, what other thing are they but heads of particular parts of the peple and Church of God? and yet notwithstanding they are all members of the Church under one head. Thus doth this holy man and worthy Bishop dislike, that any amongst the Bishops of the Christian Church, should bee so proud and insolent, as to seeke to bee over all, and subject to none; to subject unto himselfe all the members of Christ, as to a head, and to challenge unto himselfe to bee universall Bishop: for that if any such bee, if hee fall into error or heresie, hee draweth all other with him, and overthroweth the state of the whole Church. Yet doe the Roman Bishops at this day take all these things unto themselves: for they subject all Christs members to themselves, as to Heads of the universall Church, upon perill of everlasting damnation: they will bee subject to none, or have any to bee over them; so that all depends of them, their standing is the stay of all, and their fall the ruine of all; and if they erre, all erre.

But perhaps it will be said, that the name of universall Bishop is not simply evill, nor these claimes simply to be disliked; but when they are made by them to whom it pertaineth not to make them, such as the Bishops of Constantinople were. Surely this evasion will not serve the turne. For Gregory saith in the same place, that no Bishop of Rome ever assumed this title, *ne dum privatum aliquid daretur uni, honore debito Sacerdotes privarentur universi*: that is, Lest while some singular thing were given to one, all Bishops should be deprived of their due honour: thereby shewing, that this title, and the claimes accompanying it, are simply to be disliked, as prejudiciall to the state of the whole Church, and the honour and dignity of all other Bishops, by whomsoever they be made. Some man perhaps will be desirous to know, how our Adversaries seeke to decline the evidence of this cleare testimony of so great a Roman Bishop, witnessing against them in a matter of so great consequence. I will therefore set downe briefly in this place, what I find any where said by any of them in answer to this authority. The credit of the Author is such, that they dare take no exception against

• Leo epist. 53.

• Vide epist.
Gregor. *supra*
arat.

against him; and the generality of his speech is such, that what he disliketh in the *Constantinopolitane* Bishop, he confesseth to be evill in any other, and particularly in the Bishop of *Rome*. And therefore the onely thing that they can devise, whereby to darken the cleare light of truth, is this; that the Bishop of *Constantinople* did so, and in such sense challenge to be universall Bishop, that he only would have beene a Bishop, and there should have beene no more; than which nothing could bee more absurdly said. For the thing that the *Roman* Bishops disliked in those of *Constantinople*, was not the putting of all other from being Bishops, but the preferring themselves before other, the subjecting of other to themselves, the inroaching upon the priviledges and rights of other, and the challenging of the power of ordination, and confirmation of those, whom it pertained not to them to ordaine or confirme; as appeareth by the Epistles of *Leo*, blaming *Anatolius* for subjecting all unto himselfe, for depriving other Metropolitans of their due honour, by inroaching upon their rights, and for taking upon him to ordaine the Bishop of *Antioch*, who was one of the Patriarches. That the Bishops of *Constantinople* sought not so to be universall Bishops, that there should be no other Bishops but they onely, is most evident by the Epistles of *Leo* and *Gregorie*, in that they ordained Bishops themselves, and are blamed by them for presuming to ordaine such as they should not have ordained. Wherefore the most that they can be conceived to have desired, and sought in assuming the title of universality, is no more but the investing of the fulnesse of all power and jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall originally in themselves, and thereby the subjecting of all other to a necessity of deriving ministeriall power and authority from them; of seeking ordination at their hands, and being in all things pertaining to Episcopall office subject to them: all which things are challenged by the Bishop of *Rome*. For the *Romanists* at this day teach, that the fulnesse of all power and jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall is originally in the Pope, and that he communicateth a part thereof unto others, with such limitations as seemeth best unto himselfe; that all other Bishops receive their jurisdiction from him; that all the Bishops of the world cannot judge him: that he may dispose of all the kingdoms of the world, that his standing is the stay of all: that his fall would be the ruine of all: and that therefore we must perswade our selves hee cannot erre. And hence indeede it followeth, that he onely is Bishop in truth, and that there are no other. For if the Pope may take from any Bishop, so often as he seeth cause, as many as he pleaseth of them that are subject to him: if hee may reserve unto himselfe what cases hee will, and inhibite Bishops to meddle with them: if he may give leave to preach, minister Sacraments, and to doe all other Ecclesiasticall duties, to whom he will, within any Diocese of the world: if in generall Councils, where the power of jurisdiction is principally exercised, where the great affaires of the Church are treated of, where doubts are resolved, controversies determined, articles of faith defined, and lawes made that binde the whole Church, hee have so absolute power, that hee is neither bound to follow the greater, nor the lesser part of Bishops there present, but may determine what he pleaseth, when they have all done, and said what they can. If the assurance of finding out the truth, and decreeing that which is good and behoovefull, rest not partly in him, and partly in them, but onely in him, as our Adversaries teach: then are Bishops indeede no Bishops, no Judges of controversies, but counsellors only to advise the Pope: no Law-givers to the Church, but such as must receive lawes from the Pope; no commanders in their owne right in the Church in any degree, but meeke Lievetenants, or, to speake more truly and properly, vassals to the Pope.

C H A P. 33.

Of the proofes brought by the Romanists, for confirmation of the universality of the Popes jurisdiction and power.

IT is evident by that which hath been said, that that universality, whereof *Gregory* speaketh in his Epistles, and which he so peremptorily condemneth, is claimed by the Popes his successours, at this day; and consequently, that they are in his judgement the fore-runners of Antichrist, and in pride like *Lucifer*. Yet because there is nothing so absurd, that some will not defend; nothing so false, which some will not endeavour to prove true: let us see what the *Romanists* can say for prooffe and confirmation of the universall jurisdiction of their Popes. Surely as men carefull to uphold the state of the Papacie, under the shadow of the boughes of which tree they so sweetly rest, and repose themselves, they have turned over their bookes, to see what may be said, and out of them alleadge against us the testimonies of Councils, Popes, Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*, and the practices of Popes, whence such a peerelesse power may be proved and inferred.

The first testimony that they bring out of any Councell, is out of the ^a Epistle written by the Fathers of the second generall Councell to *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Bishops of the West; wherein the Fathers say, (if wee beleewe these men) that they came together to *Constantinople* by the mandate of the Pope, whose letters the Emperour sent unto them: and confesse, that the *Roman* Church is the head, and they the members. Truly this is a very ill beginning, and may make us justly feare, that we shall finde little good dealing in that which followeth. For there is no part of this true, which, in the front of all their proofes, is by them so confidently alleadged. For thus the matter standeth betweene the Fathers of that Councell, and the Bishop of *Rome*. The Bishops assembled at *Constantinople* writ to the Bishop of *Rome*, and the rest of the Bishops of the West assembled in a Councell at *Rome*, signifying, that they had beene invited by them out of their brotherly love, as their owne members, to come to their Councell; and that they wished nothing more, than that they had the wings of doves, that they might flye away, and rest with them; but that the state of their Churches not permitting them to be so long absent, and that intending at the time they understood of their letters, to come no farther than *Constantinople*, they could not come, but had sent notwithstanding certaine unto them. This is all that is contained in the letter of those Fathers written to the Bishop of *Rome*: in all which there is no word of any mandate of the Pope, but of a friendly and loving entreaty of the Western Bishops, desiring the presence of their brethren of the East; no word of head and members, but of fellow members, nor any thing that may prove a commanding power in the Pope. Nay, the contrary is most strongly from hence to be proved. ^a For it was the Emperour, and not the Pope, that called them to *Constantinople*: they refused to come to *Rome*, though they had received the letters of the *Roman* Bishop, and his colleagues, intreating and desiring them to come to *Rome*, they abode at *Constantinople*, and were esteemed to be the generall Councell, though the Pope held a Councell in the West at the same time, which should have beene accounted generall, rather than this, if all assurance of finding out the truth, and making good Lawes, did rest in the Pope onely. And lastly, they ordained Bishops of the greatest and most famous Churches of the world, such, and in such sort, as the Pope did not greatly like, and yet was forced to give way to their doings, and to ratifie that which they had done.

The second allegation to prove the universality of the Popes jurisdiction, is, ^b that the Fathers of the 3^d generall Councell, holden at *Ephesus*, professed, that they deposed *Nestorius* by force of the mandatory letters of *Celestinus* B. of *Rome*, and that in their epistle to *Celestinus* they say, they reserved the judgement of the cause of *John* Patriarch of *Antioch* to him, as being more doubtfull. The former of these two things they

^a Theod. hist. l. 5. c. 9. citat. à Bellarm. l. 2. de Pont. Rom. c. 13. & Bin. in annot. ad concil. Constant. t.

^a Theod. hist. l. 5. c. 7.

^b Bellarm. ubi suprà.

Evagrius hist. lib. 1. cap. 4. d See these things in the Actes of the Councell of Ephesus, the 7. booke of Socrates hist. and the first of Evagrius.

A. A. Conc. Eph. tom. 4. cap. 17.

A. A. Conc. Eph. Tom. 4. cap. 19.

they endeavour to prove out of *Evagrius*; the later out of the Epistle written by the Fathers of that Councell, extant in the Councell it selfe. For the clearing of this objection wee must observe, that *Nestorius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, having uttered certaine hereticall and impious speeches, touching the personall union of the natures of God and Man in Christ, whereby many were scandalized, the first amongst the Patriarches that tooke notice of it, was *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; who after he found, that *Nestorius* would not be reclaimed by admonitions, called a Synode of his Bishops, and condemned the absurd and hereticall positions of *Nestorius*, and required him to anathematize them, otherwise threatning, that hee and his Bishops, would reject him from their communion, and hold them as brethren who under his jurisdiction resisted against him. This his proceeding hee signified to the Bishop of *Rome*, who approved and commended the same; and with his whole Synode of Westerne Bishops encouraged him to goe forward, wishing him not to doubt of his concurrence with him, but as having all the authority and power hee and his Bishops had, to provide for the Church of *Constantinople*, and to let *Nestorius* know, that hee was cut off from the unity of the body of their Churches, if hee should not within a certaine number of dayes anathematize his wicked doctrine and professe the faith touching the generation of Christ the Sonne of God, which the *Roman* Church, Church of *Alexandria*, and Christian Religion every where preacheth. Hereupon *Nestorius*, fearing the course that *Cyrill* would take against him, desired the Emperour to summon a generall Councell. To this Councell came *Nestorius*, and the Bishops that were under him: and *Cyrill*, with his Bishops, assisted with the concurrence of the resolution and direction of the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West, though absent: But *John* the Patriarch of *Antioche* and his Bishops were not come. Whereupon after a while, the Bishops that were present, being weary of staying there, began to proceede without him, requiring *Nestorius* to appeare in the Synode, and to answer to such things as should bee objected to him; which when hee refused to doe, the Fathers assembled, finding by manifest prooffe, that hee had taught impiously, condemned, and deposed him, compelled so to doe by the Canons, and the letters of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Westerne Bishops, who had set a time, within which if hee submitted not himselfe, they would reject him from their communion. Five dayes after the condemnation and deposition of *Nestorius*, came *John* the Patriarch of *Antioche* with his Bishops, excusing himselfe for his long tarrying in respect of the distance of the place from whence he came, as also for that his Bishops could not sooner be gathered together. Hee was much offended, that they who were come before him had passed their sentence before his coming; and thereupon without delay, before he had put off his cloake, or shaken off the dust from his feete, as the *Scripture* saith, assembling the Bishops subject to him in a Synode, deposed *Cyrill* and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who were chiefe agents in the proceedings against *Nestorius*. Which deposition of *Cyrill* and *Memnon*, was something hastily confirmed by the Emperour *Theodosius*. The Synode assembled under *Cyrill*, in like sort gave sentence against *John*, and signified to *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, what they had done, shewing how unadvisedly a few had presumed to condemne a great many, and the Bishop of the third See, Bishops of greater Sees, to wit, *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, and *Celestinus* of *Rome* who was present in the Councell by his Vicegerent: yet referring the finall proceeding to his consideration also, hee and his Bishops being as much interested in this businesse, as they that were assembled. In the end by mediation of many great and worthy ones, *John* and his Bishops, that formerly were misconceited of *Cyrill*, were satisfied, and he sent the confession of his faith unto him; which he approved, and so they were reconciled, and made friends without any farther intermedling of the Bishop of *Rome*. Here is nothing to be found, that any way argueth or importeth an universality of power in the Bishop of *Rome*, but onely his concurrence with the other Patriarches, as prime Patriarch, in the weighty and important businesses of the Church: and therefore the Fathers of that Councell writing to the Vicars of the Bishop of *Rome* and other Bishops, sent by them to the Emperour,

perour, to informe him concerning the differences that had arisen in the Councell, and their proceedings charge and require them to doe nothing but according to their direction; assuring them, that if they doe otherwise, they will neither ratifie that they doe, nor admit them to their communion: thereby shewing, that though the *Roman* Bishop be to concurre with the Fathers assembled in Councells, yet hee is not absolutely there to command, but to follow the directions of the major part. So that he hath a joynt interest with others, but not an absolutely Sovereignty over all others; God therefore having ordained the high tops of Patriarchicall dignities (as it is in the eighth generall Councell) that they might joyntly concurre to uphold the State of the Church, and the truth of Religion; and that if one fell, the rest might restore, settle, and reestablish things againe: Which course *Cyrill* in his Epistle to *John* of *Antioche* sheweth to have beene holden by him. For, when he observed that *Nestorius* his fellow Patriarch erred from the faith, he first admonished him, and threatened to reject him from the communion of his Churches. Secondly, he acquainted the Bishop of *Rome* and the Westerne Bishops with the impieties and blasphemies of *Nestorius*; who thereupon rejected him, professing that they would admit none to their communion, but such as would condemne him. Thirdly, he wrote to *Juvenall* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, and to *John* Bishop of *Antioche*, shewing his owne dislike of *Nestorius*; and farther professing, that for his part he was fearefull to be cast out of the communion of the Westerne Bishops, as hee saw he must be, if he accursed nor *Nestorius*.

The next allegation is out of they Councell of *Chalcedon*, where *Theodorus* and *Ischiron*, Deacons, in their bills of complaint exhibited to the Bishop of *Rome* as president, and to the whole Councell, call *Leo* the Bishop, *Most holy and most blessed universall Archbishop, and Patriarch of great Rome*. But they that presse the testimonie of these two distressed Deacons, flying to *Leo* for helpe, should remember, that in the Councell of *Constantinople* under *Mennas*, not Deacons, but Bishops, and they many, are reported to have written to the Bishop of *Constantinople* in this sort: To our most holy Lord, and most blessed Father of Fathers, *John*, the Archbishop, and universall Patriarch; and *Mennas* himselfe also is called *Oecumenicall Parriarch*, and Archbishop, oftentimes in that Councell of *Constantinople*: and yet, I thinke, they will not acknowledge the Bishops of *Constantinople* to have had an universall, supreme commanding power over the whole world.

Hereunto therefore they adde another prooffe, out of the relation of the Councell of *Chalcedon* made to *Leo*; wherein the Fathers complaine of *Dioscorus*, that as a wilde Boare he had violently entred into the vineyard of the Lord, and wasted the same, plucking up the true fruitfull vines, and planting unfruitfull in their places; and that hee stayeth not there, but reached out his hand against him to whom the keeping of the vineyard was committed by our Saviour, that is, against the Bishop of *Rome*, whom hee thought to excommunicate. These words wee willingly confesse, to bee words of just complaint, upon great cause made by the Fathers of the Councell, against *Dioscorus*; but they prove not the thing in question. For we make no doubt, but the keeping of the vineyard of the Lord of hosts was committed to the Bishop of *Rome*, not onely as well as to other, but in the first place, as being in order and honour the chiefe: But that he onely received from Christ this power, authority, and charge, and others from him, not we onely, but many learned amongst themselves doe deny, as *Bellarmino* testifieth.

There are two other testimonies that may be alleadged out of the Councell of *Chalcedon*. For *Paschasius*, one of the Vicegerents of the Bishop of *Rome* in that Councell, calleth *Rome* the head of the Churches, and *Leo* the Bishop of *Rome*, head of the universall Church. But they who presse so much the saying of the Popes Legate in favour of the Pope, must know, that by head he meant chiefe in order and honour, and not one having all power originally in himselfe, and absolutely commanding over all, as the Papists now teach. For if he had meant so, he had not beene endured by the Fathers of that Councell, who peremptorily pronounce, that it was the great

ness of the Citie, and not any power given by Christ or derived to him from *Peter*, that made the Bishop of *Rome* to be great; and that therefore they would equall the Bishop of *Constantinople* unto him; seeing *Constantinople* was now become equall unto *Rome*.

• Action. 4.

• Ep. ad Thar. in conc. 7. a. 2.

The next testimony that they alleadge, is out of the Patriarchicall Councell of *Constantinople* under *Mennas*, wherein the Fathers professed by *Mennas* their President, that they follow and obey the Apostolick See, that they communicate with them with whom that See communicateth, and condemne all those it condemneth. Surely, this reason, howsoever it may seeme to have some force, yet indeede hath none at all. For there is no question, but that the Bishop of *Rome* with his Western Synodes, all which, according to the phrase of Antiquity, are comprehended under the name of the Apostolick See, was more to be esteemed than the particular Synode under *Mennas*; and that therefore they might professe to follow it, and obey the decrees of it; and yet neither thinke the Pope to bee universall Bishop, nor that the Bishop of *Rome* with his Western Bishops, is more to be listned unto, and obeyed, than all the other Bishops of the Christian World. That *Adrian* the Bishop of *Rome*, in his Epistle to *Tharadius* inserted into the seventh generall Councell, saith, that the See of *Rome* hath the primacie throughout the whole world, & is the head of all Churches (which is the last allegation of *Bellarmino* out of Councels) is no more than wee granted before, if it be rightly understood of a primacie of order and honour, and not of an universall, supream commanding power over all.

This is all that *Bellarmino* can alleadge out of any ancient Councell: in which his allegations, it will not be amisse for the Reader to observe his guilefull cunning: who undertaking to produce the testimonies of ancient Councels for confirmation of the Papacie, bringeth nothing for the most part, but the words of particular men: and they either suitors to the Pope, agents for him, or Popes. To that which hee hath out of later Councels, as that of *Laterane* under *Innocentius*, and that of *Lyons*, and *Florence*, I will answer when I come to shew the opinions of later times touching the Popes universality of jurisdiction and power, and therefore will passe them over in this place.

CHAP. 34.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes Jurisdiction, taken out of the Decretall Epistles of Popes.

• De Pont. l. 2. c. 14.

THE next proofes that are brought for confirmation of the universality of Papall jurisdiction, are the sayings of Popes in their Decretall Epistles. These Epistles *Bellarmino* sorteth into three rankes, placing in the first the Epistles of those Popes that lived within the first 300 yeares: in the second, the Epistles of those that lived after the first 600 yeares: and in the third, the Epistles of such as came in the midst betweene these.

• Cusan. de concord. cath. l. 3. c. 2.

Touching the first, he confesseth, that certaine errors have crept into them, and that he dareth not pronounce them to be indubitate: but *Cardinall Cusanus*, a man of great learning, reading, and judgement, minceth not the matter, as *Bellarmino* doth, but plainly and in direct words professeth, that he thinketh these Epistles that goe under the names of ancient Popes, are counterfeit. His words are these: In my opinion, the things that are written of *Constantine* and his donation, are Apocryphall, as also perhaps some other long and large writings, attributed to the holy men *Clement* and *Anacletus* the Pope, on which they that desire to magnifie the *Roman* See, which is worthy of all honour, and to exalt it more than either is expedient for the Church, or is any way fit, doe either altogether, or in some sort ground themselves. For assuredly, if any man would diligently reade over and peruse all the writings attributed to those holy men, and compare the times wherein they lived with those writings, and then would be conversant in the workes of all the holy Fathers, which

were

were till the time of *Augustine*, *Hierome*, and *Ambrose*, and in the books of Councils, wherein authenticall writings are alleadged, committing them to memory, and making use of them, he would finde this to be true, that neither any mention is made of those fore-named Epistles in any of those writings, nor that the Epistles compared with the times wherein their supposed Authors lived, can be made to agree with the times of their life; but by the very circumstance of time bewray themselves to be counterfeit. It is written in the Epistles of *Clemens*, how he was made Pope, and succeeded *Peter*: and after the death of *Peter*, the author of these Epistles writeth unto *James*, who was brother of our Lord, and Bishop of *Hierusalem*: and yet it is most manifest, that the same *James* dyed eight yeares before *Peter*, which was one of the causes (as *Beda* writeth in his Commentaries upon the Canonick Epistles, why the Epistle of *James* is set first among the Catholick Epistles. Neither is this the censure of *Cusanus* onely, but *Contius* a learned Canonist, in his annotations upon *Gratian*, feareth not to pronounce all the decretall Epistles that goe under the names of such Bishops as lived before *Sylvester*, to be false and counterfeit. Besides these censures of learned men, there want not strong and effectuell reasons to disprove these Epistles. For first, they will easily appeare to be counterfeit, because they are barbarously, and rudely written, and are not like the writings of those men, that lived in the times wherein the supposed authors of those Epistles did live, but like the writings of such as lived in later and worse times, after Barbarisme had prevailed and overflowne all. Secondly, because the style is so different from those indubitate remainders of the Epistles of the same Popes, found in *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, and *Athanasius*, that they cannot be but counterfeit: For, whosoever shall compare them, shall finde them to differ as much as gold & drosse. Thirdly, for that all these supposed Epistles are so like one another in style, and oftentimes have the very same sentences, that it is very likely they came all from one and the same forge. Fourthly, because neither *Eusebius*, *Hierome*, nor any other ancient Writer maketh any mention of them. Fifthly, because they follow not the old translation in their allegations of Scripture, but that of *Hierome*, which was not in being in those times, wherein the supposed Authors of these Epistles did live. Lastly, which is the reason before used by *Cusanus*, because the Epistle to *James*, written after the death of *Peter*, as appeareth in the front of it, and so consequently after the twelfth yeare of *Nero*, could not be written to *James* the brother of our Lord, who, as *Hierome* testifieth, was slaine at *Hierusalem* in the seventh yeare of *Nero*. But whatsoever become of the censure of learned men branding these Epistles with the note of forgery, and the reasons brought to disprove them, which cannot easily be answered; yet *Bellarmino* will prove, that these Epistles are mentioned by the ancient, and consequently, that the *Centurie-writers* say untruly, that hardly any shall be found before the time of *Charles* the great, that speaketh any thing of them. To this purpose he produceth *Isidore*, in his preface before his collection of the Councils, affirming, that he gathered Canons out of the Epistle, of *Clemens*, *Andeleus*, *Evaristus*, and the rest of the *Roman* Bishops, by the advice of eighty Bishops; but this is to justifie one counterfeit by another; for this Preface is thought to be counterfeit, because in it there is mention made of the sixth generall Councell under *Agatho*, whereas *Isidore* was dead forty yeares before the holding of that Councell. Wherefore he alleadgeth the Councell of *Vase*, as mentioning the same decretals. But the decrees of that Councell are uncertaine, as *Binnius* noteth, by reason of the great confusion that is found in them: and truly, I thinke, there is no man that can make any sense of that which is cited out of *Clemens* Epistles by that Councell. Therefore in the third place he addeth *Ruffinus*, who in his Preface before his translation of the recognitions of *Clemens* out of *Greece*, speaketh of an Epistle of *Clement* unto *James* the brother of our Lord, and saith, hee turned it out of *Greece* into *Latine*: and this, saith *Bellarmino* which we have, is undoubtedly the same that he translated, as may be proved out of *Gennadius*: therefore the Epistle that is now carried about under the name of *Clemens*, is ancient, and not late or counterfeit. But that these *Philistines* may fall by their owne sword, wee will oppose against *Bellarmino* the Cardinall, *Bellarmino*.

Contius annotations in dist. 25. cap. 70.

Cyprian epist. 46. & 48. in edit. Pammellii. *Euseb.* lib. 6. cap. 42. *Athanasius* apologia. 2.

Loco citato. vide etiam *Binnium* in annotatione in epist. *Clemens*. *Hieron.* Catalog. Script. Eccl. in *Iacobus*.

Cent. 2. cap. 7. ad finem.

Binnius annotations in Conc. *Valens.* 2.

Genna Catalog. illustrium virorum.

m Baron. Anno
102. numb. 6.
De vitis, il-
lustr. cap. 17.
vide Annot.
Binnii in 1. Ep.
Clement. ad
Iacobum.

ronius the Cardinall, against the *Roman* Reader of controversies, the *Roman* Annalist. For *Baronius* proveth out of *Gennadius*, whom *Bellarmino* alleadgeth, that these Epistles we have, are not the same that *Ruffinus* translated, because those he translated had Prefaces before them, but this of *Clement* hath none. Thus wee see the Epistles of the Popes of the first 300 yeares, prove nothing, because they are counterfeite.

Of them that were written by such as lived after the first 600 yeares, I shall have a fitt opportunity to speake in another place. Wherefore let us come to those of the middle ranke, where *Bellarmino* produceth twelve ancient Bishops of *Rome*, clayming that supream, absolute, and commanding authority over the whole Church, which we deny.

The first of the twelve, is *Julius* the first, in his Epistle extant in the second Apologie of *Athanasius*. The witnesse is good, and wee will not except against him, but he deposeth directly against them that produce him; neither is there any better evidence to bee desired, than this his Epistle. For the Bishops of the East having written to *Julius*, and blamed him for communicating with such as they rejected, and going about to reverse the acts which they had agreed on; and having told him, that the greatnesse of Cities maketh not the power of Bishops to bee the greater: and that therefore hee should not take on him to bee greater than other Bishops, and to undoe that which they had done, because he was Bishop of a greater Citie than any of them was; he answereth modestly in this his Epistle, that hee hopeth he offendeth not in desiring them to come to a Synode, that therein their proceedings might bee examined; seeing the *Nicene* Councell appointeth the acts of one Councell to be reexamined in another. Secondly he sheweth, that they whom they sent to informe him and the Westerne Bishops touching their proceedings against *Athanasius*, being convicted by the Presbyters of *Athanasius*, desired him to call a Councell of his owne Bishops, and to write to *Athanasius*, and those of *Eusebius* part to come unto the same; wherein they doubted not, but they should prove the things they had alleadged. Thirdly, he sheweth, that if without the sollicitation of their Agents hee had desired them to meete in Councell, it had beene no fault, nor any way prejudiciall unto them. Fourthly, that they who will not have their proceedings reexamined condemn Councels, by admitting such as were condemned by the *Nicene* Councell; that *Athanasius* was not condemned at *Tyrus*; that he was not present when hee was condemned at *Mareosta*; and that many wrote in his defence, to him and the other Bishops of the West; and that yet he forejudged nothing, but would have had matters defined in a Councell. Fifthly, he sheweth, that though he wrote alone, yet he reported not his owne opinion onely, but of all the Bishops of *Italy*, and the countries thereabout. Lastly, he telleth them, that the Bishops they proceeded against, being no vulgar persons, but Bishops of such Churches as the Apostles themselves planted, before they had proceeded against them, they should first have written to him and his colleagues, that from thence might have beene defined, what was right and good; than which course what could be more fitting? For *Athanasius* Bishop of the second See, with other his adherents, were not to be judged by Bishops of an inferiour ranke, especially in a matter concerning the faith, without first consulting with the B. of the first See, and his colleagues, that from thence an action of such consequence might take beginning. And therefore *Julius* rightly telleth the Orientall Bishops, that in their rash proceeding against so great and worthy a Bishop, as was *Athanasius*, they had offended against the ordinations of *Paul*; that the Fathers had not taught them so to doe; and that he had received otherwise from blessed *Peter*. Here is nothing found, for any thing I see, that any way proveth the Pope to have a supream commanding power over the whole Church, but rather the contrary: For he doth nothing without the Synode of the Westerne Bishops. He challengeth not the right of judging the causes of the Orientall Bishops, either by himselfe alone, or with his Synode of Westerne Bishops; much lesse deriveth the claime of any such right from *Peter*, as the Jesuite untruly misse-reporteth the matter; but thinketh, that the finall, and supream judging of them, pertaineth to a generall Councell.

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The next allegation is out of an ^o Epistle of *Damasus*, wherein writing to the Bishops of the East, he commendeth them, that they gave due reverence to the See Apostolick, and calleth them sonnes. To what purpose this allegation serveth, I know not. ^{o Apud Theodor. l. 5. hist. Eccl. c. 9.} For if any man do thinke it consequent, that the Pope hath an universall commanding power over all, because the Bishops of the East yeelded a kinde of due respect and reverence to the See Apostolick, (that is, to the Bishop of *Rome*, and his colleagues) for that it was in order and honour the first See; he is greatly deceived, and may be confuted out of the ^o Epistle of the Orientall Bishops, in answer whereof *Damasus* writeth. ^{p Apud Theodor. ib.} For they write unto him, not as to their Lord and Commander, but as to their brother and colleague; and direct not their letters to him only, but to him and the other Bishops of the West. Their Epistle beginneth in this sort. To their Brethren and Colleagues, *Damasus*, *Ambrose*, *Brisso*, *Valerianus*, *Acholinus*, &c. and the rest of the holy Bishops assembled in the great Citie of *Rome*. Where by the way, we may observe, that howsoever *Damasus* call them sonnes, as being Bishops of meaner places, and inferiour Sees, yet they call him brother and colleague, as being equall in office and power, though inferiour in order and honour. Besides this, they refused to come to *Rome*, though earnestly entreated by *Damasus* so to doe, but stayed at *Constantinople*, and there held a Councell, wherein they condemned the heresies of the *Eunomians*, and *Macedonians*; ordained sundry Bishops, as the Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Hierusalem*, *Nectarius*, *Flavianus*, and *Cyrill*: they made the Bishop of *Constantinople* a Patriarch, and set him in degree of honour next unto the Bishop of *Rome*. These ordinations of *Nectarius*, and *Flavianus* especially, *Damasus* liked not, and yet was forced to give way unto them, and to yeeld to the Bishops assembled at *Constantinople*, (being but an hundred and fiftie in number) the name of the generall Councell, though about the same time, he, and all the Bishops of the West were assembled at *Rome*. Wherefore this testimony might well have beene spared. The next allegation out of the ^o Epistle of *Damasus* to the Bishops of *Numidia*, is lesse to be esteemed than the former; seeing that Epistle hath many things in it, which cannot agree with the state of things in those times. For if the *Africans* had bin so willing to referre all greater matters by way of appeale to *Rome*, as the Epistle of *Stephen*, in answer whereunto this of *Damasus* is written, importeth; how could it have come to passe, that in *Zozymus* his time, appeales to *Rome* should seeme so strange, as it appeareth they did?

That which is alleadged out of the Epistle of *Syriscus* to *Himericus*, Bishop of *Tarracon*, and of *Zozymus* to *Hesychius*, Bishop of *Salona*, is to little purpose; for that *Syriscus* saith, he is more zealous of true Religion, than all other Christians, and that he beareth the burthen of all that are grieved, is no more than is attributed to *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*. ^{o Basil. ep. 48.} Neither is it to be marvelled at, that he saith, the Bishop of *Tarrason* referred certaine matters to the Church of *Rome*, as to the head of his body, seeing he was one of the Bishops that were subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the West. Which also is the reason why *Zozymus* giveth directions to the Bishop of *Salona*, touching the time they of the Clergie were to continue in every of the lower degrees, before they might be preferred to higher, wishing him to acquaint others neare unto him with the same, and to assure them, that he should answer it with the losse of his place, whosoever should contemne the authority of the Fathers, and neglect his prescriptions.

The next Pope that is produced as a witnes, is *Innocentius* the first, in his Epistles to the Bishops of *Macedonia*, and the Fathers assembled in the Councils of *Milevis* and *Carthage*; out of which Epistles, 4. things are alleadged for prooffe of the Popes supremacy. The first is, that the Church of *Rome* is by him called head of Churches, yea the well-spring, and head of all Churches. The second, that doubtfull cases were referred to the See of *Rome* by the Bishops of *Macedonia*. The third, that all the Bishops of the world, were wont to consult with the *Roman* Bishop in doubtfull questions touching matters of faith. The fourth, that the *Roman* Bishops have the care of all Churches. To these severall objections framed out of the Epistles of this *Roman* Bishop, we answer briefly: First, that the Church of *Rome* was head of all Churches; that is, first in order and

Vide notas
Binnii in Con-
cil. Constantin.
Primum conc.
tom. 1.

Damas. ep. 4.

Basil. ep. 48.

Innocent. ep.
22. ad Episcop.
Maced.
Inter Episto-
las August. ep.
91. & 93.

and honour amongst them, but not in absolute supream commanding power. Secondly, that the Church of *Rome* was in more speciall sort head of such Churches, as were within the Patriarchship of *Rome* (as *Macedonia* was in *Innocentius* his time) and that this was the reason, why the Bishops of *Macedonia* referred their doubts to the determination of the See of *Rome*. Thirdly, that all the Bishops of the world consulted with the Apostolick See of *Rome*, and the Bishop thereof, in controversies of Faith and Religion, not as an absolute supream Judge, to whose determinations they were bound to stand, but as their most honourable Colleague, interested as much as any of them in the maintenance of the truth of Religion, and the determination of things questioned concerning the Faith. Fourthly, that they did not consult with the person of the Bishop of *Rome* alone, but all the Bishops of the West together with him, who were a great and principall part of the Christian world, though sometimes he onely be named, as being the President of all the Synodes of Bishops throughout the West. Fifthly, that the Bishops of *Rome* had the care of all Churches, not as absolute supream commanders, but as most honourable amongst the Bishops and Pastours of Churches, who were first to be sought unto in matters requiring a common deliberation, and from whom all things generally concerning the state of the whole Church, were either to take beginning, or at the least to seeke confirmation before they were generally imposed, and prescribed; that so being rightly determined by the Bishops of the chiefe and principall Churches, other Churches might receive the same, like waters flowing from a fountaine, and running in puritie in all Churches, according to the purity of the head and beginning.

The sixth Bishop of *Rome* that is produced to give testimony for the Popes supremacie, is *Leo* the first, out of whom seven things are alleadged: whereof the first is, that hee appointed *Anastasius* the Bishop of *Thessalonica*, to be his Vicegent for the government of the Provinces farre off from him: whence it may be inferred as our Adversaries thinke, that the Bishops of *Rome* had an universall commanding power over all the world. The second, that he commanded *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The third, that hee wished the Bishop of *Antioch* to write often to him, touching the affaires and state of the Churches. The fourth, that *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria* besought him, not to permit *Juvenall* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, to prejudice the right of the Church of *Antioch*, and to subject *Palestina* to himselfe. The fifth, that hee commanded *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*. The sixth, that hee intermedled in *Africa*. And the last, that hee saith, that *Rome* had a larger extent of Presidence, in that by *Peters* chaire, she was made the head of all Churches, then in that, in respect of earthly dominion, she was Lady and Mistresse of a great part of the world. To all these objections thus mustered together out of the writings of *Leo*, we answer in this sort. First, that *Thessalonica* was within the Patriarchship of *Rome*, and that therefore the Bishop of *Rome* might have a Vicegerent there, to dispatch some of those things that pertained to him as Patriarch, and yet have no universall commanding power over all the world. Secondly we say, that *Leo* did not acknowledge *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* to be a Patriarch; & that therefore it followeth not, that he would have presumed to have commanded a Patriarch, if he had commanded him: but that indeed he did not command him. For thus the case stood. After the Councell of *Ephesus* wherein divers Bishops compelled by *Dioscorus*, subscribed to impious decrees, *Leo* besought the Emperour, that a generall Councell might be called; but because by reason of warres in many parts of the world, such a Councell could not conveniently be presently called, he sent certaine commissioners to *Constantinople*, who taking to them the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and being assisted by him and the Bishops thereabout, might, upon repentance and due satisfaction, reconcile, and againe admit to the communion of their Churches, such as they should thinke fit. These commissioners *Leo* directed and commanded, as in right he might: But that hee specially commanded the Bishop of *Constantinople*, it cannot be proved. Thirdly we say, that *Leo* in brotherly sort wished the B. of *Antioch* to resist hereticks; and to let him understand of the state of the Churches, and to be a consort of the Apostolick See in this care:

• Leo epist. 84.

• Idem ep. 46.

• Idem ep. 62.

• Ibidem.

• Idem ep. 81.

• Idem ep. 87.

• Idem Serm. 1. in natal. Apost.

• Vide Epist. 46. Leonis.

care : to see that the priviledges of the third See were not deminished by any mans ambition, assuring him, that whensoever he will do any thing for the advancing of the dignity of the See of *Antioch*, he also will be ready to concurre with him. In all which passages between *Leo* and the Bishop of *Antioch*, there is nothing found that hath any shew of prooffe of the Popes Supremacie. Fourthly, we say that *Cyril* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, besought *Leo* to give no consent to the attempts of *Juvenall* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, seeking to prejudice the Church of *Antioch*, and to subject *Palastina* to himselfe: but that he besought *Leo* not to permit, nor suffer *Palastina* to be taken from *Antioch*, and subjected to the Church of *Jerusalem* (as if the whole power of permitting or hindering this thing, had rested in *Leo*) is but the false report of the Cardinall, according to his wonted manner of misse-alleading Authors for the advantage of his cause. So that the disposition of this matter rested not wholly in *Leo*, but his concurrence with the Bishops of *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, was necessary for the withstanding of the attempts of *Juvenall*; which his concurrence and helpe hee promised the Bishop of *Antioch*, as we have already heard, and was ever ready to yeeld the same unto him. Fifthly, we say that *Leo* did not command *Dioscorus* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*: but whereas the manner was, when the Patriarches were first elected and ordained, that they should mutually consent one to another, and that he who was newly ordained, should send unto the rest his Synodall letters, and testimonies of his lawfull election and ordination: *Dioscorus* being newly elected, and appointed Patriarch of *Alexandria*, sendeth his Synodall letters to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, that so he might give his consent, and receive and embrace him as his fellow Patriarch. *Leo*, that these beginnings of *Dioscorus* might be more sure and firme, and nothing wanting to perfection, fatherly, as more ancient, and brotherly, as of the same ranke with him, putting him in mind of some differences betweene their two Churches, about the time of the ordination of Ministers; and for that it seemed not likely unto him, that *Marke* the Scholler of *Peter* tooke any other order in this behalfe than *Peter* did, saith unto him: *We will have you to observe, that which our Fathers ever observed*; making this a condition of the allowance & consent he was to yeeld unto him; and urging the practice of the Apostles, saith, he shall doe well, if obeying these Apostolicall institutions, hee shall cause that forme of ordinations to be kept in the Churches over which God hath set him, which is observed in the Churches of the West; that Ministers of the Church may be ordained onely on the Lords day, on which day the creation of the world was begun, in which *Christ* rose, in which death was destroyed; & life, after which there is no death, tooke beginning; in which the Apostles received from the Lord the trumpet of preaching the Gospel, and the ministration of the Sacrament of regeneration. Sixthly wee say, that *Leo* intermedleth in the Churches of *Africa*, and requireth some, ordained contrary to the Canons, to be put from their places: tollerateth others, and willethe the cause of *Lupicinus*, a Bishop who had appealed unto him, to be heard there, because he was Patriarch of the West: and these parts of *Africa* were within his Patriarchship: and that yet this his intermedling in so particular sort with the affaires of the *Africane* Churches, was not very pleasing unto those of *Africa*, as shall appeare by that which followeth. Lastly, we say that the Church of *Rome* was the head of all Churches in the sense before expressed, and had a presidence of order and honour amongst them: and had in that sort, as *Leo* truly saith, more subject to it, than ever were under the *Roman* Empire: but under any absolute, supream commanding power of the Church of *Rome* they were not. But, saith *Bellarmin*, if the former testimonies of *Leo* be avoided, there is one more yet behind so cleare and full for the supremacie of the Pope, that nothing can be said in answer unto it, in his Epistle to *Anastasi*us B. of *Thessalonica*: His words are these: *Amongst the most blessed Apostles, like in honour, there was a certaine difference and distinction of power; and whereas they were equally chosen, yet notwithstanding it was given to one of the to have a preeminence amongst the rest, from which form, the distinction & difference, that is amongst Bishops, hath taken beginning; and by a most wise disposition is hath bin provided, that all without difference shall not challenge all unto themselves, but that there should be in severall provinces severall B^s, whose sentence & judgment should*

be first and chiefe among the brethren; and againe certaine other constituted and placed in greater Cities, who might take the care of more than the former, by whom the care of the whole Church might flow unto that one seate of Peter, and nothing any where might dissent from the head. These words truly make a goodly shew, and may seeme most strongly to prove the supremacie that the Popes now challenge: but in very deed they most powerfully overthrow it. For the Bishops of *Rome* will never be perswaded in proportionable sort as is expressed in the words of *Leo*, to challenge no more in respect of the whole Church, than the Metropolitan Bishops doe in respect of their Provinces, and the Patriarches in respect of their Churches of a larger extent: For then they must doe nothing, but accordingly as they shall be swayed by the major part of the voyces of the Bishops of the Christian Church. For the Metropolitan may doe nothing in his Province, nor the Patriarch in his larger extent, but as they shall be directed, and swayed by the major part of the voyces of their Bishops: and yet surely the meaning of *Leo* was not to give so much to the Bishop of *Rome*, in respect of all Christian Bishops, as pertaineth to the Metropolitans and Patriarches; in respect of their Bishops. For the Metropolitan isto ordaine the Bishops of the Province, and the Patriarch to ordaine and confirme the Metropolitans by imposition of hands, or mission of the Pall: but the Pope never had any such power in respect of the Patriarches, who were onely to send their Synodall Epistles to him, testifying their faith, as hee likewise to them, without expecting any other confirmation than that mutuall consent, whereby one of them assured of the right faith and lawfull ordination of another, received and embraced each other as fellowes and colleagues. So that that care of the universall Church, which *Leo* saith, floweth together, and commeth up to that one chaire of *Peter*, is to be understood only in respect of things concerning the common faith, and generall state of the Church, or of the principall, most eminent, and highest parts, and members of the same: none of which things might be proceeded in, without the Bishop of *Rome* and his Colleagues; but otherwise hee was not to intermeddle with inferiour persons and causes, without the jurisdiction of other Patriarches, neither immediatly, nor upon appeale, and complaint.

f *Gelas. ep. ad ep. Dardan.*

g *Idem ep. ad Anast. Imperat.*

h *Cap. 7.*

i *Basil. ep. 48.*

k *Aet. concil.*

Ephes.

l *Ibid.*

m *In epist. ad*

Martian. &

Valentinian.

Imp. & in al-

tera ad ipsum

Leonem quæ

habetur Act. 3.

esul. conc.

The 7th *Roman* Bishop brought to testifie for the absolute supream power of Popes, is *Gelasius*: out of whom two things are alleadged: The first is, that he¹ faith, the See of *Peter* hath power to loose that which the Bishops of other Churches have bound. The second, that^e it hath power to judge of every Church, and that no Church may judge of the judgement of it. For answer to this testimony of *Gelasius*, first we say, that the Church of *Rome* may not meddle with reviewing, reëxamining, or reversing the acts of other Churches, proceeding against Lay-men or inferior Clergi-men. Secondly, that in the case of a Bishop complaining of wrong, by the authority of the Councell of^a *Sardica*, shee might interpose her selfe, not so as to bring the matter to *Rome*, there to be heard: but so far forth only, as to command and appoint a review to be taken by the B¹ of the next bordering Province, or at the most to send some Commissioners to sit with such second Judges. Thirdly, that in cases which concerned the principall Patriarches, whether they were differences betweene them and their Bishops, or betweene themselves, the chiefe See, as the principall part of the whole Church might interpose it self. Neither was this proper to the See of *Rome*; for other Patriarches likewise of the higher thrones, might interpose themselves in matters concerning the Patriarchs of inferior thrones: whence it is, that *Basil* writing to *Athanasius* B¹ of the second See, telleth him, that the ordering of the Church of *Antioch*, which was the third See, did pertain to him, & that he was to see to the settling of things there, though the quieting of the whole East required the helpe of the Occidentall B¹: and¹ *Cyril* in the case of *Nestorius* not yet fully established in the right of a Patriarch, intermeddled, and proceeded so far as to reject him and his adherents from the communion of the Churches of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, & *Pentapolis*. But the B¹ of the inferior thrones, might not judge the superior; & therefore¹ *Iohn* of *Antioch* of the 3^d See, is reprehended & reproved for judging *Cyril* B¹ of the 2^d See: and *Dioscorus* B¹ of the 2^d See, is condemned in the Councell of^a *Chalcedon*, as for other things, so for this among other, that hee presumed to judge

judge the first See. So that this is it which *Gelasius* saith, that the See of *Rome*, that is, the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of the West, may judge and examine the differences betweene Patriarches, or betweene Patriarches and their Bishops; but neither so peremptorily, nor finally, but that such judgement may be reviewed and reexamined in a generall Councell: and that no other particular Church or See may judge the Church of *Rome*, seeing every other See is inferiour to it; no way denying, but that a generall Councell may review, reexamine, and reverse the acts and judgements of the *Roman* See, as being greater, and of more ample authority. Neither truly can there be any better prooffe against the pretended supremacie of the Popes, than this Epistle, the circumstances whereof are these. *Acatius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, for communicating with certaine *Eutichian* Hereticks, was by the See of *Rome* condemned; some disliked his proceeding against him, because a Synode was not specially summoned for the purpose, especially seeing hee was Bishop of the Princely Citie; *Gelasius* standeth not upon the claime of universall power, thereby to justify his proceeding, but answereth; First, that *Eutiches* being condemned in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, all such were accursed likewise, as should either by defence of such error, or communicating with men so erring, fall into the fellowship of the same heresie; and that therefore there needed no Synode, but the See Apostolick might execute that was there decreed. Secondly, that the Catholick Bishops in the East being deposed, and Hereticks thrust into their places, there was no reason why hee should have consulted with them. Thirdly, that hee did nothing of himselfe, but with a Synode of the Westerne Bishops.

The next foure Bishops produced by the Cardinall, are, *John* the second, *Anastasius* the second, *Felix* the fourth, and *Pelagius* the second; out of whom he alleadgeth nothing but this, that the See of *Peter* holdeth the chieftie assigned of the Lord in the universall Church, and that the Church of *Rome* is the head of all Churches. Whereunto we briefly answer, that the See of *Peter* ever held the chieftie, & that the Church of *Rome* was ever the head of all Churches, not in universality of absolute supreme power, & commanding authority, but in order & honour in sort before expressed: and that by the See of *Peter* and Church of *Rome*, is meant the whole West Church, & not precisely the Diocese of *Rome*, as likewise we have noted before; and therefore these allegations to prove the Popes supremacie over all Bs, are nothing to the purpose.

The last of the twelve Bishops brought by *Bellarmino*, is *Gregorie* the first; out of whom foure things are alleadged; the first is, * that he required the *Africanes* to per- * *Greg. Epist. lib. 1. ep. 72.*
mit appeales to *Rome* from the Councell of *Numidia*, and blamed the Bishops of *Africa*, for that after letters written unto them, they had degraded *Honoratus* the Arch-deacon. The second, * that he sent a Pall to the Bishop of *Corinth*. The third, * that he *Idem lib. 2. ep. 37.*
saith, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, acknowledged the Church of *Constantinople* to be subject to the See Apostolick. The fourth, * that the Bishop of *Constantinople* *Idem lib. 4. ep. 56.*
professeth his subjection to the See Apostolick. To these objections we answer; First, *Idem lib. 7. ep. 63.*
that it is contrary to the resolution of the ancient Councells of *Carthage*, & *Milevis*, *9 Vide infra, Chap. 39. of ap- peales to Rome.*
that the Bishop of *Rome* should admit appeales of inferiour Clergi-men out of *Africa*; and that therefore by some positive constitution or later agreement, *Gregory* might be permitted to heare the complaints of an Arch-deacon appealing unto him out of *Africa*, yet from the beginning it was not so, though some parts of *Africa* were ever within the compasse of the Patriarchship of *Rome*. Secondly, that he sent the Pall to the Bishop of *Corinth*, because he was within his Patriarchship; all Patriarches being to confirme their Metropolitans by imposition of hands, or by sending the Pall. 3^o, That there was no such *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople* in *Gregories* time, as is mentioned in the Epistle alleadged; and that they that were, as *Iohn* and *Cyriacus*, strove & contended with *Gregory*, to be above him, & to have the first place in the Church; and that not without the help and furtherance of the Emperour: so that it may be doubted, whether *Gregory* wrote this or not, it being so contrary to that we know to have bin attempted & sought by the Bishops of *Constantinople*, that lived in his time. But granting that *Gregory* did so write, & that *Eusebius* a B. of *Constantinople* did acknowledge his

† Vide annot.
in Gratian.
Decret. part. 1.
dist. 22. c. 3.

† Canone 9.

† Iustinian.
Novel. 123.
cap. 22.

† Gregor. Epist.
lib. 11. ep. 54.

† Idem lib. 4.
Epist. 34. & in
ep. 36. hortatur
Eulogium E-
pisc. Alexandr.
& Anastasium
Antiochenum,
ut omnes Epis-
copos eorum
cura subiectos
ab iniquitate
elationis Episc.
Constantino-
politani prohi-
beant.

† Lib. 11. epist.
42.

† Innocent. in
Epist. ad De-
centium Eugu-
bin Episcop.

his Church to be subject to the See of *Rome*, yet he meant nothing else thereby, but that it was an inferiour See, and so subject in such sort, as I have declared the inferiour Sees to be subject to the superiour; which subjection will no way prove the suprema-
cie that the Popes now claime. Fourthly, that *Gregorie* doth not say, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* acknowledged himselfe subject to the Bishop of *Rome*. For it was not *Primas Byzanzenus*, the Primate of *Byzantium*, that *Gregory* reporteth to have con-
fessed himselfe subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, and whose cause the Emperour com-
manded *Gregorie* to heare, but *Primas Byzazenus*, that is, the Primate of the *Byzazene*
Province of *Africa*. So that this confession of the Primate mentioned by *Gregorie*,
brought to prove that the Bishop of *Rome* had a commanding power over the Bishop
of *Constantinople*, is meerely mistaken by *Bellarmino*, as it was before him by *Gratian*.
But some man will say, howsoever there bee a mistaking of this allegation, yet it is
strong and forcible to prove the thing intended. For *Gregorie* saith expressly, that
howsoever all Bishops in respect of humility, be equall, yet there is no Bishop but if he
be found faulty, is subject to the See of *Rome*. That this saying of *Gregorie* may bee
found true, certaine limitations must be added unto it. For the Bishop of *Rome* might
not immediatly punish every Bishop that he found to offend, nor upon appeale take
notice of the faults and misdemeanours of all Bishops; but the Councell of *Chalcedon*
ordereth, that if any inferior Clergi-man have ought against another inferiour Clerke,
the matter shall be heard and determined by the B. or such as with the liking of the
Bishop shall by the parties be chosen arbitratours; and if he goe against their determi-
nation, he shall be punished. If a Clerke have ought against his owne or another Bi-
shop, it shall be inquired of in the audience of the Synode of the Province: If either
Clerke or Bishop have ought against the Metropolitane of the Province, he shall goe
to the Primate of the Diocesse, or to the throne and See of the Regall Citie of *Con-
stantinople*. This Canon of the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, was confirmed by the
decree of *Iustinian* the Emperour. If any man (saith the Emperour) accuse a Bishop,
for whatsoever cause, let the cause be judged by the Metropolitane: and if any man
gainstay the Metropolitane, let the matter be referred to the Archbishop, and Patriarch
of that Diocesse, and let him end it according to the Canons and Lawes. So that wee
see the Bishops of *Rome* might not intermedle in judging inferiour Bishops, subject to
other Patriarches, neither immediately, nor upon complaint and appeale, whatsoever
their faults be; but they have other supream Judges, who have power finally to de-
termine such matters, and from whom there lyeth no appeale. This Canon of the
Councell of *Chalcedon*, and the Emperours decree confirming the same, *Gregorie*
alleadgeth and alloweth, onely adding, that if there be no Metropolitane or Patriarch,
such things as otherwise should be finally determined, and ended by them, are to bee
brought to the Bishop of *Rome*. Wherefore, it seemeth that *Gregorie* speaketh of the
Bishops within his owne Patriarchship, whom somtimes he calleth his owne Bishops,
when hee saith, there is no Bishop, but if he be found faulty, is subject to the See of
Rome. Of these he speaketh when he saith, I impute it to my sinnes, that my owne Bi-
shops should thus despise me. And againe, if the causes of Bishops committed to me be
thus dealt with, alas what shall I doe? And in this sense he willeth *John* of *Palermo*, to
whom he sendeth a *Pall*, not to suffer the reverence of the Apostolick See to be trou-
bled by any mans presumption: for that the state of the members is then entire and safe,
when the Canons are kept, and no injurie hurteth the head of the faith: not naming
the Church of *Rome* the head of the Faith, for that the Bishop of *Rome* hath an infal-
lible judgement, and absolute command in matters of faith, upon which all the world
must depend (as some ignorantly construe him) but because it was the head, that is, the
beginning and wel-spring whence the doctrine of Faith, the knowledge of God, and
all Christian institution flowed to sundry other Churches, which therefore are in a sort
to depend on it, to have recourse to it, and to hold conformity with it. No other,
saith *Innocentius*, established and founded the Churches of *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*,
Spaine, *Africk*, and the Isles that lye betweene, but *Peter* and his Successours: and
therefore the Bishops of these Churches, must keepe such observations as the *Roman*
Church

Church (from which they tooke their beginning) received from the Apostles, *ne caput institutionum omittere videantur*, that is ; Lest they seeme to forsake the Head, and well-spring of all the institutions and ordinances they have. This is the reason, why the Churches of these parts have been so subject to the Church of *Rome*, namely for that from thence they received the light of Christian knowledge ; but to all Churches it is not an head in this sort, seeing they received the faith not from *Rome*, but from some other Apostolicall Church, as *Antioch*, or *Alexandria*.

C H A P. 35.

Of the pretended prooffe of the Popes supremacie, produced and brought out of the writings of the Greeke Fathers.

HAVING examined the prooffes they bring for confirmation of the Popes supremacie out of Councils, and the writings of ancient Bishops of *Rome*, let us come to the testimonies of the Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*.

The first that they produce amongst the *Greeke* Fathers, is *Ignatius*,^a who writeth to the holy Church which hath the presidence in the Region of the *Romans*,^a or sitteth before other in the Region of the *Romans* ; from which words nothing can bee inferred that wee ever doubted of. For wee most willingly confesse the *Roman* Church to have beene in order and honour the first and chiefest of all Churches, and he saith nothing out of which any other thing may be concluded.

The next is *Irenaeus*,^b who being to shew against Hereticks, that the Tradition of the Church is against them, and for him, and thinking it very tedious to runne through the successions of all Churches, saith, he will content himselfe with that which is the greatest, ancientest, best known to all and founded by the two most glorious Apostles, *Peter* and *Paul*, at *Rome*; for that the whole Church, that is, the company of all faithful ones, that are every-where, in which the Tradition hath beene ever preserved, must of necessity agree in her tradition with this, *propter potentioorem principalitatem*, that is : For that it is the principall of all other. This testimony of *Irenaeus* no way proveth the thing in question. For heere is nothing of the dependance of all other Churches on the Church of *Rome*, in their faith and profession, nor that all Churches have kept the faith in that Church, that is, in cleaving to it, as to their Head and Mother, as *Bellarmino* untruely fantasieth : But all that is here said, is nothing else, but that undoubtedly the same faith was given and delivered to all other Churches, that was delivered by blessed *Peter* and *Paul*, to the Church of *Rome* the chiefest of all.

The two next *Greeke* Fathers that are produced to testifie for the supremacie, are *Epiphanius*, and *Athanasius*, who report, that *Ursacius* and *Valens*, sworn enemies of *Athanasius*,^c repenting them of their former errors, came to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, to give an account, and to seeke favour and reconciliation. Surely, the producing of such testimonies as these are, is nothing else but meere trifling ; and they that bring them know right well, that they no way prove the thing questioned : the circumstances of this narration touching *Ursacius* and *Valens*, are these. The cause of *Athanasius*, as himselfe^d testifieth, was first heard in his owne Province, by an hundred Bishops, and hee there acquitted : Secondly at *Rome*, by more than fifty Bishops, at the desire of *Eusebius* his Adversarie : and lastly, at *Sardica*, by three hundred Bishops, where hee was likewise acquitted. To the decrees of this Synode, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, his enemies, making shew of repentance, subscribed, confessing, they had played the Sycophants : neither rested they there, but they wrote to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, to testifie their repentance, and to desire reconciliation, and likewise to *Athanasius* himselfe. It were strange if any man could prove the absolute supream power, and commanding authority of the Bishop of *Rome* over all the world by this testimony, wherein nothing is found of submission to *Julius*, or of seeking his favour and communion.

f Defence of the
Challeng. Artic.
of the Supre-
macie.

g Basil. Epist.
52. & 28.

munion more than the favour and communion of *Athanasius*, and all other Catholick Bishops adhering to him. The Epistle of *Athanasius* to *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*, is a meere counterfeit, as that worthy and renowned *Juel* hath proved at large by unanswerable demonstrations; and therefore it needeth no answer. The allegation of the accusation of *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, to *Dionysius* of *Rome*, joyned with it by *Bellarmino*, is of the very same stampe; and yet if it were not, proveth nothing against us. For there is no question, but that in matter of faith, men may accuse any erring Bishop to the Bishop of *Rome* and his Westernne Bishops; and that they may judge and condemn such a one, though the Pope be not supream head of the Church.

The fifth Greeke Father that they alleadge, is *Basil*,^e who, as they say, in an Epistle to *Athanasius*, attributeth to the Bishop of *Rome* authority to visit the Churches of the East, to make decrees, and to reverse the decrees of generall Councils, such as that of *Ariminum* was. Truly to say no more, the alleadging of this testimony, sheweth they have very little conscience that alleadge it. For these are the circumstances of *Basil's* Epistle, whereof let the Reader judge. *Basil* writing to *Athanasius* (whom he highly commendeth, for that, whereas other thinke it well if they take care of their owne particular Churches, his care was no lesse for the whole Church, than for that which was specially committed to him) adviseth him, that the onely way to settle things put out of order in the Easternne Churches by the *Arrians*, were the procuring of the consent of the Westernne Bishops, if it were possible to intreate them to interpose themselves: for that undoubtedly the Rulers would greatly regard, and much reverence the credit of their multitude: and people every where would follow them without gaine saying. But seeing this, which was rather to be desired, would not in likelihood easily be obtained, he wisheth that the Bishop of *Rome* might be induced, to send some of good discretion and moderation, who by gentle admonitions might pacifie the mindes of men, and might have all things in readinesse that concerned the *Arimine* Councell, necessary for the dissolving and shewing the invalidity of the acts of that Councell. I doubt not but the Reader, upon the bare view of these circumstances, will easily perceive, that this Epistle of *Basil* maketh very much against their opinion that alleadge it: For hee preferreth, and rather wisheth a Councell, than the Popes owne interposing of himselfe, if there had beene any hope of a Councell. Besides, these whom the Pope was to send, were not to proceed judicially, and by way of authority, but by intreaty and gentle admonitions to pacifie the mindes of men; and therefore here is nothing of visiting the Churches of the East, or voyding the acts of the Councell of *Ariminum* by way of sentence and formall proceeding, as *Bellarmino* untruly reporteth; but onely a reaching forth of the hand of helpe to the distressed parts of the Church, by them that were in better state, and a manifesting or declaring of the invalidity of that Councell, the unlawfull proceedings of it, and the reasons why it neither was, nor ever ought to be admitted.

h Nazianz. in
Carm. de vita
sua.

The sixth Greeke Father brought to be a witnesse of the Popes supremacie, is *Gregorie Nazianzen*,^h who saith, that the *Roman* Church did ever hold the right profession, as it becommeth the Citie which is over all the world. This testimony is no lesse abused than the former, as it will easily appeare to him that will take the paines to view the place alleadged. *Nature* (saith *Nazianzen*) doth not afford two Sunnes, yet are there two *Romes*, the lights of the whole world: the old and the new seate of the Empire: the one of these lights appeareth at the rising, and the other at the setting of the Sunne, and both joyntly send forth a most excellent glittering brightnesse. The faith of the one was a long time, and now is right, knitting, and joyning the West to the saving Word of Life, as it is fitte the Mistresse and Lady of the world should be. In which words it is evident, that hee speaketh of the greatnesse of the Citie of *Rome*, in respect of her civill and temporall soveraignty, and not in respect of the spirituall power of the Church; and therefore it is strange that *Bellarmino* should deny the same. For though in the time of *Nazianzen*, the Emperour made his abode, for the most part, at *Constantinople*, and not at *Rome*, yet he calleth *Rome* the Mistresse of the world, in respect of the civill state thereof, as appeareth in that he speaketh of two famous Cities, two lights

lights of the world, and nameth the one the old Seate, and the other the new Seate of the Empire.

The seventh Greeke Father is *Chrysostome*, who (if we may beleewe *Bellarmino*) being deposed by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and put from the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* in a Councell of Bishops, writeth to the Bishop of *Rome*, by his authority to voyde the sentence of *Theophilus*, and to punish him: whence it will follow, that *Chrysostome* acknowledged the *Roman* Bishop to be supream Iudge of the *Greeke* or *Easterne* Bishops, and consequently of all the world. For the better manifesting of the bad dealing of the Cardinall in alleadging this testimony, I will briefly set downe all the most materiall and principall circumstances, of the narration of the most unjust deposition of *Chrysostome*, that worthy and renowned Bishop of *Constantinople*. Thus therefore the case stood: There arose a question in the Churches of *Egypt*, whether God were *ἀνθρωπομορφος*, that is, had the shape of a man. Some of the simpler sort of Monkes thought, that God hath a bodily forme or shape: others thought otherwise, and condemned such as so thought, as blasphemous: *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, was of opinion, that God is not *ἀνθρωπομορφος*, that is, that God hath no bodily shape or forme: which the Monkes that thought otherwise greatly disliking, came to *Alexandria*, with a full purpose to kill and destroy him, as a wicked and godlesse person. But he perceiving their affection, presented himselfe speedily unto them, saying, *I have seene you, and looked upon you, as upon the face of God: and thereby pacified them for the present, supposing he had beene of their opinion, and had thought God to have a face and countenance like man. But afterwards, having upon some dislikes excommunicated Isidorus, a Presbyter of his Church, Isidorus goeth to the Monkes, and thereupon Ammonius with certaine other come to Theophilus, desiring him to receive such to the communion, as hee had excommunicated, which he promised to doe, but performed not. Hereupon farther quarrels grew, and Theophilus perceiving that the Monkes were in opinion contrary to the Anthropomorphites, joyned himselfe with the Anthropomorphites, and intended some ill to the other; whereupon Ammonius, Dioscorus, and Isidore, came to Constantinople, and desired, that the Emperour and Chrysostome might heare the matter betweene them. Chrysostome used them kindly, and suffered them to be present at the common Prayers, but admitted them not to the Communion: he wrote to Theophilus, to restore them to the Communion as being right beleevvers, and desired him, if he thought fit to have their cause heard and examined at Constantinople, to send some to follow the businesse for him: Whereunto Theophilus returned no answer; which moved the complainants to sue to the Emperesse, that a Councell might be called, which shee promised to procure: but in the meane while there being a rumor raised, that Chrysostome had received Dioscorus and the rest to the Communion, and that he sought to stead them what hee could; Theophilus enraged against him, began to devise how hee might put him from his Bishoprick. To this purpose hee writeth to sundry Bishops, reprehending the bookes of *Origen*, wherein the error of the Anthropomorphites was condemned. Amongst other, hee drew into his faction by this meanes *Epiphanius*, a man erring in that point, but otherwise of great authority for his good life and learning. *Epiphanius* calleth a Synode of the Bishops of *Cyprus*, condemneth the books of *Origen*, forbiddeth the reading of them; and perswadeth other, and amongst them the Bishop of *Constantinople* to doe the like. *Theophilus* likewise followed his example, and with his Bishops passed the like decree; but *Chrysostome* neglected the matter; which offended *Epiphanius* and *Theophilus* not a little. Hereupon many of the great ones in *Constantinople*, and of the Clergie also, hating *Chrysostome*, perceiving that *Theophilus* was bent against him, urged him to goe forward, and procured a great Synode to be called at *Constantinople*; which opportunity he neglected not, commanding the Bishops of *Egypt* to goe thither, and writing to *Epiphanius* and the rest of the *Easterne* Bishops to come thither. *Epiphanius* accordingly came thither, shewed himselfe averse from *Chrysostome*, and would neither come into the same house, nor pray with him, though he sought him with great respect: Whereupon after a while, *Epiphanius* in great dislike*

Chrysost. Ep. ad Innocentium.

Sozomen. li. 8. c. 11. & seq. Socrates lib. 6. Pallad. & Gregorius Alex. in vita Chrysostom. Nicephorus li. 3. Baron. an. 404. numero 2. & Bin-nius. Concil. Tom. 1. p. 589.

dislike, departed from *Constantinople*; at the parting of these Bishops, the one of them saying, he hoped the other should never returne home; the other, that he should never dye a Bishop, both which fell out accordingly: for *Epiphanius* dyed by the way, as hee was returning home, and *Chrysostome* cast out of his Bishoprick, dyed in banishment. After the departing of *Epiphanius*, *Chrysostome* made a Sermon in reproofe and reprehension of women; which so moved and enraged the Empresse, that shee complained bitterly to her husband, and urged him to cause *Theophilus* to come quickly, and to hold a Councell, which accordingly he did. *Chrysostome* was called to come into the Synode; but he answered, that he refused not judgement, but desired to know his accusers; and what crimes he was charged with, and protested against these Judges as partiall, appealing to a generall Councell, whereupon he was deposed, Three dayes after he withdrew himselfe; which put the people into an uproare, who stirring in very tumultuous manner, forced the Emperour to bring him back againe, and caused him to take his Chaire againe, thirty Bishops bringing him to it. Here began a new quarrell, for that being deposed by a Synode, hee resumed his place without a Synode: but the matter was reasonably well quieted, till reprehending those in authority, for permitting certaine abuses, the Empresse thinking her selfe touched, began againe to thinke, how shee might procure another greater Councell to be called than before; which *Chrysostome* understanding, made that Sermon that beginneth, *Herodias denuò insanire, denuò commoveri, denuò saltare pergit, denuò caput Iohannis in disco accipere quarit*: that is, *Herodias* proceedeth and goeth on to be mad againe, to be moved and stirred againe, and to dance againe: shee seekes once againe to have the head of *Iohn* in a platter. It was not long after the preaching of this Sermon, before the Bishops came together and met in Synode, by the procurement of the Empresse; who omitting all other things, objected unto him, the resuming of his place without a Synode. He answered, that there were 50 Bishops that consented to him, and communicated with him. But they replied, that there were more that condemned him: and that therefore by the Canon he ought not to have resumed his place. To whom hee answered, that that was a Canon of the *Arrians*, made by them when they proceeded against *Athanasius*, and therefore not to bee regarded. But that answer would not serve the turne: wherefore they proceeded to sentence against him, and put him out of his Bishoprick, and the Emperour immediately sent him into banishment. Being in this distresse, and thus grievously wronged, he writeth to *Innocentius*, and the Western Bishops, desiring them to do what they can to repress these vile practises, and to write, that the things done against him be of no force, as indeed they are not: and that hee might still hold communion with them, as before he had done. The Bishop of *Rome* upon this his suit, called a Synode of all the Bishops of the West,* held both *Theophilus* and *Chrysostome* in their communion, pronounced the judgement of *Theophilus*, and his proceedings against *Chrysostome*, to be voide, as being against the Canons: and yet told *Chrysostome*, there was no helpe, nor no meanes to releve him, but in a generall Councell, which by all possible meanes he will labour to procure: till which time he must be content, and referre all to God, who taketh care of these things. But with how ill successe hee sought to procure a generall Councell for the restoring of him to his place againe, wee may finde in *Sozomene*; who reporteth, that being desirous that *Chrysostome* might returne, he sent with those Orientall Bishops that came to him to intreate his helpe and assistance, five Bishops, and two Presbyters to *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*, to obtaine a Councell, and to have the time appointed: who were so farre from prevailing and obtaining that they sought, that they were sent away with disgrace, as forreine and outlandish disturbers of the state of the Empire. These are the principall, and most materiall circumstances of the narration and report of the unjust deposition of *Chrysostome*, his writing to the Bishop of *Rome*, and the answer hee had from him, and the other Bishops of the West, which make most strongly against the pretended supremacie of Popes. For *Innocentius* telleth *Chrysostomes* friends, that it lyeth not in him to helpe him; but in a generall Councell: And though hee and the Bishops of the West pronounce the proceedings of *Theophilus* voide, as against the Canons,

* Vide ep. Innocentii ad Chrysostom. & Theophilum, apud Binnium. Tom. 1. Conc.

1 Lib. 8. c. 18.

nons, and doe make them voyd, as much as by their dissenting they can, yet they confesse, that the absolute voyding of them, and the punishing of *Theophilus* was not in them, but in a generall Councell. But, saith *Bellarmino*, "*Chrysostome* in another Epistle giveth *Innocentius* thanks for his fatherly care and kindnesse, and intreateth, that his enemies may not be excluded from the Communion, if by any meanes they may be reclaimed: therefore it seemeth *Chrysostome* thought, hee had an absolute supreme commanding power. What it is in this Epistle that argueth that supreme power which *Bellarmino* dreameth of, I cannot tell. For I know no reason why *Chrysostome*, now a deposed and distressed Bishop, might not use so respective a forme of speech to the Bishop of the first See, and esteeme of him as a Father, without acknowledging him to have any absolute supreme power over all. And all the other circumstances and parts of the Epistle most clearly make against the Papacie. For he saith, *Innocentius* had done what he could; but that his enemies notwithstanding went still forward in their ill courses; and for the avoyding of greater scandals, distractions, & confusions, desireth him not to reject them from his communion, considering the greatnesse of the worke: for that this was the contention almost of all the world: So that the Churches were brought upon their knees, the people dispersed, the Clergie vexed, Bishops banished, and the constitutions of the holy Fathers violated and broken.

Inter Epistolas Innocentii supra dictas.

The eighth Greeke Father is *Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, out of whom *Bellarmino* alleadgeth no new thing, but the very same which hee brought out of the Councell of *Ephesus*, whereof he was President; and therefore I will make no new answer here to this renewed allegation, but referre the Reader to the answer already made. *See Chap. 33.*

The ninth Greeke Father is *Theodoret*, out of whom *Bellarmino* seeketh to confirme the Papacie, for that though he were a Bishop of *Asia*, and had under him eight hundred Churches, yet he acknowledgeth the Bishop of *Rome* to be his supreme Iudge: and in an Epistle written to *Renatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, saith, that that holy See hath the government and direction of the Churches throughout the world. For answer unto this objection, we must observe, that *Theodoret* being deposed, banished, & grievously vexed for matters of faith, seeketh to have his cause reexamined, and heard againe by the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of the West; which thing he obtained, and was by *Leo*, and the rest of the Bishops of the West, judged Catholick, received to their communion, and, as much as lay in them, restored to his Bishoprick againe; yet could he not repossesse his place, till the Councell of *Chalcedon* put him into it; which, though it were informed by the deputies of *Leo*, that he had long before, received him to his communion, yet admitted him not till hee was reexamined, and at first many of the Fathers disliking his answers as imperfect, cried out aloud, that he was a *Nestorian*, and desired that the Heretick might be cast out, censuring him as *Cyril*, and other Catholick Bishops had done before. But when he fully and peremptorily accursed *Nestorius* with all his adherents, they all with one consenting voyce, pronounced him worthy of his place, and admitted him to sit in Councell with them. Whereby it appeareth, that howsoever the Westerne Bishops pronounced him Catholick, received him to their communion, and, as much as in them lay, restored him to his place, yet of themselves they neither could, nor did perfect that worke, but were forced to leave it to the generall Councell: all which *Leo* himself in his Epistle to *Theodoret* acknowledgeth: *Adjutorium nostrum*, saith he, *in nomine Domini, qui fecit celum & terram, qui nullum nos in nostris fratribus detrimentum sustinere permisit: sed qua nostro prius ministerio definierat, universa fraternitatis irretractabili firmavit assensu. ut verè à se prodisse ostenderet, quod prius à prima omnium sede formatum, totius Christiani orbis iudicium recepisset, ut in hoc quoque, Capiti membra concordent. Nam, ne aliarum sedium, ad eam quam ceteris omnium Dominus statuit praesidere, consensus, assentatio videretur, inventi prius sunt, qui de iudiciis nostris ambigerent: that is, Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made both heaven and earth, who suffered us not to sustaine any losse in our brethren, but confirmed & established by the irrevocable assent of the whole brotherhood, what things he had before defined by our ministry; that he might clearly shew that thing undoubtedly to have proceeded from himselfe, which*

Theodoret. in Epist. ad Leonem quæ habetur in fine operum ejus.

Conc. Chalcedon. Act. 1. & 8.

Leo. Epist. in fine operum Theodoret.

being

being formerly framed by the first See, the judgement of the whole Christian world received: So that herein the head and members conspire together. For lest the consenting of other Sees to that which the Lord of all appointed to be the first of all, might seeme to be but flattery, there were some found that at first doubted of our judgments, whether they were right or not. And he addeth, that *Multum Sacerdotalis officii meritum splendet, ubi sic summorum servatur auctoritas, ut in nullo inferiorum putetur imminuta libertas*: that is, that the excellent worthinesse of the Priestly office doth then most appeare in shining brightnesse, when the authority of the highest is so retained, that the liberty of the inferiour and lesser be thought in nothing to be diminished or empaired; thereby insinuating, that he and his Western Bishopps did so goe before in their resolution touching the case of *Theodoret*, that they no way diminished, much lesse tooke away the liberty of other inferiour Sees, but that they might resist and gaine say, till they were satisfied, and made to see the equity of the judgement of the first See: accordingly as we finde they did in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, rejecting him as an Heretick, whom the Bishop of *Rome* had received, till upon more full and particular examination, they found him to be Catholick, and acquitted him in their owne judgement. So that here we see, there is nothing to prove the Pope to be an absolute supream Judge of all, as *Bellarmino* untruly alleadgeth. But happily hee will say, that *Theodoret* intreateth *Renatus* to perswade *Leo* to use his authority, and to require the Bishopps that had proceeded against him, to come to his Synode in the West, seeing the See of *Rome* hath a direction of all Churches, and that therefore he seemeth to acknowledge an absolute supream power in the Pope. For answer hereunto wee say, that the circumstances of this Epistle doe clearly convince and prove hee had no such conceit. For first, he speaketh not of *Leo* alone, as if of himselfe hee could determine the matter of difference betweene him and his Adversaries, but of him and his Western Councell. Secondly, hee doth not say, that he, and his Councell alone may determine the matter; but that his See being the first See, hee and his Bishopps may call all other Bishopps to their Councell: and this is that direction or government which he saith the first See, or Western Church hath of other Churches; namely, in going before them, and inviting and calling them to publick deliberations, not in peremptory and absolute commanding without them and over them.

Sozom. l. 3.
cap. 7.

Ibidem.

Sozom. ubi
suprà.

Ibid. cap. 9.

The tenth witnesse produced out of the Greeke Church, is *Sozomene*, out of whom two things are alleadged. The first is, that he saith, *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* restored *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, to their Churches, from which they were violently and unjustly expelled by certaine Bishopps. The second, that he did this, because the care of all pertained to him in respect of the dignity of his See. How the words of *Sozomene*, reporting that *Julius* restored these Bishopps to their Churches, are to be understood, we may learne of *Julius* himselfe, who in his Epistle mentioned by *Athanasius* in his second Apologie, having blamed the Orientall Bishopps, for proceeding in a matter of so great consequence concerning the faith, and the Bishopps of the principall Churches of the world, without him and his Bishopps, and, as hee understood, very irregularly; telleth them, that hee durst not confirme that they had done, that he communicated still with *Athanasius* and *Paulus*, not forejudging any thing, but desiring them to come to a Synode, where things might bee fully debated, and determined; and that, though hee alone wrote for them, yet hee wrote in the name, and with the consent of all the Bishopps of the West. Upon which his letter, they were so farre from restoring them to their places, that they tooke it in ill part, that hee did write unto them, telling him, that when hee proceeded against certaine *Novatians*, they intermedled not, and that therefore hee should not meddle with their proceedings, seeing the greatnesse of Cities maketh not the power of one Bishop greater than the power of another. By which their peremptory rejecting of his motion, it appeareth, that he neither did, nor could put the expelled Bishopps into their places againe: which thing *Sozomene* himselfe testifieth also, telling us, that they could never recover their places, till the Emperour by his mandatory letters prevailed. So that when hee saith, *Julius*, restored

ted them, his meaning is, that hee restored them as much as lay in him: as likewise it may be said of *Cyrl*, and *Iohn* of *Antioch*, and after many and bitter contentions, they were in the end reconciled; and restored each to other their Churches, from which yet they were never driven indeede; but in the censures of the one of them passed against the other. But *Sozomene* saith, the care of all Churches pertained to the Bishop of *Rome*, therefore he acknowledgeth, that he had an universality of power over all. Surely this consequence will never be made good. For the Metropolitane, or he that is Bishop of the first See in each Province in respect of the dignitie of his See, hath the care of the whole Province, yet can hee doe nothing but as he is directed by the major part of the Bishops. So that the care of all is said to pertaine to him, not because he hath power to dispose of all things by himselfe, but because all publick proceedings concerning the whole Province, must take their beginning from him, and nothing of that nature may be taken in hand, without consulting with him. In like sort, and in the same sense and meaning, *Sozomene* saith, that for the dignity of his See, the care of all pertained to the Bishop of *Rome*; not as if the absolute disposing of all things did rest in him, but for that he, as prime Bishop of the world, was first to be consulted, before any thing concerning the common faith, and the whole state of the Christian Church, were determined; and for that by the assistance and concurrence of other Bishops, he as first in order and honour amongst them, was to begin and set forward all things of greatest consequence tending to the common good.

* Socr L. 7. cap. 33. Evagr. l. 1. c. 5. Vide acta concil Ephes.

Three more witnesses *Bellarmino* hath yet behind, *Acatius* the Bishop of *Patara*; and *Iustinian* the Emperour, out of whom three things are alleadged. The first, that the Bishop of *Rome* beareth about with him the care of all Churches. The second, that the Pope is over the Church of the whole world. The third, that the Pope is the Head of all holy Churches. To the first of these allegations taken out of *Acatius* his Epistle to *Simplicius* Bishop of *Rome*, I have answered before; as likewise in what sense the Pope may be said to be over the Church of the whole world, to wit, in respect of a primacie of order and honour, but not of power; in which sense also, *Iustinian* the elder, writing to *Iohn* the second, saith, his See is the Head of all Churches. And thus having examined the testimonies of the *Greeke* Fathers, we are now to proceed to the authorities of the *Latine* Church.

CHAP. 36.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes supremacie, taken out of the writings of the *Latine* Fathers.

THe first among the *Latine* Fathers, that *Bellarmino* produceth, is *Cyprian*; who of all other most clearly overthroweth the error of the *Romanists*, touching the Papacie, and therefore is very unadvisedly produced by them in the first place, and appointed to marshall and conduct the rest of their witnesses; yet let us heare what he will say. Out of *Cyprian* foure places are alleadged. The first is in his booke *de unitate Ecclesie*. The second is, in the third Epistle of his first booke written to *Cornelius*. The third, in the tenth Epistle of his second booke to the same *Cornelius*. The fourth, in the eighth Epistle of the first booke *ad plebem universam*. Out of the first of these places they will prove, that he maketh *Peter* Head of the whole Church. Out of the second, that there is one High Priest, and one supreme Judge in the Church, whom all men are bound to obey. Out of the third, that *Cornelius* was Head of all Catholicks. Out of the fourth, that there is one singular Chaire in the Church, wherein he sitteth that must teach all.

* Bell. de Pontif. l. 2. c. 16.

To every of these allegations, I will answer in order, and make it most cleare and evident, that none of the things imagined by the Cardinall, can possibly be concluded out of any of the fore-named places. For to begin with the first: whosoever will but reade over *Cyprians* booke of the unity of the Church, shall most certainly and undoubtedly finde, that hee speaketh not in that booke of *Peters* headship of the universall

universall Church, as the Jesuite fanſieth: but of the head, originall, and first beginning of Pastorall commission. Which that it may the better appeare, I will as briefly as possibly I can, lay downe the most principall and materiall circumstances of the whole discourse of that booke, written upon occasion of the Schisme of the *Novatians*. The first thing that occurreth in the whole discourse of the booke, is the authors observation of the endlesse malice of Satan, who when he found the Idols of the *Gentiles*, wherein he was wont to be worshipped, to be forsaken, and his Seates and Temples deserted, almost all professing to beleieve in Christ, *Hereses invenit & Schismata, quibus subverteret fidem, veritatem corrumpere, scinderet unitatem*: that is, Found out Heresies and Schismes, by which he might subvert the Faith, corrupt the verity, and cut in sunder the unity: so that *Quos detinere non potest in via veteris cecitate, circumscribit, & decipit novi itineris errore*, that is, Whom he cannot hold in the blindnesse and darknesse of the old way, those he circumventeth and beguileth, by making them erre, goe aside, and not hold on the right course of their journey in the new way that leadeth to life. In the second place he sheweth, that this so falleth out, and that men are so beguiled, and misse-led into Schismes and Heresies, because they returne not back to the first origine of truth, because they seek not the head, nor keep the doctrine of the heavenly Master: which if a man would consider and thinke of, he should not neede to seeke out many arguments, nor fetch any great compasse about: but the truth would easily, without any great search, offer it selfe unto him. For therefore did Christ, when he was to lay the foundations of the Christian Church, say specially to Peter, *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and I will give to thee the keyes of the kingdom of heaven*: and againe after his resurrection, *Feede my sheepe*: because though rising againe from the dead, he gave like power to all the Apostles, when he said, *As my Father sent me, so send I you; whose sinnes yee remit, they are remitted; whose sinnes ye retaine, they are retained*: yet he would by speaking specially to one, and by appointing one chaire, shew what unity should bee in the Church. The rest of the Apostles, saith *Cyprian*, were undoubtedly the same that Peter was, equall in honour and power: but therefore did Christ in the first place give, or at least promise to give specially and particularly to one that Apostolick commission, which hee meant also to give to the rest, that he might thereby shew, that the Church must be one, and that there must bee but one Episcopall chaire in the world. All the Apostles, saith *Cyprian*, are Pastours, but the flock of Christ is but one, which they are to feed with unanimous consent. There is but one body of the Church, one spirit, one hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one baptism, one God. This unity all men must endeavour to keep, especially Bishops, that they may make it appeare, that there is but one Bishoply commission in the Christian Church, *Cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur*, that is, Whereof every one indifferently and in equall sort hath his part. Here is nothing that proveth the universality of the Papall power, or that Peter was by Christ made head of the whole Church. But this place most mainly overthroweth that supposed headship. For *Cyprian* teacheth, that Christ meant to give equall power and authority to all his Apostles, and that the reason, why intending no more to one than to the rest, yet hee more specially directed his speech to one than to the rest, was, only to shew, that there must be an unity in the Church, which hee settled in that beginning with one, from him he proceeded to the rest, not meaning that the rest should receive any thing from him, but that from himselfe immediatly they should receive that in the second place, which he had first, and that they should receive the same commission together with him into which hee was first put, that they might know him to be the first of their company. In this sense *Innocentius* saith, *A Petro ipse Episcopatus, & tota auctoritas nominis hujus emerſit*: that is, The Bishoply office, and the whole authority of this name and title tooke beginning from Peter: whom, he saith, all Bishops must respect, as *Sui nominis & honoris auctorem*: that is, as the first and originall of their name and honour. And *Leo* in like sort, *Hujus muneris Sacramentum ita Dominus ad omnium Apostolorum officium voluit pertinere, ut in beatissimo Petro Apostolorum omnium summo principaliter collocaret, ut ab ipso, quasi quodam capite, dona sua velut in corpus omne diffunderet*; that is, The Lords

b Mat. 16. 18,
19.

c 1oh. 21. 15, 16

d 1oh. 20. 21. &
23.

e Inter Episto-
las Augustini,
epist. 91.

f Leo epist. 89.

Lords will was, that the myſterie of this heavenly gift, commiſſion, and employment, ſhould ſo pertaine to the miniſtery and office of all the Apoſtles, that yet he would firſt and principally place it in moſt bleſſed *Peter* the greateſt of all the Apoſtles, that ſo beginning with him as the head and firſt, hee might proceede from him to powre forth his gifts into all the body. But, ſaith *Bellarmino*. *Cyprian* ſpeaketh of another head of the Church beſides Chriſt, and maketh the Church that ſo enlargeth it ſelfe, and hath ſo many parts, yet to be one in this roote and head: as the beames are many, but the light is one, as the boughes are many, but the tree is one: the rivers are many, but the fountaine is one. It is ſtrange, that a man of his learning and judgement ſhould ſo miſſe-conceive things, as hee ſeemeth to doe. For it is moſt evident to any one that will but take the paines to peruſe the place, that *Cyprian* ſpeaketh not of a diſtinct head of the Church different from Chriſt, and appointed by him to governe the Church, but of the originall, firſt beginning and head of the commiſſion the Paſtours of the Church have. Which commiſſion Chriſt ſo gave to all the Apoſtles, that yet firſt hee gave it, or at leaſt, firſt promiſed to give it to one, and directed his ſpeech ſpecially to him, to ſhew that none can be Paſtors of the Church, but ſuch as without intrusion are conſented on by them, that, having this power in unity amongſt themſelves, may communicate it to others. Neither doth he ſay, as the Jeſuite ſaith, that the many parts of the Church are one in ſubjection to one head diſtinct from Chriſt, as the beames of the Sunne are one in the ſame light; but in the unity of the ſame maine body: For even as, ſaith *Cyprian*, the beames of the Sunne are one in the ſame light, and the boughes of the tree are one in the ſame tree; ſo all Churches muſt derive themſelves from the firſt Church, and all Paſtours their commiſſion from the firſt commiſſion, which Chriſt gave to all his Apoſtles; yet ſo, that he put one firſt into it, and directed his ſpeeches ſpecially unto one, thereby to ſettle them in an orderly unity amongſt themſelves. This is undoubtedly the meaning of *Cyprian*: For it can no way ſtand, either with truth, with the opinion of *Cyprian*, or with the opinion of our Adverſaries themſelves, that the reſt of the Apoſtles received their Miniſteriall power from *Peter*, and were ſubject to him as to an head, and abſolute commander over them, ſeeing he ſaith expreſſely, that they were the ſame that *Peter* was, and equall to him, both in honour and power: and beſides, both in this booke, and in many other places, hee is wont to derive the originall of ſchiſmes and heresies, from the intrusion of men into places already full, or at leaſt into void places, without due admittance and allowance of them, that in a kinde of coherent concord, rule and governe the Church; and never from the reſiſtance againſt one ſupreame commander ſet over all. So in his ^g Epistle to *Antonianus*, he proveth *Cornelius B. of Rome* to be a true and lawfull Biſhop, becauſe having the teſtimony of the Clergie, and voyces of the people, the place of *Fabianus* being voyd, he was ordained to ſucceed him by many Biſhops then at *Rome*, who ſent their letters abroad, making honourable report of his due and right coming to the place, & the whole number of B^s throughout the world with great unanimity conſented: and by the want of theſe things proveth his factious oppoſites to be ſchiſmaticks.

In the ſecond allegation the Cardinall bewrayeth very groſſe ignorance: For it was not a difference betweene *Cornelius*, and the *Novatians*, reſuſing to acknowledge him to bee Biſhop, that gave occaſion of writing that ^h Epistle, as hee untruely ſaith; but the calumniations of *Feliciffimus* and *Fortunatus*, againſt *Cyprian* himſelfe: Which factious companions being put from the communion by *Cyprian*, and many of his colleagues, flying to *Rome*, were there rejected, and thereupon fell to threatning. Theſe threatnings *Cyprian* deſpiſeth, pronounceth them to bee murderers, ſheweth that they ſhall not eſcape the judgement of God, and that nothing is to bee remitted of the ſeverity of Church-diſcipline, for feare of theſe wicked ones, that are enemies of Priests, and rebels againſt Gods Church; whom God will undoubtedly much more ſeverely puniſh, than they were, who in the time of the Law of *Moses* deſpiſed the high Prielt, and other Priests and Rulers of the people: who yet answered ſuch their contempts with their blood; and then addeth the words cited by *Bellarmino*, that hence all heresies and ſchiſmes doe ariſe, for that the Prielt of God is not

' obeyed, nor one Priest in the Church for the time, and one Judge in Christs stead for
 ' the time acknowledged: whom if men would obey according to the divine instru-
 ' ctions, no man would attempt any thing against the Colledge of Priests, no man after
 ' the judgement of God, the voyces of the people, and the consent of fellow-bishops,
 ' would make himselfe a Judge, not so much of the Bishops, as of God himselfe; no man
 ' pleasing himselfe would bring in any new heresie or schisme to the renting and divi-
 ' ding of the Church; as if, when a sparrow falleth not to the ground without the will
 ' of our Father, it were possible that he who is ordained a Bishop in the Church, should
 ' be ordained without the will of God. Surely, saith he, I speake it provoked, I speake
 ' it grieved and constrained, when a Bishop is placed in the roome of one that is dead,
 ' chosen in peace by all the people, protected by divine helpe in the time of persecu-
 ' tion, faithfully conjoynd with all his colleagues, approved to his people foure yeares
 ' in his Bishoply office, in the time of peace keeping the rules of discipline, proscribed
 ' in the times of trouble, so often even with addition of the title of Bishop, called for
 ' to be cast to the Lion, and even in these very dayes wherein I write unto thee, called
 ' for againe to the Lion; if such a one be impugned by a few desperate and wicked
 ' ones, it will easily appeare who they are that so impugne him. All these things are
 spoken by *Cyprian* of his owne case, as most clearely appeareth by his 69 Epistle; and
 therefore the words are strangely wrested by *Bellarmino* to prove the Papacie, when
Cyprian speaketh of the respect that is due to the Bishop of every particular Church,
 and, by application thereof to himselfe, sheweth *Cornel.* how little he had bin respec-
 ted, and how grievously he hath bin wronged. But the Cardinall will prove that hee
 speaketh of the Pope, when he speaketh of one Pastor, and of one Judge in the Church
 for the time, and not of every Bishop or Pastor in his own particular Church: First, be-
 cause in the booke *De unitate Ecclesie*, hee maketh *Peter* Head and Commander of all
 the Church; and saith, heresies spring from the not seeking to this Head; than which
 nothing is more untrue. For *Cyprian* doth not make *Peter* Head and Commander o-
 ver the whole Church, as I have already shewed in answer to the former allegation.
 Secondly, for that when he speaketh of one Judge in the Church in stead of Christ, he
 must of necessity by the name of the Church understand the universall Church, and not
 each particular Church, because in his Epistle he speaketh of *Cornelius*. A strange kind
 of prooffe, and such as I think can never be made good: For first, the consequence doth
 not hold, seeing he might speake of *Cornelius*, and yet understand by the name of the
 Church, the Diocesse of *Rome*, and not the universall Church: and secondly, it is untrue
 that he saith, he speaketh of *Cornelius*. For it is as cleare as the Sun at noone day, that
 throughout the whole Epistle, he complaineth of contempts, indignities, and wrongs
 offered to himselfe by *Faliciissimus* and *Fortunatus*, and not to *Cornelius*. But that *Cy-
 prian* never acknowledged the supremacie of power which the *Roman* Bishops at this
 day claime, no better prooffe can be desired than this Epistle will yeeld: For these mis-
 creants, *Faliciissimus*, *Fortunatus*, and their adherents, fled to *Cornelius*, complaining a-
 gainst *Cyprian*: whom he peremptorily condemneth for this their flying to *Rome*, as
 violators of the Canons, and disturbers of the order of the Church, which requireth all
 matters to be heard and determined in those places where the accusers and witnesses
 may be produced, *Unlesse*, saith he, *a few desperate and wicked companions doe thinke the
 authority of the African Bishops to be lesse than the authority of the other Bishops else-
 where, and therefore carry things out of Africa by way of appeale to other places.* So that
 when he calleth the Church of *Rome* the principall Church, whence Sacerdotall unity
 sprang, his meaning is, that it is the principall Church in order and honour, and not in
 absolute, supream, commanding power: and that Sacerdotall unity sprang from
 thence, not as if all Bishops did receive their power and jurisdiction from the Bishop
 of *Rome*, but for that, though all receive their Bishoply commission immediately from
 Christ, by the hands of the Apostles ordaining them, yet he is to be acknowledged as
 first in the commission succeeding *Peter*, to whom Christ first promised that, which he
 meant afterwards in as ample sort to give to all the rest.

Lib. 2. ep. 10.
 ad Cornel.

For answer to the third allegation, we must observe, that *Cyprian* in the Epistle cited by

by *Bellarmino*, laboureth to satisfie *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, who was something offended with him, for that presently so soone as hee heard of his ordination, he did not write unto him as to his fellow Bishop. To this purpose hee sheweth, that he refrained and forbore so to doe, till he was by others assured of his due and orderly election, and ordination, as well as by himselfe. because hee perceived there was some opposition against him; but that as soone as his ordination was approved unto him, hearing of some factious and turbulent men stirring against him, he sent certaine of his brethren and colleagues, to put to their helping hands for the bringing of the divided members of the body, to the unity of the Catholick Church, if by any meanes it might be; but that the obstinacie of the one part was such, that they not onely refused the bosome of the roote, and common mother, seeking to receive and embrace them, but set up another Head or Bishop; where it is plaine and evident, that he speaketh not of the universall Church, the common Mother of all beleivers, but of that particular Church of *Rome*, whereof *Cornelius* was Bishop, opposite to the divisions of such as departed from the unity of it, who being gone out of the bosome and lap of it, chose a Bishop of their owne faction.

The fourth and last allegation will easily be answered, if we doe but take a view of that which *Cyprian* writeth in the Epistle alleadged. *There is, saith he, one God, one Christ, one Church, one Chaire founded upon Peter by the Lords owne voyce. No other Altar may be raised, nor other new Priesthood appointed, besides that one Altar and one Priesthood already appointed. Whosoever gathereth any where else, scattereth.* Surely, it is not possible, that the Cardinall should thinke as he pretendeth to do, that *Cyprian* speaketh of one singular chaire ordained by Christ for one Bishop to sit in, appointed to teach all the world. For the question in this place is not touching obedience to be yeelded to the Bishop of *Rome*, that *Cyprian* should neede to urge that point, but touching certaine Schismatics which opposed themselves against him; and therefore hee urgeth the unity of the Church and of the Chaire, to shew, that against them that are lawfully placed, with consenting allowance of the Pastours at unity, others may not bee admitted; and that they, who by any other meanes get into the places of Ministerie, than by the consenting allowance of the Pastours at unitie amongst themselves, are in truth and indeede no Bishops at all. So that *Cyprian* by that one Chaire he mentioneth, understandeth not one particular chaire appointed for a generall teacher of all the world to sit in, but the joynt commission, unity, and consent of all Pastors, which is and must be such, as if they did all sit in one Chaire.

Hitherto we have heard what can be alleadged out of *Cyprians* writings, to prove that supream commanding authority of the Pope. Now let us heare what may be alleadged out of the same for the improving thereof. First, in his booke of the unity of the Church he saith, *There is one Episcopall office whereof every one equally and indifferently hath his part*: and secondly, in the Councell of *Carthage* holden by him and other Bishops of *Africa*, he saith; *None of us maketh himselfe a Bishop of Bishops; or tyrannically enforceth his colleagues to a necessity of obeying, because every Bishop hath his owne free judgement and disposition, and may neither judge other, nor be judged of other, but must all expect the judgement of God, who onely hath power to set us over his Church, and to judge of our actions.* To the first of these authorities, *Bellarmino* De Pont. mine answereth, that each Bishop hath his part in the Episcopall office and communion, equally, and as well as any other, but not an equall part: For *Peter* and his successors have that part, that is as the roote, head, and fountaine; the rest, those parts that are as the branches, members, and rivers, and that therefore *Peters* Successors are to rule and governe the rest. But this answer is refuted by the other place, where *Cyprian* with the whole Councell of *Carthage* saith; *None of us maketh himselfe a Bishop of Bishops, or goeth about tyrannically to enforce others to a necessity of obeying, seeing each Bishop hath his liberty, and no one may judge another, nor be judged of another, but must all expect the judgement of God.* If he reply, that this which *Cyprian* speaketh of the equality of Bishops, is to be understood of the Bishops of *Carthage*, amongst whom none was found that had power to command over others, and not generally so

Li. 1. Ep. 8. ad
plebem univer.

Concil. Carth.
inter ope-
ra Cypriani.

De Pont.
Rom. l. 2. c. 16.

⁂ Cypri. lib. 2.
epist. 1.

⁂ Epist. 74:

⁂ Firmilianus
in epist. 75.
inter epist. Cy-
priani.

⁂ De Pont. Ro.
lib. 4. c. 7.

⁂ Optat. lib. 2.
contra Parme-
nian.

as to include the Bishop of Rome, he is refuted by Cyprian himselfe; who in his Epistle to [⁂] Stephen Bishop of Rome, having freely dissented from him, and shewed the reasons of his so dissenting, *pro communi honore & simplici dilectione*: that is, For the fellowship they have in the same honourable calling and employment, and the simplicity and singleness of his love, faith, he hopeth Stephen will approve that which is true and right, and which he hath so strongly confirmed and proved, though there be some (so taxing him in a sort as too stiffly cleaving to his owne opinion) that will not easily alter their mindes, but holding communion with their colleagues, stiffly maintaine what they have once conceived. Wherein, faith he, *Nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cum habeat in Ecclesia administratione voluntatis sua arbitrium liberum unusquisque prepositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus*: that is, Neither doe we force any man, or give a law unto any man, whereas every Governour hath the free disposition of his owne will in the administration of the Church being to give an account of his actions unto the Lord. Here wee see Cyprian speaketh in the very same sort in the case betwene him and Stephen, as he did in the Councell of Carthage, and that generally he maketh all Bishops equall, and no one subject to the judgement of another, but to the judgement of God only, and the company of their fellow Bishops. And that he did not thinke the Bishop of Rome to have an infallibility of judgement, or a commanding authority over other Bishops, it appeareth in that writing to [⁂] Pompeius of Stephens answer to his letters, and sending him a copie of the same answer, he telleth him, that by reading it, he may more and more note his error, in maintaining the cause of Hereticks against Christians, and the Church of God; and feareth not to pronounce of him, that he writeth many things proudly, impertinently, unskillfully, improvidently, and contrary to himselfe: and, which more is, contemning his prescription, that hereticks should not be rebaptized, but be received with the imposition of hands onely, he charged him with hard, stiffe, and inflexible obstinacie. [⁂] Firmilianus with the Bishops of Phrygia, Galatia, Cilicia, and other Regions neere adjoyning, assembled in a Synode at Iconium, consented with Cyprian: and Firmilianus writing to him, telleth him of their resolution, and chargeth Stephen with folly, who bragging of the place of his Bishoprick, and pretending to succede Peter, on whom the Church was founded, yet bringeth in many other rocks, and new buildings of many Churches, in that hee supposed Hereticks to be truly baptized, who are out of the communion of the true Church: whereas the Church was specially promised to be builded on Peter, to shew that it must be but one. And in great dislike and reprehension of Stephen, he faith, he was not ashamed in favour of Hereticks to divide the brotherhood, and to call Cyprian the worthy servant of God, a false Christ, a false Apostle, and a deceitfull, and guilefull workeman: whereas all these things might much more truly be said of him: and therefore guilty to himselfe, *Prævenit, ut alteri ea per mendacium objiceret, quæ ipse ex merito audire deberet*: that is, By way of prevention, he falsely, and lyingly objected those things to another, which himselfe truly and deservedly might have had objected to him by others. Such and so great were the oppositions of Cyprian and his consorts, against Stephen and his adherents, in the matter of rebaptization: whereupon [⁂] Bellarmine saith, it seemeth that Cyprian sinned mortally, in that hee obeyed not the commandement of Stephen, nor submitted his judgement to the judgement of his superiour. That hee erred in the matter of rebaptization, we willingly confesse: but, that hee knew not the power, authority, and commission of the Bishop of Rome, or that he would ever have dissented from him, or opposed himselfe against him in a question of faith if hee had thought his power to be universall, and his judgement infallible, wee utterly deny. For then hee should not onely have erred in the matter of rebaptization, but have beene a damnable Heretick, and have perished everlastingly: whereas yet the Church of God hath ever reputed him a holy Bishop, and a blessed Martyr. Thus having examined the testimonies of Cyprian, universally alleadged for and against the supremacie of the Pope, let us proceede to the rest of Bellarmines witnesses.

The next that followeth is Optatus, out of whom it is alleadged, that there was one Episcopall

Episcopall Chaire in the whole Church appointed by Christ. But because this is the same which was formerly alleadged out of *Cyprian*, and already answered in the answers to the allegations brought out of him, therefore without farther troubling of the Reader, I referre him to that which went before.

The next unto *Opratus* is *Ambrose*, out of whom three severall places are produced; in the first, his words are these, as *Bellarmino* citeth them. *Though the whole world be Gods, yet the Church only is called his house, the Governour whereof at this day is Damasus.* For answer hereunto we say, that this testimony rather witnesseth their forgery, than confirmeth their error. For the Commentaries attributed to *Ambrose*, wherein these words are, are not his: and besides, this addition, [*the Governour whereof at this day is Damasus*] may be thought to have beene put in, in favour of their fancie touching the Papall universality of jurisdiction; it is so sudden, causelesse, and abrupt. In the second place, *Ambrose* reporteth of *Satyrus*, that before he would receive the Sacrament of the Lords body, he asked of the Bishop by whose hands hee was to receive it, whether he held communion with the Catholick Bishops, and namely, with the *Roman Church*? To the inference of our Adversaries, and the conclusion they seeke to derive and draw from these words in favour of the Papacie, I have answered elsewhere, whither I referre the Reader. Wherefore let us come to the third and last place of *Ambrose*: His words are, *Wee follow the type and forme of the Roman Church in all things*: and againe, *I desire to follow the Roman Church in all things.* Surely, this place of all other most clearly confuteth the error of the *Romanists*, touching the infallibility of the judgement of the *Roman Church* and Bishop, and the necessitie of absolute conformity with the same. For in this place Saint *Ambrose* sheweth, that in the Church of *Millaine*, whereof he was Bishop, the manner in his time was, that the Bishop girding himselfe about with a towell in imitation of Christ, did wash the feete of such as were newly baptized; and after great commendation of the same custome, objecting to himselfe that the *Roman Church* had it not; first he saith, that perhaps the Church of *Rome* omitted this washing, because of the difficultie, and great labour in performing it, by reason of the multitude of those that were baptized. Secondly, whereas some said in defence and excuse of the omission of this washing in the *Roman Church*, that it is not to be used as a mysticall rite in the regeneration of them that are new borne in Christ, but in the civill entertainment of strangers (the offices of humility and civill courtesie, being very farre different from the mysteries and sacred rites of sanctification) hee reproveth them for so saying, and endeavoureth to shew, that this kinde of washing is a sacred and mysticall rite, tending to the sanctification of them that are newly baptized, and that out of the words of Christ to *Peter*; *Unlesse I wash thee, thou shalt have no part in me*; and then addeth the words alleadged by *Bellarmino*, *I desire in all things to follow the Roman Church, but notwithstanding we also are men, and have our sense and judgment: and therefore what we finde to be rightly observed any where else, we also rightly observe and keep: we follow the Apostle Peter, we cleave fast unto his devotion, and hereunto, what can the Church of Rome answer?* Whereby we may see with what conscience these men alleadge the testimonies of the Fathers; *Ambrose* saith, Other men have judgment to discern what is fit to be done, as well as the *Romans*: that if any where else they finde better observations than in the Church of *Rome*, they may lawfully embrace them; that *S. Peter* Bishop of *Rome* was authour of his assertion; and that the Church of *Rome* hath nothing to answer in her own defence, or whereby to iustifie her omitting of this sacred washing: and they produce his testimonie to prove, that he thought it necessary to be like in all things to the Church of *Rome*. Neither doth *Bellarmino* answer, that hee thought it necessary to follow the Church of *Rome* in all things necessary to salvation, though he dissented in this observation, satisfie us; seeing he thought this observation necessary to the perfect regeneration of the baptized, and consequently to salvation, as appeareth in the place it selfe. Wherefore, when *Ambrose* saith of himselfe, and those of *Millaine*, that they follow in all things the type and forme of the *Roman Church*, it is not to be understood without all limitation: but that as other Daughter-churches doe follow the custome of their Mother-

Greg. Epist.
lib 7. ep. 63.

Mother-churches; so the Church of *Millaine* conformeth her selfe to the Church of *Rome* in all things, so farre forth as shee can perswade her selfe it is fit and right so to doe: otherwise, out of her judgement and discretion receiving from other Churches that which they have in better sort than she: even as *Gregorie* Bishop of *Rome* professed, that hee was not ashamed to learne of those Churches that were meaner than his owne.

Cyp. Ep. 67.

From *Ambrose* the Cardinall passeth to *Hierome*, out of whose writings hee produceth two testimonies. The first, out of his Epistle to *Ageruchia*, de *Monogamia*; the other out of his Epistle to *Damasus* touching the use of the word *Hypostasis*. The first of these two testimonies might well have beene spared. For what can any man inferre from this that *Hierome* saith, hee did helpe *Damasus* in writing answers to the Synodall consultations of the East and West? was there ever any man that doubted of the consulting of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops by the Synodes of the East and West, in matters concerning the faith, and state of the universall Church? Or may it bee concluded from hence, that the Pope hath an absolute supream power in the Church? Surely, I thinke not. Wherefore let us passe to the second testimonie. *Ego*, saith *Hierome* to *Damasus*, *nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, beatitudinis tua, id est, Cathedra Petri, communione consocior: super illam petram edificatam Ecclesiam scio. Quicumq, extra hanc domum agnum commederit, profanus est: Si quis in arca Noe non fuerit, peribit regnante diluvio*; that is, I following no first and chiefe but Christ, am joyned in communion to your blessednesse, that is, to *Peters* Chaire: upon that rock I know the Church to be builded: Whosoever shall eat the Paschall Lambe out of this house, he is a profane person: If any man shall be out of *Noahs* Arke, he shall undoubtedly perish, when the flood prevaileth and drowneth all. It is true, that *Cyprian* hath observed in his Epistle to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, that therefore Almighty God appointed a great number and company of Bishops, joyned together by the glew and bond of unity, that if some fall into heresie, and seeke to waite the flock of Christ, the rest may gather the dispersed sheepe into the fold againe; and therefore even as if one haven be dangerous, they that saile will seeke to another more safe; and if one Inne upon the way be possessed by theeves and wicked persons, wayfaring men will turne into another; so in the Church, when the Pastours of one part of it are infected with error and heresie, men must flie to them that are right-believers in other parts. This was the case of *Hierome*, as it appeareth by this his Epistle: Hee lived at the time of the writing of it in the East parts, where *Arrianisme* had strangely and dangerously prevailed, but the West Churches were sound. Hee was urged to confesse and acknowledge, that there are three *Hypostases* or substi-
tences in the Godhead. This forme of speaking hee suspected, as fearing some ill meaning, especially because hee suspected them that rendered it to him; and therefore flieth for direction to *Damasus* and the Westerne Bishops. For it appeareth that hee sought the resolution of them all, though the manner was to write onely to the chiefe amongst them. Let us heare therefore what it is that he saith, and what the Iesuite inferreth from his saying. Hee admitteth, saith *Bellarmino*, no originall teacher but Christ; yet is joyned in communion with *Damasus*, that is, with *Peters* chaire, and professeth, that upon that Rock the Church was builded. Therefore he acknowledgeth the universality of Papall power and jurisdiction. This argument of the Cardinall is too weake to prove the intended conclusion. For though there bee no question but that in a true sense the Church may be said to have beene builded on *Peters* chaire, that is, upon his office and Ministry, yet it will not follow that they who succeed him in that chaire have universality of power and jurisdiction: seeing ^a *Hierome* himselfe teacheth, that the Church is builded as well upon the rest of the Apostles, as upon *Peter*, and consequently that their chaires are that rock, upon which the Church is builded, as well as *Peters*. And yet besides all this, ^b *Gregory* sheweth, that *Peters* chaire being but one, is in three severall places, and three Bishops doe sit in it. For *Peters* chaire is at *Alexandria*, where he taught and ruled by *Marke* his Scholler; at *Antioch*, where he remained for a time; and at *Rome*, where in his body he yet still abideth, expecting the
second

^a Hierom. lib. 1.
contra Jovini-
an.

^b Greg. Ep. 16.
Epist. ep. 37.

second comming of Christ. Upon this chaire as on a rock the Church is builded. But this chaire and throne implieth not onely the office and ministry of them, who most specially succeed *Peter*, as the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, but of such other also, as in joynt commision with them governe the Church. Whereupon, according to the phrase of *Antiquity*, the judgement of the *Roman* See, and the judgement of the Bishop of *Rome* with his fellow Bishops of the West, is all one. But some man will say, that *Hierome* pronounceth him to be a profane person that eateth the lambe out of this house, speaking of the Church of *Rome*: therefore hee thinketh all men and Churches bound for ever to hold communion with the *Roman* Church. For answer to this objection, first wee say, it may very probably be thought, that by the house he speaketh of, out of which the Lambe may not be eaten, hee meaneth not particularly the *Roman* Church, but the true Catholick Church of Christ, which is equally builded upon all the Apostles, in respect of the same firmenesse found in them all; but more specially upon *Peter*, as in order and honour the chiefest of them; and then there is no question but all men are bound for ever to adhere to this Church, and to eat the Lambe within the walls of this house. That this is the meaning of *Hierome*, the very forme of his words doe perswade us. *I am joyned (saith hee) to Peters chaire, upon that rock the Church is builded, out of this house (of the Church, doubtlesse) the Lambe may not be eaten.* Now by the name of the Church immediately going before, is meant the universall Church: therefore by this house we must understand that great house, within the walls whereof the whole household of faith is contained. Secondly we say, that if he speake of the *Roman* or West Church particularly, hee may be thought to meane, not that he shall perpetually and alwayes bee judged a profane person that eateth the Lambe without the walls of that house: but things so standing as they did when he wrote, no other parts of the Church being sound, safe, and free from heresies, but the Westerne parts onely. Which made him say, hee knew not *Paulinus*, who was then Bishop of *Antioch*, within the compasse of whose Patriarchship he lived, because there was question as well of his faith, as of the lawfulnessse of his ordination. For otherwise hee ought to have knowne him, sought to him, and respected him. Thirdly, wee say it is more than probable, that the whole West Church shall never lose or forsake the true profession, and that therefore hee may rightly be judged a profane person that eateth the paschall Lambe out of the communion of the same; though sometimes the Bishop of *Rome* in person be an heretick, or other of his colleagues continuing faithfull. And that *Hierome* was of opinion, that the Bishop of *Rome* may become an heretick, it is most cleare and evident, in that he saith, that both *Liberius* and *Felix* were *Arrian* Hereticks.

Vide apud Binnium Epist. Nichola Ignatio Constanti-nopolitano. Tom. 3. concil. p. 1. pag. 879. & alteram Epist. ejusdem, pag. 889. & orat. Basilii Imperatoris, p. 859.

Hieronymus in Catalog. Scrip. in Fortunatianus & Acacio.

Hierom. ad ad Evagrium.

f. Bel. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 16.

Hierome ubi supra.

Thus have we answered whatsoever may be alleadged out of *Hierome* for the Papacie, and shewed the weakenesse of those allegations. Now let us see what authorities may be brought out of his writings against the absolute supream power of Popes. First, he saith, if wee seeke authority, *Orbis major est Urbe*; The world is greater than the greatest Citie in the world, and the whole Church is of greater authority than the particular Church of *Rome*: And thereupon reprehendeth the negligence or error of the Church of *Rome*, in permitting, contrary to the manner of other Churches, Deacons to grow so insolent, as to dare to sit in the presence of the Presbyters when the Bishop was away; as also in ordaining Presbyters upon the commendation of Deacons; so that he blameth not the Deacons onely, as *Bellarmino* untruely saith, but the *Roman* Bishop, to whom the ordaining of Presbyters pertained. Neither will it follow, that the insolencie of the Deacons presuming to sit in the presence of Presbyters, was unknowne to the Bishop, or not allowed by the Church, as *Bellarmino* collecteth, because they are said so to have done, when the Bishop was away. For that circumstance rather insinuateth, that though they had not cast off all respect to the Bishop, yet they had forgotten their duty towards the Presbyters, than that this their presuming was unknowne to the Bishop. Secondly, he pronounceth, that *wheresoever a Bishop be, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, at Alexandria or Tanais, he is of the same meritis, and the same Priesthood; the power of*

riches,

riches, and the humility of poore estate not making a Bishop higher or lower. To this place *Bellarmino* answereth, that all Bishops are equall in the power of order, but not of jurisdiction. But it is certaine, *Hierome* thought all Bishops equall, not only in the power of order, but of jurisdiction also. For Metropolitans in his time, though in order and honour greater than the rest, were bound to follow what the greater part of the Bishops of the Province consented on, and might doe nothing but as the greater part should resolve; howsoever in proceſſe of time, by positive constitution, the Metropolitans limited and directed by Canons, were trusted with the doing of many things by themselves alone, rather than the Bishops should be troubled with often meeting in Councils. But, saith *Bellarmino*, it cannot be, that *Hierome* should thinke all Bishops equall in the power of jurisdiction, seeing without all question the Bishop of *Alexandria*, having under him three great Provinces, was greater in jurisdiction than the Bishop of *Tanis*, who had under him only one poore little Citie. For answer hereunto we say, that Patriarches have no more power over the Metropolitans subject to them, than the Metropolitans have over the Bishops of the Province; and that therefore howsoever the extent of their power reach farther, yet proportionably it is no greater than the power of the Metropolitans within their narrower precincts and compasse, and that the Metropolitan originally is not greater in the power of jurisdiction, than any other Bishop of the Province, howsoever he have a preheminence of honour, and sit as a President amongst the Bishops meeting to performe the acts of jurisdiction, and by common consent to manage the affaires of the Province: so that, notwithstanding anything the Cardinall can say to the contrary, the testimonies and authorities of *Hierome* stand good against the Popes proud claime of universall power.

6 Aug. ep. 162.
Idem l. 1. ad
Bonif. cap. 1.
Ibid.

Wherefore, leaving *Hierome*, who witnesseth not for them, but against them, let us heare whether *Augustine* will say any thing for them. Out of *Augustine* sundry things are alleadged: as first, that he saith, *The principality and chieftie of the Apostolicall chaire did ever flourish in the Roman Church*; and secondly, that to *Bonifacius* he saith, *Thou disdainest not to be a friend of the humble, and those of the meane sort; and though thou sit in higher place, yet thou art not high minded*: And againe: *The watch towre is common to us all that are Bishops, although thou hast a higher roome in the same*. Surely it is strange to what purpose these places of *Augustine* are alleadged. For wee never denied a principality or chieftie of order and honour to have belonged anciently to the Bishops of *Rome*, whilst they reſted contented therewith, and sought not to bring all under them by claime of universall power: and this is all that can be collected out of *Augustine*. But (saith *Bellarmino*) in his 1 Epistle to *Optatus*, speaking of a meeting of Bishops at *Casarea*, he saith, an Ecclesiasticall necessity laid upon them by the Reverend Pope *Zozimus*, Bishop of the Apostolick See, drew them thither: therefore hee thought the Bishop of *Rome* superiour to other Bishops, not in order and honour onely, but in power of commanding also. For answer hereunto, first wee say, that a great part of *Africa* was within the precincts of the Patriarchship of *Rome*, and that therefore the Bishop of *Rome* might call the Bishops of those parts to a Synodall meeting, as every Patriarch may doe the Bishops under him, though hee had no commanding power over all the world. Secondly, that in a matter of faith concerning the whole state of the Church, *Zozimus* as in order and honour first amongst Bishops, might urge them by vertue of the Canons appointing such meetings, to meete together in a Synode, for the suppressing of such heresies as he found to arise amongst them, and might justly threaten, if they should refuse so to doe, to reject them from the communion of the Bishops and Churches adhering to him, and thereby lay an Ecclesiasticall necessity upon them, without any claime of universall power. Neither doth the next place (wherein *Augustine*, and the Bishops assembled in the Councell of *Milevis*, desire *Innocentius* to concurre with them in suppressing the heresies of the *Pelagians*, which sought to spread themselves into all parts of the world, & to use his pastorall care and diligence for the preventing of the dangers of the weake members of Christ) yeeld any better proove, that they reputed him universall Bishop. For what doe they here attribute to the Bishop of *Rome*, that *Cyprian* writing to *Stephen* in the

Epist. 92 ad
Innoc.

Cyp. lib. 3.
ep. 13.

case

case of *Martianus* Bishop of *Arle*, doth not assume to himselfe and other his colleagues, saying of himselfe and them, that they are bound to use all diligence to gather together, and call back the erring sheepe of Christ, to apply the medicine of fatherly piety for the curing of the wounds and hurts of such as are fallen, to recollect and cherish all the sheepe that Christ purchased with his precious blood; and to know, that though they be many Pastours, yet they feed but one flock. But, saith *Bellarmino*, why doe they not rather write to the Patriarch of *Hierusalem*, to the Metropolitan of *Palastina*, or to the Primate of *Africa*, in which parts of the world *Pelagianisme* specially seemed to prevaile, than to the Bishop of *Rome*, if they did not thinke him to have an universall power? Surely this question of the Cardinall sheweth, that either he knoweth not, or careth not what he writeth: for the cause of *Pelagius* had been often heard and examined by Synodes of Bishops in *Palastina*; and the Primate of *Africa* with his *Africane* Bishops did write to *Innocentius* as well as *Augustine*, and those assembled in the Councell of *Milevis*, as well to informe him of the guilefull fraudulent, and slippery dealings of *Pelagius*, that hee might no way be induced to favour him (as some feared not to give out that he did) as also that he might be perswaded to put to his helping hand for the suppressing of this Heretick, who though condemned by many Synodes, ceased not to flie from place to place, seeking to spread his heresies, and therefore there was no cause that they should write to either of these.

Thus have our Adversaries found nothing in *Augustine*, and the *Africans*, that any way favoureth the Popes proud claime of universall power. Neither doe the rest of the witnesses who are next brought forth to give testimonie for the Pope, depose any more to the purpose than the former have done. For that *Prosper* saith, *Rome* the See of *Peter* being made the head of Pastorall honour to the world, holdeth by religion whatsoever it possesseth, not by force of armes; and that by reason of the principality of Priestly or Bishoply dignity, it became greater in respect of the high tower of Religion, than the throne of Princely power; that *Victor Vicensis* calleth the Church of *Rome* the head of all Churches; and *Hugo de Sancto Victore* saith, the Apostolick See is preferred before all the Churches in the world, is no more than that we ever granted. For they all speake of a chieftie and principality of order and honour, and not of absolute commanding power. And the place which our Adversaries bring out of *Vincentius Lirinensis* to prove the Pope to be head of the world, is strangely misle-alleged. For having spoken of the letters of *Felix* the Martyr, and holy *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, he addeth, that blessed *Cyprian* was produced out of the South, and holy *Ambrose* out of the North, that so not only *Caput orbis*, the head of the world, but the sides of it also might give testimony to that judgment, by the head and sides of the world understanding the parts of the world, whence these witnesses were produced, and not the witnesses themselves. So that there is no more reason to inferre from hence, that the Bishop of *Rome* is head of all the world, than that *Cyprian* and *Ambrose* were the sides of the world. Neither doe the testimonies of *Cassiodore* who attributeth to the Bishop of *Rome* a generall care of the whole Christian world, & *Beda* who saith, *Leo* exercised the Priestly office in the Christian world, make any more for proofe of the Popes universall jurisdiction than the rest that went before. For their sayings argue not an absolute universall commanding power over all, but such a care of the whole, as becometh him that is in order and honour the chiefe of Bishops, from whom all actions generally concerning the Christian Church, are either to take beginning, or at least to be referred before finall ending, that so his advice may be had therein. And surely howsoever *Anselmus* saith, the custodie of the faith of Christians, & the regiment of the Church is committed to the Bishop of *Rome*; and *Bernard* writeth of him, that he is chief of Bishops, heire of the Apostles, in primacie *Abel*, in government *Noah*, in Patriarchicall honour *Abraham*, in order *Melchizedek*, in dignity *Aaron*, in authority *Moses*, in judgement *Samuel*, in power *Peter*, and in unction Christ: that others have particular flocks assigned to them, but that his charge hath no limits, with such like Hyperbolicall amplifications of the Popes greatnesse, favouring of the corruption of those late times wherein he lived, yet will it never be proved, that either he or

¶ Ut pater ex
epist. August.
supra dict.

Prosper. lib.
de ingratia.
¶ Idem l. 2. de
vocatione gen-
tium, cap. 6.
¶ Lib. 2. de per-
sec. Wandalica.
(De sacrament.
lib. 2. part. 3.
cap. 15.
¶ Vinc. Liri-
nens. in suo
commonit.

¶ Cassiod. l. 1. c. 1.
Epist. 2. ad Io-
annem Papam.
¶ Beda hist.
gent. Anglor.
l. 2. c. 1.

¶ Anf. de incar.
verbi cap. 1. c. 2.
¶ Bern. lib. 2.
de considera-
tione.

divers

^a Ioh. Bacon.
sup. Sen. pro-
log. quæst. 10.
art. 2.

divers others speaking as he did, were of the Papall faction, or beleeved that the Pope hath that universall power and jurisdiction, that is by the *Iesuites*, and other *Romanists* at this day given unto him. For as *John Bacon* ^a a learned Schoole-man, and country-man of ours, hath fitly noted, some attributed all those things whereof *Bernard*, and *Anselmus* speake, to the Pope, as thinking all fulnesse of Ecclesiasticall power and jurisdiction to bee originally found in him, and that by himselfe alone hee might doe all things in the government of the Church, and all other were to receive of his fulnesse; which is the opinion of our Adversaries at this day: Other attributed these things unto him, not as having all power in himselfe alone, but as head and chiefe of Bishops, together with their joynt concurrence and assent: So that hee had power to judge of the faith, to determine controversies in Religion, as Patriarch of the West, with the joynt consent of his Welterne Bishops, and as prime Bishop of the world with an Oecumenicall Synode, wherein he was to sit as an honourable President and Moderator, pronouncing according to the resolution of the Bishops, and not absolutely disposing things according to his owne liking. Neither is it to be doubted, but that very many followed this later opinion, and consequently never gave that fulnesse of power to the Pope that is now claimed, howsoever they attributed that unto him as President of Ecclesiasticall meetings, which rested not in him alone, but in the whole meetings and Assemblies; as it is an ordinary thing to attribute that to the president of any company that is done by the whole company: and as all the great actions of State are attributed to the Duke of *Venice*, whereas yet he can doe nothing but as he is swayed and directed by the noble Senatours of that State.

C H A P. 37.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes universall power, taken from his intermeddling in ancient times in confirming, deposing, or restoring Bishops deposed.

HAVING examined the testimonies of Councils, Popes, and Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*, brought to prove the universality of Ecclesiasticall power claimed by the Pope, and found their insufficiencie and weakenesse; let us proceede to see, by what other proofes our Adversaries endeavour to demonstrate and confirme the same. The absolute, supream power of Popes, they labour to prove. by the authority they exercised over other Bishops; by their lawes, dispensations, and censures; by their Vicegerents which they appointed in places farre remote from them; by Appeales brought unto them; by their exemption from being subject to any judgement; and by the names and titles that are given unto them. Of all these I will entreate in order, and first of the authority the Bishops of *Rome* are supposed to have exercised over other Bishops, in confirming, deposing, or restoring them.

^a Bell. de Pont.
lib. 2. c. 18.
^b Conc. Chalced.
Actione 7.

^c Leo Ep. 54.
ad Marcianum.

Of confirmation ^a *Bellarmino* bringeth some few examples, but such as will never confirme the thing he desireth to prove. For, touching the confirmation of ^b *Maximus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, which is the first example that hee bringeth, first, it was not any confirmation of himselfe in his Bishoply office, but onely the determining of certaine differences betweene him and *Invenall*, about their limits, and the confirmation of the same end and conclusion: Secondly, this end was not made by *Leo* alone, but by the whole Councell of *Chalcedon*. Neither is the second proofe, that the confirmation of the chiefe Bishops of the world pertained anciently to the Pope, any better than this. For these are the circumstances of that ^c *Leo* writeth, whom *Bellarmino* citeth in the second place, as challenging the right of confirming the Bishop of *Constantinople*. *Anatolius* the Bishop of *Constantinople* ambitiously aspired to bee greater than was fit, as *Leo* thought: *Leo* writeth to the Emperour in reprehension of his presumption; and saith, that hee might have forborne thus ambitiously to aspire higher, seeing hee obtained the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* by the Emperours helpe, and his favourable assent. The favour that *Leo* speaketh of

of, was, in that *Anatolius* not having passed through the lower degrees of Ecclesiastical Ministry, was somewhat irregularly preferred to be Bishop of so great a Citie, which hee was content to winke at, at the Emperours entreaty. And as the manner was, that the foure Patriarches should (upon notice given of their due ordination, and Synodall letters containing a profession of their faith) mutually give assent one to another before they were accounted Patriarches, and fully possessed of their places: by his allowance, in the same sort as others were to allow of him, as much as in him lay he was content to confirme and make good his ordination, though somewhat irregular and defective; which no way proveth, that the confirming of the great Bishops of the world pertained any otherwise to the Bishop of *Rome*, than the right of confirming him pertained unto them. Yet this is in effect all they can say: For that *Leo* ^{d Ep. 84. 3d A-} willett the Bishop of *Thessalonica* to take knowledge of the Metropolitans chosen ^{nastat. Thessal.} in the Provinces subject to him, as Vicegerent to the Patriarch of *Rome*, and by his assent to confirme their ordination; as likewise, that ^{e Ep. 87. ad E-} writing to the Bishops of *Africa*, ^{pisc. Afric.} subject to him as Patriarch, he telleth them, he is content the Bishop of *Salicen* turned from *Novatianisme*, shall keepe his place, if hee send unto him the confession of his faith; and that *Gregorie* complaineth, that the Bishop of *Salona* within his Patriarch- ^{f Greg. l. 1. epist. 34} ship was ordained without his privity and consent, doth no more prove the Pope to be universall Bishop, than the other Patriarches, without whose assent none of the Metropolitans subject to them, might bee ordained. And this was it that so much grieved *Gregory*, namely, that his Bishops (thereby putting a difference betweene such as were subject to him, in that he was Patriarch of the West, and others) should so despise and contemne him. But let our Adversaries prove, that either *Gregory*, or any of his predecessours ever challenged the confirmation of Metropolitans, subject to any of the other Patriarches, and wee will confesse they say something: Otherwise all that they bring is idle, and to no purpose, proving nothing that we ever doubted of. For wee know the Bishop of *Rome* had the right of confirming the Metropolitans within the precincts of his own Patriarchship, as likewise every other Patriarch had: and that therefore hee might send the Pall to sundry parts of *Greece*, *France*, and *Spaine*, as *Bellarmino* alleadgeth, being all within the compasse of his Patriarchship, and yet not bee universall Bishop, as *Bellarmino* would willingly from hence inferre.

Wherefore, seeing our Adversaries have so little to say for the Popes right of confirming Bishops, let us proceede to see what proofes they can produce of his power and authority in deposing them. Their first allegation is touching ^{g Cyp. l. 3. ep. 13.} *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, deposing as they suppose *Martianus* Bishop of *Arle* in *France*, who had joyned himselfe with *Novatianus*, denying reconciliation, and the Churches peace to such as having fallen and denied the faith, afterwards repented and turned againe unto God. This allegation is too weake to prove their intended conclusion: for it is most certaine by all circumstances of the Epistle of *Cyprian* cited by *Bellarmino*, that *Stephen* the Bishop of *Rome* did not depose *Martianus* by himselfe alone: and therefore *Cyprian* doth not say to *Stephen*, therefore hath God appointed thee to bee over all Bishops, that if they fall into heresie, or faile in the performance of their duty, thou mightest set all right againe: but, *therefore hath God appointed a great number of Bishops, that if any one of that company and society fall into heresie, and begin to teare, rent, and waste the flock of Christ, the rest may helpe, and as good and pittifull Pastours, gather the scattered sheepe of Christ into the fold againe.* Neither doth he say to *Stephen*, that he should suspend *Martianus*, but that he should write to the Bishops of *France* to doe it, and not to suffer him any longer to insult upon the company of Catholick Bishops, for that hee was not yet suspended, and rejected from their communion. But some man perhaps will aske, why *Cyprian* desireth *Stephen* to write to the Bishops of *France*, and writeth not himselfe, if the power of deposing *Martianus* were no more in *Stephen* than in himselfe. Surely there may bee three reasons given of his so doing: the first, because hee was nearer to them than *Cyprian*: The second, because hee as Patriarch of the West, with his Bishops, was more likely to prevaile than

than *Cyprian* with his *Africanes* alone. The third, for that (as *Cyprian* himselfe observeth in the end of this Epistle) it more concerned him than any other, to maintaine the reputation of *Lucius* and *Cornelius* his predecessours, and to oppose himselfe against *Martianus*, who joyned himselfe with *Novatianus*, that had schismatically and heretically rent and divided himselfe from them, and made a schisme in their Church. Neither doth that which followeth (where hee desireth *Stephen* to write unto him, who is appointed in the roome of *Martianus*, that so hee may know whom to write unto, and with whom to communicate) import, that hee should by himselfe alone constitute the Bishop of *Arle*; but that writing to the people to choose, and the Bishops of the Province to direct them in choosing, and to consecrate him they should choose, hee should require to bee certified from them of their proceedings accordingly, that so hee might impart the same unto him.

b Canone 9.

The next prooffe, that the Pope hath authority to depose any Bishop of the world, deserving to be deposed, is out of the Epistle of *Nicholas* the first, to *Michael* the Emperour of *Constantinople*. But whosoever shall peruse the place, shall finde, that no such thing can bee concluded out of it. For the drift of *Nicholas* in that Epistle, is to shew, that the inferiours may not judge their superiours, as the Provinciaall Bishops their Metropolitans, or the Metropolitans their Patriarch; but that still the greater must judge the lesser. If a Clerke, saith the Councell of *Chalcedon*, have ought against his Bishop, let the matter bee heard in the Synode of the Province: but if a Bishop or Clerke, have a complaint against the Metropolitane, let him goe to the Primate of the Diocese, or to the See of *Constantinople*: So that ever the greater must judge the lesser, and the lesser may never presume to judge the greater, so long as there is any greater to flye unto. And therefore *Iohn* of *Antioch* in the Councell of *Ephesus* was reproved, for that being but Bishop of the third See, he presumed to judge *Cyri* Bishop of the second See: and *Dioscorus* Bishop of the second See was condemned in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, for that he judged *Leo*, Bishop of the first See. This he insisteth upon, to shew, that the Bishops subject to *Ignatius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, had unjustly proceeded against him: and then to shew, that this their proceeding was strange and new, he saith, there hath scarce beene any of the Bishops of *Constantinople* deposed, whose deposition hath beene holden just and good, without the concurrence of the See of *Rome*. Now how will this prove that the Pope hath power in himselfe alone to depose all Bishops worthy to be deposed? is it consequent, that if the Bishops of Patriarchicall Sees may not be judged by their owne Bishops alone, nor by those that are in degree of honour inferiour to them, and that the Patriarches of higher Sees, with their Bishops, must concur with the Bishops of those Patriarches that are judged, and that never any Bishop of *Constantinople*, being next in honour to the Bishop of *Rome*, was deposed but by such a Synode, whereof the Bishop of *Rome* was President, that the Bishop of *Rome* hath in himselfe alone the fulnesse of all Ecclesiasticall power? Surely, I thinke not, our Adversaries themselves being Judges. But *Gelasius* in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Dardania*, saith, the See Apostolick by her authority condemned *Dioscorus*, Bishop of the second See: therefore the Pope hath all Ecclesiasticall power originally seated in himselfe alone. Truly this consequence is no better than the former. For by the See Apostolick *Gelasius* understandeth the *Roman* Bishop, and the Bishops of the West subject to him, who Synodically condemned *Dioscorus*, and yet not without the concurrence of many other Bishops: nor so as that the judgement was thought perfect, till an Oecumenicall Synode confirmed it: as it appeareth by the course of histories.

i Vide acta Concilii Chalced.

k Bel. ex Theodoret hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 23. l Theodoret. hist. lib. 1. c. 7: m Ibid. cap. 20, 21.

The next example is the deposition of *Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, by *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*: but this example might have beene spared. For it is most certaine, that *Damasus* did not depose *Flavianus*. The circumstances of the historie are these: *Eustathius* that worthy Bishop of *Antioch*, who made that excellent Oration in the praise of *Constantine* in the Councell of *Nice*, and was so earnest and zealous a defender of the true faith against the *Arrians*, being by certaine *Arrians* cast out of his

his Bishoprick, and banished, upon the occasion of a lewd woman; charging him to have committed adulterie with her, but afterward confessing she had wronged him, and that she had beene suborned by those *Arrians*, so to accuse him, *Eulalius* was chosen into his place, whom *Euphronius* succeeded, and after him, *Placitus* obtained the Bishoprick. All these did secretly favour *Arrianisme*, and therefore many, both of the people and Priests, forsaking the publick assemblies, had their private meetings, and were called *Eustathians*; for that, after the banishment of *Eustathius*, they began thus to assemble together. *Stephen* succeeded *Placitus*, *Leontius* *Stephen*, and *Eudoxius* *Leontius*; who obtaining to be Bishop of *Constantinople*, left the Church of *Antioch* void. Whereupon the Bishops of the Province assembled together, and chose *Milesius* to be Bishop, some of them hoping that he would favour *Arrianisme*, and other knowing that he was an Orthodoxe; the error of the one side misperwaded of the man, and the true knowledge the other had of him, made both willingly to consent to his election and ordination. But so soone as the *Arrians* perceived what he was, they deposed him and sent him into banishment, placing *Enzoius* in his place: which when the people and Priests that were Catholick perceived, who had long endured the insolencies of the *Arrians*, they divided themselves, and refused to communicate with him. After a while *Milesius*, in the time of *Julian*, returneth from banishment; to whom though such Catholicks as divided themselves upon dislike of *Enzoius*, presently cleaved; yet would not they that first divided themselves in respect of *Eustathius*, neither at the first ordination of *Milesius*, though *Eustathius* were then dead, nor now upon his returne by any meanes bee induced to hold communion with him and his; which *Lucifer*, one of them that had beene in banishment with *Athanasius* seeing, and pittying, laboured with them what hee could to bring them to unity. But when hee saw they would not be induced to joyne with *Milesius*, and that *Paulinus* was their leader, hee made him their Bishop: which act of his made the Schisme more dangerous than before, and of longer continuance, than otherwise happily it would have beene: for it continued 85. yeares. *Milesius* perceiving *Paulinus* to bee ordained Bishop over them that were divided from his communion, seemed no whit therewith to be offended or displeased, but spake peaceably to *Paulinus*, desiring him, that they might joyne their flocks, and feede them together: and if, said hee, the throne divide us, let mee lay the Gospel in it, and then doe thou sit in it sometimes, and I will sit in it at other times: and if I dye before thee, thou shalt have the care and charge of all: if thou dye before me, the care and charge of all shall bee devolved to mee. This counsell *Paulinus* would not harken unto, and therefore the Emperours Officer adjudged the Churches to *Milesius*, and the guiding of the divided sheepe to *Paulinus*. Whereupon, when *Milesius* dyed, though *Paulinus* would have had the place, yet hee was refused, because he had refused to hearken to the counsell of *Milesius*: and the Bishops chose *Flavianus*, a man very conspicuous for his great labours, and one that had exposed himselfe to many dangers for the good of the Church. Yet this ordination greatly displeased the *Egyptians* and *Romans*. The reason of which their so great dislike, was, for that when there was much contention betweene *Milesius* and *Paulinus*, it was so agreed, that all they that were fit for that Bishoprick, or might in likelihood bee in any hope or expectation of it, should sweare neither to seeke it, nor accept it, while either of these lived; nor no way to hinder, but that after the death of the one, the other might have the full and entire government of the whole: of which number it was thought that *Flavianus* was one, and that therefore not without perjury, contrary to his vow and oath, hee had hindred the reuniting of the divided parts of the Church. This dislike conceived against *Flavianus*, dyed not when *Paulinus* dyed: but though *Evagrius* most unlawfully, and against the Canons had gotten the Bishoprick, having no ordination but from his predecessour, (whereas the Canons allow no such nomination of a successour, and besides require the presence of the Bishops of the Province) yet would they that at first disliked the ordination of *Flavianus* take no knowledge of any of these things, but communicated with *Evagrius*, and incited the Em-

Idem lib. 2.

cap. 24.

Ibid. cap. 25.

Cap. 31.

Lib. 3. c. 4.

Ibid. cap. 5.

Lib. 5. cap. 3.

Ibid. cap. 23.

Socrumen li.

7. c. 2. & 11.

Socrates lib. 5.

cap. 15.

Theodoret. l.

5. cap. 23.

perour against *Flavianus*; who being urged continually by the Bishop of *Rome*, and others, no longer to suffer *Flavianus* to enjoy his place: and told, that suppressing Tyrants, hee did ill to suffer the violatours of the Lawes of the Church to escape unpunished; sent for *Flavianus*, thinking to send him to *Rome*, there to bee judged in a Synode of Bishops: who when he came into the presence of the Emperour, told him confidently, that if any man would object against his doctrine or life, hee would desire to be tryed by no other Judges but his greatest enemies; but if the matter were for his Episcopall chaire, he would willingly relinquish it, that the Emperour might commit it to whom hee would; upon which his confident answer, the Emperour dismissed him, and bade him to goe home, and feed the flock committed to him. Yet long after, many complaints were againe renewed against him to the Emperour by sundry Bishops being at *Rome*, fearing not to taxe the Emperour himselfe for that he suppressed not the tyrannie of *Flavianus*: but the Emperour bade them say, what that tyrannie was, as if he were *Flavianus*, for that hee had undertaken the defence of him. Which when they refused to do, professing themselves unwilling to stand upon rearmes with the Emperour, he exhorted them to lay aside their foolish quarrellings, and to reunite the Churches that had long without cause beene divided: for that *Paulinus* was now dead, and *Evagrius* came unjustly to the Bishoprick; and the ordination of *Flavianus* was so farre forth allowed of, that all the Churches of the East, with the Churches of *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Thracia*, and *Illyricum*, held *Flavianus* to be lawfull Bishop of the East. Hereupon the Bishops promised to surcease, and that if *Flavianus* would send Legates unto them, they would kindly intreate them, and hold communion with him.

Howsoever it appeareth by *Socrates*, that after the death of *Evagrius*, he procured there should be no Bishop chosen in opposition to him: and first pacified *Theophilus*, and afterwards by his meanes *Damasus*: *Sozomen* reporteth, that *Chrysostome* after he was made Bishop of *Constantinople*, finding that the *Egyptian* and *Westerne* Bishops dissented from those of the East, in respect of *Flavianus*, and that all the Churches throughout the whole Empire were divided about him, besought *Theophilus* to be pacified towards him, and to assist him for the reconciling of *Damasus* also. To this suit of *Chrysostome*, *Theophilus* yeelded, and sent certaine to *Rome*; who prevailing, sayled into *Egypt*, and from thence, as also from *Rome*, brought letters of reconciliation and peace, both from the *Egyptian* and *Westerne* Bishops. This Historie, I thinke, will never prove, that the Bishop of *Rome* deposed *Flavianus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, and that hee could not hold his Bishoprick till the Bishop of *Rome* consented to him. For the thing that was sought, was not his holding of his Bishoprick, as *Bellarmin* untruly reporteth, but the peace and concord of the Churches, divided about him. Neither was the difference onely betweene him and *Damasus*, but all the Bishops of *Egypt*, and the West dissented from him likewise: and therefore *Ambrose* sheweth, that the examining of the matter betweene *Evagrius* and him, was committed to *Theophilus*, and the Bishops of *Egypt*, and desireth him to make relation of the end he should make, to the Bishop of *Rome*, that hee also agreeing thereunto, an universall peace might be concluded. So that nothing can bee concluded out of this history, for prooffe of the universall power of Popes. Seeing *Damasus* could neither of himselfe alone, nor with the concurrence of the *Westerne* Bishops depose *Flavianus*, nor by any meanes perswade the Emperour to thrust him out of his place, but was sharply reprov'd by the Emperour for quarrelling with him, and required to bee at peace with him, that so the Churches formerly divided without cause, might be reunited.

The next instance of the Popes deposing Bishops, is that of *Sixtus* the third, who deposed *Polychronius*, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, if wee may beleeve *Bellarmin*: but in truth there was never any such thing. The circumstances of the whole proceeding against *Polychronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, (if there be any credit in the report of Pope *Nicholas*, and the acts of the Councell under *Sixtus* the third) were these. Two things specially were objected to him: the one, that hee went about to violate the ancient bounds of the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction of Bishops, set and limited by the Fathers,

Socr. l. 5. c. 15.

Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 3.

Ambr. ep. 78.

Acta Sixti 3. in 1. tom conc.

Nichol. 1. in ep. ad Michael. Imp.

Fathers, to preferre himselfe before the other principall Bishops, and to make his See the first, whereas in trueth it was the last amongst the Patriarchicall Sees; the other that Simoniacally hee conferred Ecclesiasticall honours upon such as would purchase the same. Hereupon the Bishops subject to him, not willing to proceede against him themselves alone, complained to the Bishop of *Rome*, and shewed him how much hee was wronged by the undue claimes of this Bishop. The Bishop of *Rome* tooke not upon him to doe any thing of himselfe, but called a Synode of the Bishops of the West, and by their advice, with the concurrence of the Emperour, directed certaine out of the West, authorized by the whole Synode, to goe, and sit in Councell with the Bishops of those parts: who together with them examining the crimes objected to *Polychronius*, and finding that hee was truly charged with them, deposed him from his Bishoprick; so that the Bishop of *Rome* did not depose him of himselfe, but only called a Synode, (as in such a case it was fit he should) and the Synode deposed him; but in trueth it is rather to be thought, that the acts of the Councell under *Sixtus* the third, are counterfeit, and of no credit. For ^d *Binnius* sheweth, that there was no such *Polychronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem* in those times, and bringeth many other reasons to disprove the acts of this supposed Councell, besides that the absurdity in the proceedings bewrayeth them to be counterfeit. For, what can bee more absurd, than that the accuser of *Polychronius*, making good his accusation, should bee condemned for accusing him, and he first condemned; and then presently upon slender or no reasons at all, restored againe?

^d Binnius an-
not. in illud
Concil.

Thus we see how little our Adversaries are able to say for prooffe of the Popes universall power, exercised in deposing Bishops. Wherefore, let us now proceede to see if they can produce any better proofes of his restoring such as were deposed by others. The first example they bring, is the restitution of ^e *Basilides*, a Bishop in *Spaine*, but they know right well, that the Bishop of *Rome* did not restore him to his Bishoprick, and that therefore this allegation serveth to no purpose, but to abuse the Reader, and to make him beleeve they say something, when they say nothing. The circumstances of the matter concerning *Basilides*, are these, laid downe in *Cyprians* Epistles. *Basilides* and *Martialis* had defiled themselves with some kind of consenting to Idolatry, and therefore the Clergy & people subject to them, fearefull to communicate with them, write to *Cyprian*, and the *African* Bishops, for counsell and helpe: they returne answer, that they are to withdraw themselves from them, and to proceede to the election of new Bishops. Hereupon the Bishops of the Province comming to the place where *Basilides* was Bishop, *Sabinus* was elected Bishop by the Clergie, and people, with the liking of all the Bishops of the Province, and ordained by them Bishop in the place of *Basilides*. After this *Basilides* goeth to *Rome*, misse-informeth *Stephen* the Bishop, and seeketh by his meanes, and the helpe of his Bishops, to recover his place againe: they communicate with him; and so as much as in them lyeth, restore him to his former place and dignity againe. *Cyprian* condemneth the false and ill dealing of *Basilides*, and reproveth also the negligence of *Stephen*, that suffered himselfe so easily to be misse-led, taxing him, and such as consented with him, for communicating with such wicked ones; and shewing, that they are partakers of their sinnes, and that they violate the Canon of the Church, which the Bishops of *Africa*, & all the Bishops of the world, yea even *Cornelius* the predecesour of this *Stephen*, had consented on; to wit, that men so defiled with idolatry as *Martialis* and *Basilides* were, should be received to penitencie, but be kept from all Ecclesiasticall honour. Hereupon hee exhorteth the brethren not to be moved, if in these last times the faith of some men be shaken, or the feare of God faile in them, or if they hold not peaceable concord with their brethren: for that both the Apostle, and the Lord himselfe foretold, that such things should come to passe in the last times, the world decaying, and Antichrists revelation drawing on; and comforteth and encourageth them to hold on in the good course they were in, for that the vigour of the Gospel, and the strength of Christian vertue, and faith, doe not so wholly fall away in these last times, *ut non supersit portio Sacerdotum, qua minime ad has rerum ruinas & fidei naufragia succumbat*: that is, that no remnant

^e Cyprian lib.
1. Epist. 4.

of Bishops should remaine, which should no way sinke or fall in these overthrowes of things, and shipwracks of faith, but full of the feare of God, couragiously maintaine the honour of the divine Majestie and the dignity of the Priests. *Wee know, faith hee, that when the rest yeelded, Mattathias valiantly maintained the Law of God: and that Elias stood and strove zealously, when others forsooke the Law of his God. Wherefore, let them that either violate the Canons, or treacherously behave themselves, looke to it: there are many, who still retaine a sincere and good minde. What if some have fallen away from the faith? doth their infidelity make the truth of God of none effect? God forbid. For God is true, and every man a liar; and if every man be a liar, and God only true, what should the servants and Priests of God doe, but leave the errors and lyes of men, and keepe the precepts of the Lord, and remaine in the truth of God? Wherefore, though some of our Brethren and Colleagues thinke, they may neglect the discipline of God, and rashly communicate with Basilides and Martialis; let it not trouble nor shake our faith, seeing the Spirit of God threatneth in the Psalmes, saying, Thou hast hated discipline, and cast my words behind thy back. If thou sawest a thief, thou rankest with him, and hadst thy portion with the adulterers.* These are the circumstances of Cyprians Epistle, wherein he relateth the proceedings against Basilides & Martialis, and the inconsiderate course held by the B. of Rome, hastily communicating with them: whereby we may see, how wisely and advisedly our Adversaries alleadge Cyprian, to prove, that in ancient times, the Bishops of Rome had power to restore such Bishops to their places againe, as were deposed by other. For thus they must reason from this place of Cyprian, if they will make any use of it: Basilides and Martialis justly put from their office & dignity, and others rightly and in due sort chosen into their places, flye to Stephen Bishop of Rome, hoping by his meanes to procure the reversing of that which was done against them. He, with such as adhered to him, though they could not restore them to their places, yet communicated with them. Cyprian offended herewith, chargeth Basilides and Martialis with execrable wickednesse, for abusing Stephen, and misse-informing him: and Stephen with intollerable negligence & unexcusable violation of the Canons, for partaking with such wicked persons; and wisheth all his Brethren and colleagues constantly to hold on their course against them, notwithstanding the failing of Stephen and his adherents. Therefore the ancient Bishops of Rome restored to their places such as were judicially deposed by others: and were thought by the Fathers to have power and authority so to do. Which kind of reasoning I think the Reader will not much like of.

Touching Athanasius Bishop of Alexandria, Paul Bishop of Constantinople, and Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra, deposed by the Orientall Synode, their complaints to the Bishop of Rome, and other Bishops of the West, of the wrongs done unto them; how the Bishop of Rome with the Westerne Bishops fought to releve them, with how ill successe, and how little this instance serveth to prove the thing in question, I have shewed before: as likewise Theodoret's desiring Leo, with his Westerne Synodes to take knowledge of his cause. So that it is a vaine bragge of Bellarmine, that to these, and the like testimonies of Antiquity, nothing is, nor can be answered.

C H A P. 38.

Of the weaknesse of such proofes of the supream power of Popes, as are taken from their Lawes, Censures, Dispensations, and the Vicegerents they had in places farre remote from them.

HAVING examined the pretended proofes of the illimited universality of the Popes authority and jurisdiction, taken from the power they are supposed to have exercised in former times over other Bishops, by confirming, deposing, or restoring them; let us come to their Lawes, Dispensations, and Censures, & see if from thence any thing may be concluded. If they could as strongly prove, as they confidently undertake, that Popes in ancient times made Lawes to binde the whole Christiā Church, dispensed wth such as were made by general Councils, & censured all
men

men as subject to them, of necessity we must be forced to acknowledge the fulnesse of all power to rest in the *Roman* Bishops. But their proofes are too weake to make us beleeeve any such thing. For first, touching the decrees of Popes, they did not binde the whole Christian Church, but the Westerne Provinces onely that were subject to them, as Patriarches of the West. And secondly, they were not made by them without the consent and joynt concurrence of the other Bishops of the West, assembled in Synodes, and sitting with them as their fellow Iudges, with equall power of defining and determining things concerning the state of the Church; as appeareth by the Decrees of *Gregory* the first, who sitting in Councell with all the Bishops of the *Roman* Church, (the Deacons and inferiour Clergy-men standing before them) made Decrees, and confirmed them by their subscriptions, the rest of the Bishops and the Presbyters also, who sate in Councell with them subscribing in the very same sort that *Gregory* did. And of decrees in such sort made, *Leo* speaketh, when hee requireth the Bishops of *Campania*, *Picene*, and *Thuscia*, to keepe and observe the Decretall constitutions of *Innocentius*, and all other his predeceffours, which they had ordained as well touching Ecclesiasticall orders, as the Discipline of the Canons, or otherwise to looke for no favour or pardon. And in the very same sort are the words of *Hilarius* to be understood, when he saith: That no man may violate either the divine constitutions, or the Decrees of the Apostolick See, without danger of losing his place. For this he spake sitting as President in a Councell of Bishops assembled at *Rome*, of things decreed by Synodes of Bishops, wherein his predeceffours were Presidents and Moderatours, as hee was now, but not absolute commanders. But *Bellarmino* saith; that Pope *Anastasius* the younger, in his Epistle to *Anastasius* the Emperour, willeth him not to resist the Apostolicall precepts, but obediently to performe what by the Church of *Rome* and Apostolicall authority shall be prescribed unto him, if hee desire to hold communion with the same holy Church of God, which is his Head. Therefore the Pope had power to command and give lawes to the Emperour, and consequently had an absolute supream authority in the Church. Surely this allegation of the Cardinall is like the rest. For *Anastasius* doth not speake in any such peremptory and threatening manner to the Emperour, but acknowledging his brest to bee a Sanctuary of happinesse, and that hee is Gods Vicar on earth; telleth him in modest and humble sort, that hee hopeth hee will not suffer the insolencie of those of *Constantinople*, proudly to resist against the Evangelicall and Apostolicall precepts in the cause of *Acatius*, but that hee will force them to performe and doe what is fit, and in like humble sort beseecheth him, when he shall understand the cause of them of *Alexandria*, to force them to returne to the unity of the Church. The last instance of the Popes Law-giving power, brought by *Bellarmino*, is the priviledge granted to the Monastery of Saint *Medardus*, by *Gregory* the first; in the end whereof wee finde these words: *Whatsoever Kings, Bishops, Iudges, or secular persons shall violate the Decrees of this Apostolicall authority, and our commandement, shall be deprived of their honour, driven from the society of Christians, put from the communion of the Lords body and blood, and subjected to Anathema, and all the wofull curses that Infidels and Hereticks have beene subjected to from the beginning of the world to this present time.* A strong confirmation of the priviledges granted is found in these words, but a weake confirmation of the thing in question: for the priviledges were granted and confirmed in this sort, not by *Gregory* alone out of the fulnesse of his power, but by the consenting voyce of all the Bishops of *Italy* and *France*, by the authority of the Senate of *Rome*, by *Theodoricus* the King, and *Brunichildis* the Queene. So that from hence no prooffe possibly can be drawne of the Popes absolute power of making lawes by himselfe alone, to binde any part of the Christian Church, much lesse the whole Christian world.

Wherefore, let us passe from the Popes power of making lawes; to see by what right they claime authority to dispense with the Lawes of the Church, and the Canons of Generall Councils. The first that is alleadged to have dispensed with the Canons of Councils, is *Gelasius*. But this allegation is idle, and to no purpose. For first;

^a Greg. l. 4. ep. cap. 88.

^b Leo ep. 1.

^c Citat. à Bell. de Pont. Rom. l. 2. c. 19.

^d Ibid.

^e Ad finem ep. Greg.

^f Gelas ep. 1.

it cannot be proved, that by dispensing he sought to free any from the necessity of doing that the strictness of the Canon required, but those only that were subject to him as Patriarch of the West. And secondly, hee did not dispense but upon very urgent cause, and driven by necessity so to do; and yet not of himself alone, but with the concurrence of other Bishops of the West, assembled in Synode. The other instances that are brought of the dispensations of ^s Gregory the first, are nothing else but the instances of the ill consciences of them that bring them. For Gregory did not dispense with the *English*, to marry within the degrees prohibited (as the Cardinall untruly reporteth) but only advised *Austine*, not to put them that were newly converted, from such wives as they had married within some of the degrees prohibited, in the time of their infidelity, lest hee might seeme to punish them for faults committed in the dayes of their ignorance, and to discharge other from becomming Christians. Neither did he dispense with them of *Sicilia*, for the not keeping of the Canon of the *Nicene* Councell, requiring Provinciaall Synodes to be holden twice every yeare; but whereas they held not such Councels so much as once in the yeare, hee commanded that they should not faile to meete in Councell once at the least every yeare; seeing the Canons require that these meetings should be twice. These truly are very weake and insufficient proofes of the Papall power in dispensing with the Lawes of the Church, and the Canons of generall Councels: and yet these are the best, nay these are all that they can make shew to bring out of all Antiquity.

^s Greg. lib. 12.
Epist. 31.

^b Euseb. histor.
Eccl. l. 5. c. 23.
^c Bell. de Pont.
lib. 2. cap. 19.

^d Euseb. hist.
Ecclesiast. l. 5.
c. 21, 22, 23.

Let us therefore proceede to the censures that the ancient Bishops of *Rome* are reported to have exercised, and see if they prove the universality of power now clay-med. The first allegation to this purpose, is the intent of ^a Victor, Bishop of *Rome*, resolving to have rejected from his communion all the Churches of *Asia*, for keeping the Feast of *Easter* on the same day the *Jewes* did. For, saith ⁱ Bellarmine, howsoever *Irenaeus* and others dissuaded him from executing that he intended, yet it appeareth, his observation was right, in that it was afterwards confirmed by the *Nicene* Councell, and that he had authority over all, in that he went about to excommunicate those of *Asia*, for dissenting from him in the observation of that Feast, and keeping it with the *Jewes*, though hee were content, for the avoiding of some inconveniencies, at the intreaty of *Irenaeus*, to forbear proceeding against them. For answer hereunto wee must observe, that by reason of the custome of those of *Asia*, that kept the Feast of *Easter* precisely at the same time the *Jewes* did, there was moved not a little contention throughout the whole world, and many Synodes in every place called. For ⁱ in *Palestina* a Synode was holden, whereof *Theophilus* of *Casarea*, and *Narcissus* of *Hierusalem*, were Presidents; another at *Rome*, whereof *Victor* was President; and another, of the Bishops of *Pontus*, whereof *Palmas* as most ancient, was President: and in sundry other places, other Synodes were called. But the Synode of the Bishops in *Asia*, whereof *Polycrates* was President, ittiffely maintained the ancient custome that had long prevailed in those parts, and wrote an Epistle to *Victor*, and those of the *Roman* Church, to justifie themselves in this behalfe. *Victor* and his Bishops much offended with this their pertinacie (as they construed it) would for this cause, have rejected them from their communion. But *Irenaeus*, with some other of a milder spirit, and better temper, stayed them from such rash and violent proceedings; and *Irenaeus* wrote his letter to this purpose to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other his colleagues: so that here is nothing to prove the power of the Pope. For what was resolved on both touching the right of the observation, and the proceedings against them that disliked it, was resolved by the Synodes of Bishops, and not by *Victor* alone: as likewise *Irenaeus* was not alone, but many other joyned with him in the reprehension of *Victor*, whose number and multitude prevailed much with him, and stayed his proceedings as well as the perswasions of *Irenaeus*. And yet did not the *Western* Bishops take upon them to excommunicate those of *Asia*, as the Cardinall untruly affirmeth, but onely to reject them from their communion and fellowship; there being a very great difference betweene excommunication properly so named, and the rejecting of men from our communion or fellowship. For excommunication properly so named,

is a resolution to deny the Sacraments to such as are to receive them of us, the abandoning of all fellowship with them, and the requiring and commanding of others to refrain from all communicating with them in private or publick; and argueth him that so excommunicateth, to bee superiour in authority, and greater in place than they are whom hee excommunicateth. But rejecting from communion, or refusing to communicate with men, may bee found among them that are equall. So ¹ *Cyri*l ¹ *AA. Concl.* wrote to *Nestorius*, that if hee revoked not certaine dangerous positions, hee would ² *Ephes. tom. 1.* communicate no longer with him. So the ³ *cap. 14.* Bishops of the East told *Julius* Bishop ⁴ *m Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 7.* of *Rome*, that if hee communicated with *Athanasius*, they should no longer communicate with him. And such was the proceeding that *Victor* intended against those of *Asia*; and therefore proveth not that he was their superiour, or had a commanding authority over them. And yet surely, howsoever it bee true, that his manner of observation was better than theirs, whom hee disliked, his intention upon such an occasion to have made a breach in the Christian Churches, was justly with some bitterness reprehended by *Irenaeus*, and his brethren. For howsoever *Bellarmino* would make the Reader beleieve by alleading that of ⁵ *Blaſtus*, who urged the keeping of ⁶ *Tert. de prax. script. in fine.* *Easter* with the *Iewes*, and sought to bring in *Iudaisme*, that *Victor* had reason to bee violent as hee was, as perceiving some ill meaning in them that held the *Iewish* observation; yet farre bee it from us to thinke that *Polycarpus*, and so many worthy and holy men, as anciently kept that observation, were any way inclinable to *Iudaisme*. But this difference may bee thought to have growne not from any diversity of judgement touching matters of faith, but for that in some places they thought it fit to keepe this Feast on the Lords day, for very important reasons moving them so to doe; and in other places, though they could have beene content to have done so likewise upon the same reasons, yet kept they it after the old manner, for the avoyding of the scandall of the *Iewes*, for the easier winning of them that were not yet gained to Christianity, and the holding of them in the love and liking of Christian profession, that were already of *Iewes* become Christians. The next instance is of ⁷ *Innocentius* the first, who after that hee heard of the death of *Chrysostome*, whom ⁸ *Nicephorus, l. 13. cap. 34.* *Theophilus* had deposed, and the Emperour *Arcadius* banished, excommunicated the Emperour and Empresse, and anathematized *Theophilus* in such sort that hee should utterly bee excluded, and have no place among Christians. But this report may very justly bee doubted of, the credit thereof resting onely on the authority of *Nicephorus*. Seeing the ancient ⁹ *Vide sup. cap. 34.* Historians, that report the proceedings of *Theophilus* and *Arcadius* against *Chrysostome*, and his complaints to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West, of the wrongs that had beene done unto him, report also the answer of the *Roman* Bishop to have beene, that hee greatly pittied his case, but saw no hope of remedy, nor meanes to releve him, unlesse a generall Councell might bee called, to which purpose hee would doe his best with the Emperour; and that *Chrysostome* himselfe wished him not to proceede so farre, as to reject them from his communion that were his adversaries, for feare of further inconveniences; this being the contention almost of the whole world, and the Churches by occasion hereof every where were brought upon their knees. Yea all ancient ¹⁰ *Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 18.* Historians are silent, and say nothing of this excommunication, but report the ¹¹ *Theodoret, speaking of the injurie done to Chrysostome, hath these words, Alias virtutes authorum illius revereri cogor: qua de causa anxiatur, ut ipsorum nomina* repulse, which the messengers the *Roman* Bishop sent to the Emperour to procure a Councell, received; and ¹² *Theophilus* (for ought I know) was ever holden a Catholick Bishop, both by ¹³ *Hierome* and others to his dying day; notwithstanding these quarrels betweene him and *Chrysostome*. The excommunication of *Leo* the Emperour, by *Gregory* the third, whereof *Zonaras* writeth in the life of *Leo Isaurus*, (which is a third instance of Papall censures, against the great men of the world) proveth not the matter in question: For *Gregory* did not anathematize *Leo* of himselfe alone, but with a Synode of Bishops; neither was he able by his owne authority to stay the Tribute that was wont to be paid to the Emperour, but by his sollicitati-

¹⁴ *occultem, lib. 5. hist. Eccl. cap. 34.* ¹⁵ *Hierome wrote sundry Epistles to Theophilus, full of all due respects, and turned his three Paschall booke into Latine. Vide Epistolas Hieron tom. 2.*

f Rhegino lib.
2. Otho. Fri-
singenf. l. 6. c. 3.
Siebert. in
Chronico, an.
862.

on procured a confederacie of the *French* and *Germans* against the Emperours of *Constantinople*, and by their meanes stayed the Tribute that was wont to be paid; whereupon the *Germans* and *French* possessed *Rome*, and became Lords of it. The last example is that of *Nicholas* the first, excommunicating *Lotharius* King of *France*, and his Concubine *Valdrada*, together with the Archbishops of *Coleyne* and *Trevers*. But the answer hereunto is easie. For first, this example proveth not the thing in question, to wit, that the Pope hath an universall power over all the world, seeing all these were within the Patriarchship of the Bishop of *Rome*. And secondly wee say, these circumstances of this proceeding are untruely reported by *Bellarmino*. For this is the true report which wee finde in *Rhegino* and others. *Lotharius* King of *Lorraine*, falling in love with *Valdrada*, which had beene his Concubine while hee was yet a young man in his fathers house, began to dislike *Thietberga* his wife. Hereupon he laboureth with the Bishops of *Trevers* and *Coleyn*, to finde some meanes to put her away. They call a Synode, wherein *Thietberga* is charged to have committed incest with her owne brother, and thereupon pronounced an unfit wife for the King. The King thus freed from his wife, professeth hee cannot live single; they pronounce it lawfull for him to marry another wife, and he taketh *Valdrada* to wife, whom he had formerly kept as his concubine. *Nicholas* the first, Bishop of *Rome*, hearing of this, sendeth into *France* to learne the certainty. The Legates hee sendeth, come to the King to expostulate the matter with him. The King answereth, that he did nothing but what the Bishops of his Kingdome in a generall Councell had assured him was lawfull to bee done. Whereupon the Bishops of *Coleyn* and *Trevers* were sent for to *Rome*, and the Pope called a Councell, in which the opinions and proceedings of these Bishops were condemned, and they degraded by all the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons that were assembled in Councell. In all which narration there is no circumstance found, that any way proveth the Pope to have the fulnesse of all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction; but the contrary rather may from hence be concluded, because nothing is done against these two Bishops, but by a Synode of Bishops assembled by their owne Patriarch. But, saith *Bellarmino*, Pope *Nicholas* excommunicated the King, and *Valdrada* his supposed wife; therefore he is universall Bishop. The former part of this saying is most untrue, for the Pope did not excommunicate the King, but *Valdrada* onely. And I thinke the excommunicating of one silly harlot, that had so grievously scandalized the Church of God, and whose cause was judged before in a Synode, being brought thither, and there examined, by reason of the unjust proceedings of the Bishops of *Coleyn* and *Trevers*, against a lawfull Queene, in favour of her, will never by any good consequence prove the Pope to bee universall Bishop; and yet these are all the proofes the Cardinall can bring from the censures the ancient Bishops of *Rome* are reported to have used: and therefore hee proceedeth to shew and demonstrate the amplitude of the Popes illimited power and jurisdiction by the Vicegerents he appointed in all parts of the Christian world, that were farre remote from him, to doe things in his name, and by his authority.

De Pontif.
l. 2. cap. 20.

Leo Ep. 84.
* Canone 20.
9 Epist. 87.
2 Hormisd. in
ep. ad Salust.
Greg. lib. 4.
epist. 52.
Cusan. lib. 2.
concord. cath.
cap. 7. ex Dist.
12. cap. Quis
nesciat: & dist.
43. cap. Iuxta.

But for answer hereunto, wee say, that neither this Cardinall, nor any other can prove, that the Bishops of *Rome* had any such Vicars, Vicegerents, or Substitutes, but onely within the compasse of their owne Patriarchship: and that therefore from the having of them, nothing can bee inferred for confirmation of their illimited power and authority. So *Leo* (as wee read in his Epistles) constituted *Anastasio* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, his Vicegerent for the parts thereabouts, as other his predecessors had done former Bishops of that Church. Which causing great resort thither upon divers occasions, may bee thought to have beene the reason why the Councell of *Sardica* provideth, that the Clergy-men of other Churches shall not make too long stay at *Thessalonica*. So the same *Leo* made *Potentius* the Bishop his Vicegerent in the parts of *Africa*; *Hormisdas*, *Salustius* Bishop of *Hispalis*, in *Betica* and *Lusitania*; and *Gregory*, *Virgilius* Bishop of *Arle*, in the regions of *France*: all these places being within the compasse of the Patriarchship of *Rome*, as *Cusanus* sheweth. And the same may be said of the Bishop of *Justiniana* the first, who was appointed

pointed the Bishop of *Rome* Vicegerent in those parts, upon signification of the Emperours will and desire that it should be so. Neither doth the Cardinall prove any other thing, whatsoever hee maketh shew of. For though *Cyrl*, Bishop of *Alexandria* were the Vicegerent of *Calestinus*, in the cause of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, yet was he not his Vicegerent in such sort as they were that were within his own Patriarchship, as if hee had had none authority of his owne, but that onely which *Calestinus* gave unto him. But *Calestinus* having been informed by *Cyrl* of the impieties of *Nestorius*, and having in his Synodes of the West condemned the same, joyned his authority with the authority of *Cyrl*, that so he might proceed against him, not onely as of himselfe, and out of the judgements of his owne Bishops, but also out of the consenting resolutions of them of the West. And therefore *Evagrius* sheweth, that at or before the time appointed by the Emperour, *Nestorius* and *Cyrl* came to *Ephesus*, where a Councell was to be holden: and that *John* of *Antioch* with his Bishops, being not come, after fifteene dayes stay, *Cyrl* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the greatest of all the Bishops that were present (who also supplied the place of *Calestinus*) with the rest of the Bishops thought good to send for *Nestorius*, and to require him to appeare in the Synode, to answer to the crimes objected to him. Whereby it is evident, that (*Nestorius* being to be judged in a generall Councell) *Cyrl* being the greatest of the Bishops that were present, (the Bishop of *Rome* neither comming nor sending at the first) was in his owne right, President of that Assembly. But the Bishop of *Rome*, who could not come, (but having assembled his Bishops in the West, had judged and condemned him) joyned his authority with *Cyrl*, the principall of the Bishops that were present, that so nothing might be wanting to the perfection of a generall Councell. So that it is most certaine, that *Cyrl* was President of the Councell of *Ephesus*, not as a Vicegerent only to the Bishop of *Rome*, but in his own right, though hee had the authority, direction, and consenting concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all the Westerne Bishops, joyned with the power and authority which he and the rest of the Bishops present had of themselves. And therefore *Leo* saith in expresse words, that *Cyrl* was President of the Councell of *Ephesus*, as likewise *Photius* and others affirme. The same answer may serve for *Acacius*. For hee was not Vicegerent of the Bishop of *Rome*, in hearing and determining the cause of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* (who was an *Eutychian* Heretick) as having none authority of his owne: but there was a joynt concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishop of *Constantinople*, the later having besides his owne right and interest, the full power and authority of the other: and being likewise to use the helpe of the Emperour, for the reducing of the Church of *Alexandria*, to the unity of the faith againe: in which businesse he failed: for though at first he condemned *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, yet afterwards he was content to communicate with him. For which cause he was justly reprehended, as not answering the trust that was reposed in him, and as being a favourer of Hereticks, and so in a sort an Heretick himselfe. To these allegations which we have already heard, *Harding* in his answer to *B. Jewels* challenge, addeth another of a Bishop of *Alexandria* being Vicegerent to the B. of *Rome*, out of the Epistle of *Bonifacius* the 2^d, to *Eulabius* or *Eulabius*. But *Bellarmino* refuteth that Epistle, and sheweth, that it is counterfeit, and that there never was any such *Eulabius*, to whom *Bonifacius* might write: and therefore we will no longer insist upon the examination of the same, but proceede to the proofes, which our Adversaries bring from appeales made to *Rome*.

C H A P . 39.

Of Appeales to Rome.

FOR the clearing of the matter of Appeales we must observe, that they are of three sorts: Of Lay-men, of inferiour Clergy-men, and of Bishops. Of the Appeales of Lay-men there is no mention in all Antiquity: and yet now the Bishops of *Rome* reserve all the greater causes even concerning the Laity to themselves alone, forbidding the ordinary guides of the Church to intermeddle with them: and

c Justinian. Authent. collat. 9. tit. 6. five Novella Const. 131.

d Cælest. ep. ad Cyrl. Act. Concil. Ephes. tom. 1. cap. 16. Cyrl. epist. ad Nestorium ib. cap. 4. *e* Evagr. lib. 1. cap. 4.

f Relat. sanctæ Synodi ad pientiss. Imper. inter epist. Synodales vocat Cyrrillum caput congregationum Episcoporum.

g Leo Ep. 47. *h* Photius de 7. Synodis. *i* Epist. 13. Gelasii ad Episc. Dardan.

k Apud Juelum, pag. 277. *l* De Pontif. l. 2. cap. 25.

• Cypr. lib. 1.
pist. 3.

and very ordinarily admit appeales of Lay-men to the infinite vexation of men, and the great hinderance of the course of all Justice. Whereas it is most wisely and rightly ordered, each Bishop having his portion of the flock of Christ committed to him, as *Cyprian* observeth, that they that are committed to their charge should not bee permitted to runne hither and thither, but be judged there, where the things, for which they are called in question, were done, and where the accusers and witnesses may be present.

• Conc. Mile-
vit. Canon. 22

Concerning inferiour Clergy-men the holy Bishops in the Councell of *Milevis* speake in this sort: *It hath seemed good unto us, that if Presbyters, Deacons, and other inferiour Clergi-men complaine of the judgements of their owne Bishops, the neighbour Bishops intreated by them with the consent of their Bishops, shall heare them, and make an end; and if they thinke good to appeale from their judgement, it shall not be lawfull for them to appeale, but only to the Councels of Africa, or to the Primates of their own Provinces. And if they shall make their appeale beyond the Seas, no man in Africa shall receive them to the Communion.* This whole Councell *Innocentius* the first approved, as

• Epist. 93 inter
Epistolas Aug.
• De Pont. Ro.
lib. 2. cap. 24.
• Gratian. 2.
quest. 6. cap.
placuit.

it appeareth by his Epistle, which we find in the booke of the Epistles of *S. Augustin*. Hereunto, *Bellarmino*^d saith, some answer with *Gratian*: who addeth to the Canon of this Councell, forbidding appeales to be made beyond the seas, an exception, *unlesse it be to the See Apostolick*. But this exception, saith *Bellarmino*, seemeth not fitting, seeing the *Africans* made this decree, that men should not appeale beyond the Seas, especially in respect of the Church of *Rome*, and to retrain the making of appeales thither; there never being any appeale from the *Africans* to any other Church,

f Controv. 3. de
prim. Subject.
potest. Eccles.
quest. 7. expli-
cat art.

but to the Church of *Rome* onely. And yet *Stapleton* answereth the authority of this Councell as *Gratian* doth, and that out of *Iulius* and *Fabianus* Bishops of *Rome*, as he saith. The Councell of *Sardica* (saith *Bellarmino*) decreed, that the causes of Presbyters and inferiour Clergy-men appealing from the judgements of their owne Bishops, should be determined and ended by the neighbour-bishops: and Pope *Zozimus*, as appeareth by the sixth Councell of *Carthage*, and the Epistle of the same Councell to *Bonifacius* the Pope, required the same Canon to be revived. *Augustine* likewise sheweth, that it was not lawfull for those of the Clergie under the degree of Bishops, to appeale out of *Africa*. Neither was this the peculiar priviledge of *Africa* alone. For the Councell of *Chalcedon* ordained; that if a Clergi-man have

g Canone 17.
h Bel. ubi supra.
i August. Ep.
162.

ought against another of the Clergie, the matter shall be heard by the Bishop, or by arbitrators chosen by both parties, with the Bishops allowance. But if hee have ought against his Bishop, hee shall prosecute the same complaint in the Synode of the Province. This Canon of the Councell of *Chalcedon* the *Emperour* confirmed, saying, if any of the Clergie complaine against his Bishop for any matter, let the cause be judged by the Metropolitane, according to the sacred rules, and the imperiall Lawes. And if any man appeale from his sentence, let the cause bee brought to the Archbishop or Patriarch of that Diocesse, and let him according to the Canons, make a finall end. And yet, notwithstanding these Canons above recited, precisely forbidding inferiour Clergi-men to appeale to *Rome*, we finde that the *Bishops* of *Rome* admitted the appeale of one *Apianus*, judged and condemned in *Africa*; which caused a great difference betweene the *Africans* and him. Whereupon the Fathers in the Councell of *Africa*, with the Bishop of *Rome* (as it becometh him) to reject and repell the wicked and unlawfull appeales, as well of Presbyters, as of other inferiour Clergi-men; seeing the ending and determining of their causes, is by no decree of any Synode denied to the Church of *Africa*, and the *Nicene* Canons most clearly commit both inferiour Clergi-men and Bishops to their owne Metropolitanes. *Bellarmino*, to cleare the Pope from intrusion, and to avoide the testimonies and authorities of the holy Bishops and Pastours of the Church, which we have produced to shew the unlawfulness of appeales to *Rome*; answereth first: that though they of the inferiour Clergie were prohibited to appeale to the Pope, yet hee was not forbidden to admit their appeales; which is a most strange answer. For if they in appealing did ill, and violated the Canons, hee could not but offend, in admitting such their appeales. And therefore

k Canone 9.

l Iustin. Novel.
Const. 123.
cap. 22.

m Vt patet ex
Epist. Concilii
Africani ad
Caestinum.

n Ubi supra.

they

*they of *Africa* tell the Pope, that it becometh him to repell such appeales; and that to admit them, is to bring in the smoakie puffe of worldly pride into the Church, professing, that the ending of such matters belongeth to the Church of *Africa*, and complaining of intollerable wrongs and injuries done unto them, when such appeales are admitted; whence it is consequent, that the Pope may not admit them. Secondly, he answereth, that the Bishop of *Rome* admitted not the appeale of *Apiarius*, but heard his complaints, and commanded them of *Africa* more diligently to examine his cause: whereas it is most plaine and evident, that the Pope upon his appeale, unadvisedly received him to his communion, and restored him to his degree and place againe. Besides that, to heare complaints, and to command a review, is in the judgement of all men of sense and understanding, a kind of an admitting of an appeale; seeing no such thing can be done but by him that hath power to judge of their judgement, whom he commanded to review and reexamine that they have formerly judged.

Concerning Bishops, the ³ Councell of *Chalcedon* decreed, that if a Bishop have ought against the Metropolitane, he shall goe to the Primate of the Diocesse, or to the See of the Princely Citie of *Constantinople*, that there the matter may be examined and heard. And the ⁴ Emperour confirming the same Canon, decreed, that if the Bishops of one Synode have any matter of variance among themselves, either for Ecclesiasticall right, or any other occasions; first the Metropolitane, and the other Bishops of the Synode shall examine and determine the cause; and if either part dislike the judgement, then the Patriarch of that Diocesse shall give them audience according to the Ecclesiasticall Canons, and Imperiall Lawes, neither side having liberty to contradict his judgment. This decree of the Emperour, ^{Gregory} the first reciteth, and alloweth: only adding, that if there be neither Metropolitane nor Patriarch, then the matter must be ended by the Apostolick See, which is the Head of all Churches. So that even in his judgement, when there is a Patriarch, no Bishop may appeale from him to *Rome*, but every one is bound to stand to the end that he shall make. The eighth ^{generall} Councell in like sort appointeth Bishops complaining of their Metropolitans, to goe to the Patriarch, that hee may make an end, and requireth either side to stand to the end that he shall make, seeing the more honourable Bishops out of sundry Provinces called together by him, sit in Councell with him. Yet ^{Zozimus, Bonifacius, and Celestinus} Bishops of *Rome*, by their agents in the Councils of *Africa* urged and claimed a pretended right, to admit appeales of Bishops from any part of the world, as from the Canons of the *Nicene* Councell. But the worthy Bishops there present, looking into the Decrees of that Councell, and finding no such thing as was alleadged, lett haply those Copies of the Councell which they had, might be defective, imperfect, or corrupted, sent to the most reverend Patriarches of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, for the authentick and indubitate copies; but could find no such thing in them when they came, as was alleadged by the agents of the Bishop of *Rome*. And therefore they wrote unto him, and prayed him, no more so easily to admit men comming to him with appeales and complaints, nor to receive to his communion such as they should excommunicate, because the *Nicene* Councell hath forbidden all such admission, committing not only Lay-men and inferiour Clergy-men, but * Bishops also to their own Metropolitans; and requiring, that Bishops put from the communion in their owne Provinces, should not be by other hastily, suddenly, or unduely restored to the communion. And farther, they besought the *Roman* Bishops to repell, as becometh them, the wicked appeales of Presbyters, and the inferiour Clergy-men, because no decree of any Councell hath prejudiced the Church of *Africa* in this behalf, but all the Fathers most prudently and justly decreed and determined, that all matters should be ended in the place where they arise, seeing no Province can lack the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby the Bishops of Christ may be able both wisely to see, and constantly to maintaine the right; & especially for that it is lawfull for every one that shall dislike the judgment of them that have the hearing of his cause, to appeale to the Councils of his Province, or to a generall Councell; unlesse haply any man will thinke, that God will inspire the triall of justice into one man alone, and that he will deny the same to a great number of Bishops assembled

Ep. prædict.
Conc. Afric.
c 105.

Canone 9.

Novel. 123.
cap. 22.

Greg. ep. l. i.
epist. 54.

Canone 26.

Epist. citat. à
Conc. Afric.
five Carthag. 6.

*The Africans
though within
the Patriarch.
ship of Rome,
disliked the ap-
peales of Bi-
shops to Rome,
because they
might have
right against
their Metropo-
litans, if they
wronged them
in a generall
Synode of A-
frick, wherein
the Primate
sat as Presi-
dent: for other-
wise Bishops
wronged by
their Metropo-
litans, might
by the Canons
appeale to their
own Patriarch

assembled in Councell: and farther they adde, that these beyond-sea judgments cannot be thought good, and of force, whereunto the persons of the witnesses necessary for the finding out of the truth, cannot bee brought, either in respect of the infirmity of their sexe or age, or by reason of some other impediment. And thus wee see that the Bishops of *Rome* could not demonstrate their right to receive Appeales of Bishops, refusing to stand to the judgements of their owne Metropolitans and Synodes, out of the *Nicene* Councell, but failed in the issue. Yet may wee not hereupon charge them with falsification or mistaking, say the worthy^a Proctors of the *Roman* Church. But we must rather say with counterfeit *Athanasius*, in his Epistle to *Felix*, that the copies of the *Nicene* Councell were corrupted, or in his Epistle to *Marke* the Bishop of *Rome*, that they were burned, than that we should yeeld any such thing. And yet surely if they were corrupted, they were not burned: and if they were burnt, they were not corrupted: and that the *Arrians* should corrupt the copies of the *Nicene* Councell in other things, and leave it inviolable in that part that toucheth them most, and condemneth their heresie, is strange and unlikely. ^a *Bellarmino* saith, the *Magdeburgians* doe laugh at the report of the burning of those copies of the *Nicene* Councell that were kept at *Alexandria*, and seemeth to confesse they have reason so to doe. For (saith he) the supposed burning happened in the time of *Constantine* the Emperour, when as *Athanasius* being driven from thence, *George* the *Arian* had gotten into his place as *Athanasius* testifieth in his Epistle *ad omnes Orthodoxos*; whereas it may bee clearly proved out of the Chronicle of *Hierome*, that *Marke* the Pope was dead at that time. Besides, if *Marke* the Pope had sent the true copies to *Alexandria* upon this letter of *Athanasius* (as is pretended) why should not the copies that were found at *Rome*, and they that were brought from *Alexandria* into *Africa*, have agreed together? How came it to passe, that the Canon urged for the Popes advantage in the Councils of *Africa*, was not found in the copies sent from *Alexandria*? but that that copie altogether agreed with the other that came from *Constantinople* and *Antioch*. *Bellarmino* therefore passing by these Epistles, as being of no great credit, alleadgeth sundry things mentioned by the Ancient, as decreed by the Councell of *Nice*, which yet are not found in those twenty Canons now extant; to prove, that it followeth not, that the Bishops of *Rome* falsified the Councell of *Nice*, because they could not finde the things they urged in the copies sent out of the East, seeing they might be in some other, as well as those things that are mentioned by the Ancient, which are not found in these twenty Canons. The things alleadged by him out of the Ancient, as decreed by the *Nicene* Councell, which yet are not found in the Canons now extant, are in number seven, whereof some were neither decreed in that Councell, nor reported by the Ancient to have beene decreed there. For ^a *Hierome* doth not say, that the Councell of *Nice* reckoned the booke of *Judith* among the bookes of the Canon, but onely that some said it did; but that it did not, Bishop *Lindan* bringeth very good reasons, as I have² elsewhere shewed. The like may be said of the permitting of Clergy-men having wives, to live with their wives. For the³ histories doe not say, the Councell passed a decree to that purpose, but that whereas the Fathers of the Councell were about to have made a decree for the restraining of Clergy-men from Matrimoniall society with their wives, they were by *Paphnutius* a worthy Bishop and holy Confessor, dissuaded from so doing, and induced to leave it free as they found it. The observation of the Feast of Easter upon the Lords day, is the third instance given by the Cardinall. But if *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Celestinus* could have brought as good proofe, that the decree they urged was passed in the Councell of *Nice*, as may be brought for the decree touching the keeping of Easter onely on the Lords day, they had never bin resisted, though they could not have found it in the Canons. For the order that the Councell tooke for uniformity in the keeping of this Feast, is mentioned in the Epistle of the Councell to the Churches of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*; and all histories and Writers do agree on it. Touching the having of two Bishops in one Citie, which⁴ *Augustine* saith, *Valerius* his predecessour knew not to be forbidden by the Councell of *Nice*, when he caused him to be ordained Bishop, and to sit together with him, while hee

^a Bell. de Rom.
Pont. l. 2. c. 25.

^a Ibidem.

¹ Hier. præfat.
in Iudith.

² Booke 4. Chap.

³ Socrat. lib. 1.
cap. 8.

⁴ August. epist.
110.

he yet lived; it is strange that *Bellarmino* should deny it to be found among the twenty Canons we speake of, when as in the eighth Canon it is expressly provided, that if a *Novatian* Bishop returne to the unity of the Church in any Citie where there is a Catholick Bishop already, the Catholick Bishop shall looke out for him some place in his Diocesse, that he may be a *Chorepiscopus*, or shall appoint him to be a *Presbyter*; that both hee may remaine in the Clergie, and that yet there may not seeme to be two Bishops in one Citie. That *Attius* in the end of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, saith, the manner of writing those letters that were called *Littera formata*, was devised in the Councell of *Nice*, no way proveth the thing in question. For we enquire not, what was there devised, but what was there decreed. Lastly, that which the Councell of *Africa* hath, as out of the Councell of *Nice*, that none should celebrate the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, but such as are fasting: and *Ambrose*, that none should be taken into the Clergie that have beene twice married, might by them be taken upon uncertaine report, as that touching the booke of *Judith* was by *Hierome*. But to what purpose doth *Bellarmino* insist upon these allegations? and why doth he so carefully labour to shew that all the decrees of the *Nicene* Councell, are not comprised within the twenty Canons now extant? Is it because he would thereby make us thinke, the *Nicene* Councell did decree any such thing concerning appeales, as was alleadged in the Councell of *Africa* by the Popes agents? Surely no. For he professeth, he thinketh it very probable, that the pretended Canons were never made by the *Nicene* Councell, but that they were the Canons of the Councell of *Sardica*: and his reason is, because these Canons are in the Councell of *Sardica*, in the very words alleadged. And it is not likely the Fathers in that Councell would make the same Canons, the Councell of *Nice* did, and no way expresse it, that they did not make new, but renew such as were made before. Which if it be so, it must needs be confessed, that the Bishops of *Rome* were deceived and mistooke, when they alleadged Canons as made in the Councell of *Nice*, that were not made there, but in the Councell of *Sardica*. Yet *Bellarmino* is unwilling to yeeld so much to the truth, though it be very mighty, and ready to prevaile with him: and therefore rather than he will confesse any errour or mistaking, he affirmeth, that both these are to be esteemed but as one Councell, because many of the same Bishops were present in them both, and confirmed the same faith. A strange saying doubtlesse, and contradicted by himselfe. For in his booke *De conciliis*, sorting Councells into three rankes, accounting some wholly rejected, some wholly approved, and some in part rejected, and in part approved: he reckoneth the Councell of *Nice* among those of the second sort, and the Councell of *Sardica* among those of the third sort: because consisting of three hundred seventy and six Bishops, the three hundredth Occidentall Bishops confirmed the Catholick faith: and they of the East dividing themselves from them, confirmed the heresie of the *Arrians*: whereas here he will have it to be the same with the Councell of *Nice*, for that it was a generall Councell approved, and not reckoned in number the second. But let us pardon them this errour and mistaking, and see what it was the Councell of *Sardica* decreed: The words of the Fathers of the Councell are these: *It hath seemed good unto us, that if a Bishop shall bee accused, and the Bishops of the same Region shall judge him, and degrade him; if he that is so deposed or degraded, shall appeale and flye to the Bishop of Rome, and desire to be heard, if he thinke good to renew the judgment, let him be pleased to write to the Bishops that are in the next Province, that they may diligently enquire into things, and judge according to truth and equity. But if he that desireth to have his cause heard againe, shall move the Bishop of Rome to send a Presbyter from his owne side, let him doe what he thinketh fit. And if he shall thinke fit to send some, who being present with the Bishops, may judge together with them, having his authority from whom they are sent, let him doe as he pleaseth. And if he thinke the Bishops to be sufficient to put an end to the matter, let him use his own discretion.* For the clearing of this matter, and that we may the better discern the force of this decree: first, we must marke, that it was made after the division and parting of the Bishops of the East from them of the West, and so by the Western Bishops alone, and, as it may seeme, respectively to the Provinces of the West, over which the Bishop of

e Canone 14.

d Ambt. Epist. 82.

e De Concil. l. 1. c. 4 & 7.

f Concl. Sardic. Can. 3. & 7.

g Canone 9.

h Bern. l. 3. de
consider. ad
Eugenium.i Gerson. part.
4. serm. de pace
& unit. Græco-
rum, confid. 5.k Harding apud
Iuel. pag. 290.

Rome was Patriarch. Secondly, that the *Africans* tooke no notice of it; and yet there were Bishops of *Africa* at the Councell, so that in likelihood this decree was not confirmed by subsequent acceptation, execution, and practice. Thirdly, that the Councell of *Chalcedon*, which was absolutely Oecumenicall, and wholly approved, and so of greater authority than this, that was not an approved Generall Councell, but in a sort onely, decreeth the contrary, and referreth the finall determination of all causes of Bishops, to the Primate or Patriarch, which the Emperour also confirmeth, and will have no man to have power to contradict the end which the Primate or Patriarch shall make. Lastly, that this Canon maketh rather against them that alleadge it, than any way for them. For by this Canon all matters must bee ended at home, or in the next Province to that wherein they arise; and the Pope may not call matters to *Rome* there to be heard, but is only permitted in some cases to send a Presbyter having his authority, and to put him in commission with the Bishops of the Province, that so he and they joyntly may reexamine things formerly judged. If this Canon were now observed, I thinke there would not be so great exception taken to the Court of *Rome*, in respect of appeales, as now there is. ^h *Quousq;* (saith Saint Bernard to Eugenius) *non evigilat consideratio tua ad tantam appellationum confusionem? Ambitio in Ecclesia per te regnare molitur. Præter jus & fas, præter morem & ordinem sunt: repertum ad remedium, reperitur ad mortem. Antidotum versum est in venenum: murmur loquor & querimoniam communem Ecclesiarum. Truncari se clamant & demembrari. Vel nulla, vel pauca admodum sunt, quæ plagam istam aut non dolent, aut non timeant:* that is, How long will it be before thou awake to consider this so great confusion of appeales? Ambition striveth and seeketh busily to reigne in the Church by thy meanes: They are entred, prosecuted, and admitted beside right and law, besides custome and order. That which was first found out for a remedie, is now found to bee unto death. I doe but expresse the murmuring and common complaint of the Churches. They crie out that they are mangled and dismembred, and there are few or none found that doe not either already grieve at this plague, or feare the smart of this evil. Yet would not the *Africans* admit the Canon of the Councell of *Sardica*, but willed the Pope to send no more any of his Clerkes, to dispatch causes at any mans suite. For that this was to bring in the smoakie puffe of worldly pride into the Church, and in very earnest sort besought him not to be too easie in admitting any appeales brought from them. If within a little time after, the Bishops of *Rome* prevailed so farre, as that Bishops were suffered to appeale out of *Africa* to *Rome*, which was the thing claimed by *Zozimus*, but denied unto him by the *Africans*; it is not to bee marvelled at, seeing they still enlarged the extent of their power, till they had overthrowne the jurisdiction of all the Bishops of the West, and alienated the affections of all other from them. So that there was a schisme in the Church, the other foure Patriarches dividing themselves from the Bishop of *Rome*, and at their parting using these or the like words, as it is reported. ⁱ *Thy greatnesse we know, thy covetousnesse wee cannot satisfie, thy encroaching we can no longer endure, live by thy selfe.* But here wee shall finde a great contrariety of judgment among the greatest Rabbies of the *Romish* Church touching these *Africans* that thus withstood the claimes of *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Celestinus*. For ^k *Harding* against Bishop *Jewels* challenge in the Article of the supremacie, saith, that the whole Church of *Africa* withdrew it selfe from the Church of *Rome* by reason of this difference, through the enticement of *Aurelius* Archbishop of *Carthage*, and continued in schisme by the space of an hundred yeares; during which time by Gods punishment they were brought into miserable captivity by the barbarous and cruell *Vandales*, who were *Arrians*; till at length when it pleased Almighty God of his goodnesse to have pittie of his people of that Province, hee sent them *Belisarius* that valiant Captaine that vanquished and destroyed the *Vandales*; and *Eulabius* that godly Bishop of *Carthage*, that brought home the *Africans* againe, and joyned those divided members to the whole Body of the Catholick Church. A publick punishment containing their submission, being made and offered to *Bonifacius* the second, by *Eulabius* in the name of the whole Province. Which was joyfully

joyfully received; and whereof *Bonifacius* writeth to *Eulabius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, desiring him to give thanks to God for the same. But ¹ *Bellarmino* proveth at large, that notwithstanding this resistance and opposition of the *Africans* against the claimes of *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Celestinus*, yet there never was any apparent breach betweene the *Romans* and them. And for the Epistle of *Bonifacius* the second to *Eulabius*, wherein hee saith very harshly (as ^m *Cusanus* well noteth) that *Aurelius* sometimes Bishop of the Church of *Carthage*, with his colleagues, began to waxe proud and insolent against the Church of *Rome*, by the instigation of the Devill in the dayes of his predeceffours, (so condemning *Augustine*, *Alipius*, and two hundreth twenty five Bishops more, as set on by the Devill to resist the claimes of his predeceffours, and the Epistle of *Eulabius* Bishop of *Carthage*, wherein hee condemneth his predeceffours, and submitteth himselfe to the Bishop of *Rome*) he professeth he greatly suspecteth they are forged and counterfeit. First, because that which is contained in them cannot stand with that which is most certainly proved and known to be true touching the amity and friendship that was betweene the *Roman* Church and *Augustine*, *Eugenius*, *Fulgentius*, and other *Africans*, after the opposition about the matters of appeales. Secondly, for that there was no such *Eulabius* Bishop of *Alexandria* at that time, to whom *Bonifacius* might write, as it appeareth by the Chronologie of *Nicephorus* of *Constantinople*. Thirdly, for that *Bonifacius* in his Epistle doth signifie that he wrote in the time of *Iustinus* the Emperour; whereas *Iustinus* was dead before *Bonifacius* was Bishop. as appeareth by all histories. So that we may see what grosse forgeries there have been in former times devised onely to abuse the simple, and make the world beleieve, that all Bishops and Churches subjected themselves unto the Church of *Rome*. And how shamelesse a defender of Antichristian tyrannie Doctor *Harding* was, that could not escape this censure of *Bellarmino* the Jesuite. But it is lesse to be marvelled at, that he should so harden his forehead, as not to blush when he brought into the light, and presented to the view of the world such rotten forgeries, that was not ashamed to become a proctor of the filthy stewes.

Wherefore leaving him and his counterfeit and apocryphall stuffe, which he sought to vent into the world, let us proceede from the appeales of Lay men; inferiour Clergy-men and Bishops, to speake of the appeales of the chiefe Primates or Patriarches. For the clearing of which point, we must observe, that it is a rule in Church-government, that the lesser and inferiour may not judge the greater and superiour. And therefore the Bishops of the Province, may not judge the Metropolitane, but may only declare in what cases hee is judged, excommunicated, suspended, or deposed, *ipso facto*, by the sentence of the Canon it selfe, and by separating themselves from him, and withdrawing themselves from being subject to him, put him in a sort from his place, and depose him. But otherwise, if any Bishop have ought against his Metropolitane, he must goe (as I shewed before) to the Patriarch, and his Synode, to complaine, as to fit and competent judges. For against the greater person we complaine, to the greater judge we must flie. If a Clerke have ought against a Bishop, the matter may be judged in the Synode of the Province; but if Clerke or Bishop have any complaint against the Metropolitane, the Canon of the Councell of *Chalcedon* provideth (as I noted before) that they shall goe to the Primate of the Diocese, or to the See of the Princely Citie of *Constantinople*. From whence in like proportion it is consequent, that though the Metropolitanes and Bishops subject to a Patriarch, may declare in what cases hee incurreth the sentence of suspension, excommunication, deposition, or degradation, pronounced by the very Law and Canon it selfe, and so withdraw themselves from his obedience; yet may they not by way of authority proceede against him, but must flie to another Patriarch, who in a Synode consisting of his owne Bishops, and the Bishops of that Patriarch that is complained of, may judge and censure him, so that hee be a Patriarch, in order and honour greater than hee against whom they complaine; seeing the lesser may not judge the greater. And therefore we find that in the differences that fell out between *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *John* of *Antioch*, *John* was blamed, for that being but Bishop or Patriarch

(De Pont. l. 2. cap. 25.

mDe Concord Cathol. l. 2. c. 15 & l. cod. c. 17.

n See these things at large in the Epistle of Nicholas the first, to Michael the Emperour, Ep. 2. 8.

o Vide suprâ,
cap. 35.

p Epist. 2.

q Celas. epist.
13. ad Episc.
Dardania.

r De Pontif. li.
2 cap. 21.

s Leo epist. 99.
ad Episc. Gal-
lia:

t Epiphan. h. x.
ref. 42.

of the third See, hee tooke upon him to judge *Cyril*, that was Patriarch of the second; and having but a few Bishops joyned with him, to judge *Cyril* with many. So likewise *Dioscorus* was condemned, not onely for favouring the wicked heresie of *Eutiches*, and his violent proceedings in the second Councell of *Ephesus*; but specially for that being but Bishop of the second See he tooke upon him to judge *Leo*, that was Bishop of the first See. And this was that which *Julius* in his Epistle reported by *Athanasius* in his second Apologie, blamed in the Bishops of the East; namely that they proceeded to the judging of Bishops of such Sees, as were *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, and *Paulus* of *Constantinople*, without making him first acquainted with the same; that so their proceedings might have taken beginning from him, as being in order the first among the Patriarches. And hence it was, that *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* taking himselfe to bee Bishop of the second See, came to *Constantinople*, and there with other Bishops judged *Chrysostome*; and that *Chrysostome*, as being by vertue of the Canon of the Councell of *Constantinople* made Bishop of the second See, and set in order and honour before the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, would have taken upon him to judge some matters concerning *Theophilus*: and in this sort did sundry Bishops of *Rome* in Synodes consisting of their owne Bishops, and the Bishops subject to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, judge and depose certaine Bishops of *Constantinople*. Whereupon *Nicholas* the first in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour saith, that scarce any Bishop of *Constantinople* can be found, that was orderly deposed and driven from his Bishoprick, and whose deposition held as good and lawfull, without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*: and therefore protesteth against the deposition of *Ignatius* as unlawfull and unjust, for that he was condemned by his owne Bishops: comparing the Synode that deposed him to the second of *Ephesus*, and affirming, that it was much worse than that. For that there *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* with his colleagues judged *Flavianus*, though most violently and disorderly. But here there was none of the Patriarches, nor any one Bishop of any the meanest Citie, that was not his owne Suffragan. By that which hath beene said it is evident, that the great Patriarches of the Christian Church, are not to be judged but by some other of their owne ranke in order before them, assisted by inferior Bishops; that the Bishop of *Rome*, as first in order among the Patriarches, assisted with his owne Bishops, and the Bishops of him that is thought faulty, may judge any of the other Patriarches; that such as have complaints against them, may flye to him and the Synodes of Bishops subject to him, and that the Patriarches themselves in their distresses may flye to him and such Synodes for reliefe and helpe, though of himselfe alone he have no power to doe any thing.

Wherefore let us proceede from the distinction and explication of the divers and different kinds of appeales, lawfull, and unlawfull, permitted and forbidden, to examine the allegations of our Adversaries, and to see whether from any allowed practice and approved course of appeales made to *Rome* in the primitive Church, they can inferre the Vniversality of Papall power and jurisdiction. The first example that *Belarmine* bringeth, is very impertinent. For whereas he should prove, that the Bishops subject to any of the foure Patriarches might lawfully appeale to *Rome*, and that there lay appeales from any part of the world thither: hee bringeth forth the testimony of *Leo*, telling the Bishops of *France*, subject to him as Patriarch of the West, that of ancient time appeales were wont to be made out of *France* to *Rome*: which no way proveth the Bishop of *Rome* to bee universall Bishop, unlesse wee will acknowledge every one of the Patriarches to have beene so too: it being lawfull to appeale unto them, out of any the remotest Provinces subject to them. From this ill-chosen example, he proceedeth to a worse of *Marcion* the heretick, who being excommunicated by his owne Bishop in *Pontus*, fled to *Rome*, that he might bee absolved of the *Roman* Church, as he telleth us out of *Epiphanius*. But surely it is most strange, that hee can be content thus to abuse himselfe and others. For hee knoweth right well, that *Marcion* did not appeale to *Rome*, and that if he had so done, the act of a vile and execrable Heretick should not bee drawne into example. The history of *Marcion* (as wee finde

finde in *Epiphanius*) is this: *Marcion* was the sonne of a Bishop in *Pontus*, he embraced virginitic in his first times, and seemed to live a retired, solitary, and Monasticall kinde of life; but in the end, casting the feare of God behinde his back, hee abused a certaine Virgin; and not onely fell himselfe, but drew her also away from the course of vertue and well-doing, into the fellowship of sinfull wickednesse. Hereupon hee was excommunicated, and put out of the Church by his owne Father. For his Father was a right good and vertuous man, and carefull of the things that concerned his calling: and though after hee was put out of his Church, he sought very earnestly to be admitted to penitencie, that so hee might bee restored to the Church againe: yet his Father exceedingly grieved, not onely in respect of his fall, but also in respect of the dishonour and shame hee had brought on him, would by no meanes bee induced to yeeld unto it. Whereupon hee left that Citie whereof his Father was Bishop, and went to *Rome* in the time of the vacancie of that See, after the death of *Hyginus*, and after hee had staid there a certaine space, and conferred with the Presbyters of that Church, hee desired to bee admitted to their assemblies. But they told him, they could not so doe without the consent of his honourable Father. For (say they) wee have one faith, and one consent, and wee may not contrary our good fellow-minister thy Father. Which their answer when hee heard, hee was filled with fury and madnesse, and professed in great rage, that hee would rent their Church in pieces, and cast a schisme into it that should never have an end. This is the narration wee finde in *Epiphanius* concerning *Marcion* his going to *Rome*. Wherein there is nothing that any way proveth, that it was alwayes lawfull to appeale from all other Bishops to the Bishop of *Rome*. For first, it doth not appeare that *Marcion* went thither to complaine of his Father, but being put from the communion by him, and not obtaining reconciliation by any intreaty, as a runnagate he sought to other places, and among other went to *Rome*, hoping there to bee received into the Church. But the Guides of that Church knowing the Canon, which forbiddeth one Church to admit them, another hath rejected and cast out, utterly refused to permit and suffer him to communicate with them. And secondly, if hee had gone to *Rome* by way of appeale, it would most strongly overthrow all such courses, and prove that the *Roman* Bishop may not reverse, and make voyde the Acts and proceedings of other Bishops, seeing the Governours of the *Roman* Church at that time, freely professed unto *Marcion*, and told him peremptorily, that it was not lawfull for them to admit him to their communion without his Fathers consent, by whom hee was excommunicated. But the truth is, hee did not seeke by their authority as superiours, to reverse his Fathers censure and judgement, or to bee restored to the communion of that Church, out of which hee was ejected (which had beene to appeale:) but being in *Rome*, desired onely to be admitted to joyne in prayers and other exercises of Religion, with them of that Church: which yet (as *Epiphanius* reporteth) was denied unto him. The next example is of *Fortunatus* and *Felix* in *Africa*, deposed by *Cyprian* (as *Bellarmino* would make us beleeve) and appealing to *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* for reliefe. Epist. 3. But there is no word of trueth in that which this Cardinall writeth. For these men did not goe to *Rome* to complaine that they were unjustly deposed (as hee untruly reporteth) but these are the circumstances of the matter, as wee may reade in the Epistles of *Cyprian*: A company of wicked ones having made *Fortunatus* (one of the Presbyters that were suspended by *Cyprian*, and a great number of other Bishops) a Bishop in opposition to *Cyprian*, hasten to *Rome* to *Cornelius* with false reports of the number of Bishops that concurred in the ordination of *Fortunatus*; that so hee might be induced to admit of him, as a true Bishop, and hold communion with him. Which when *Cornelius* wisely refused to doe, he feared not to threaten grievous things unto him. With the suddenesse and strangenesse whereof, *Cornelius* much moved, marvelled greatly, that *Cyprian* had not before certified him of this schismaticall ordination, that so hee might have beene the better prepared. Whereunto *Cyprian* answered: That it was not necessary to bee so carefull about the vaine proceedings of Hereticks, that he had before given him the names of such Bishops as were found, to whom

Lib. 1. ep. 4.

Chap. 37.

Supra, c. 35.
& 37.

Epist. lib. 2.
ep. 6.

Cusan. lib. 2.
Concord. Ca-
thol. cap. 7.

and from whom he might write and receive letters. And that howsoever false and ill dealing by haste and prevention thinketh to gaine all, yet that is but for a little time, till trueth overtake it, and discover it, even as the darknesse of the night continueth till the Sunne arise. And farther he sheweth, that these schismaticall companions had no reason to make such haste to *Rome*, to publish it, and make it knowne, that they had set up a false Bishop against a true. For that either it pleased them that they had so done, and then they continued, and went forward in their wickednesse: or they repented of that they had done, and then they knew whither to returne, and needed not to have gone to *Rome*. For (saith he) *whereas it is agreed among us, and it is both just and right, that every man shall be heard there where his fault was committed; and all Pastours have a part of the flock of Christ assigned to them, which every one is to rule and governe, as being to give an account unto the Lord of his actions; it is not fit, nor to bee suffered, that they over whom wee are set should runne up and downe, and by crafty and deceitfull rashnesse, shake in sunder the coherent concord of brethren, but that they should have their causes handled where they may have both accusers, and witnesses of their crimes. Unlesse, a few desperate and wicked companions doe thinke, the Bishops of Africa that judged them, have lesser authority than others.* A more cleare testimonie or pregnant prooffe against appeales to *Rome* than this, cannot bee had. And yet this is one of the principall authorities the Cardinall bringeth to prove the lawfulnessse of appeales to *Rome*. To the next place alleadged out of *Cyprian*, touching *Basiliides* and *Martialis* Bishops of *Spaine*, I have answered ² already, and made it most cleare, that nothing could be alleadged more prejudiciall to the Popes claimes, and more for the advantage of the truth of that cause, which we defend. So that it seemeth our Adversaries have turned their weapons against themselves, and whetted their swords, and made ready their arrowes, to wound themselves to death. How the facts of *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, *Flavianus*, and *Theodoret*, appealing to the Bishop of *Rome* with his Westerne Synodes, for reliefe and helpe, when they were oppressed and wronged by the Easterne Bishops, prove not the illimited and universall power of the Pope, I have at large shewed ² before, to the satisfaction (I doubt not) of all indifferent Readers. And therefore there remaineth but onely one allegation of *Bellarmino* touching appeales to be examined. ² *Gregory* the first (saith hee) put *John* the Bishop of *Iustiniana* the first, from the communion, for that he presumed to judge the Bishop of *Thebes* having appealed to *Rome*. The case was this. The Bishop of *Thebes* wronged by his fellow-bishops, made his appeal to *Rome*. Hereupon *John* Bishop of *Iustiniana* the first, who was the Bishop of *Romes* Vicegerent for certaine Provinces neare adjoyning, was appointed by the Emperour to heare the cause; which he did accordingly. But without all indifferencie, and (in sort) contrary to the Canons; and though upon the discerning of his unjust and partiall proceeding an appeal were tendered to him, yet gave he sentence against the poore distressed Bishop. *Gregorie* hearing hereof, putteth him from the communion for thirty dayes space, injoyning him to bewaile his fault with sorrowfull repentance and teares. Truly this allegation maketh a very faire shew at the first sight. But if wee remember that the Bishop of *Iustiniana* the first, and the distressed Bishop of *Thebes*, wronged by him, were within the Patriarchship of *Rome* (as ² *Cusanus* sheweth they were) you shall finde it was no more that the Bishop of *Rome* did, than any other Patriarch in like case might have done, within his owne precincts and limits. Neither can the Cardinall ever prove, that the Bishop of *Rome* had any such Vicegerent as the Bishop of *Iustiniana* the first was, but onely within the compasse of his owne Patriarchship. But (saith he) it was a *Greeke* Bishop that *Gregorie* thus proceeded against. It is true, it was so. But what will hee inferre from thence? Is it not knowne that many *Greeke* Bishops were subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the West? Was not the Bishop of *Thessalonica* a *Greeke* Bishop? and yet I thinke no man doubteth, but that hee was within the compasse of the Patriarchship of *Rome*, as many other also were, howsoever in time they fell from it, and adhered to the Church of *Constantinople*, after the division of the *Greeke* and *Latine* Churches.

C H A P. 40.

Of the Popes supposed exemption from all humane Iudgement, as being reserved to the Iudgement of Christ onely.

OUR Adversaries finding their proofes of the Popes illimited power, taken from such appeales as were wont in ancient times to bee made to *Rome*, to be too weake, flie to another, wherein they put more confidence; which is his exemption from all humane Iudgement: Christ (whose Vicar hee is) having reserved him to his owne iudgement onely. If this exemption could bee as strongly proved, as it is constantly affirmed, it would bee an unanswerable proofe of the thing in question. But the proofe hereof will bee more hard, than of the principall thing in controversie betweene us. Touching this point, I finde ^a great contrariety of opinions among Papists, as men at their wits ends, not knowing what to affirm, nor what to deny. For first, there are some among them that thinke, that the Pope, though hee violate all lawes divine and humane, though he become publickly scandalous, and therein shew himselfe incorrigible, yea though hee be a professed and damnable heretick; yet neither is deposed *ipso facto*, by the sentence of the Canon, nor may be deposed by all the men in the world. Which opinion if wee admit to be true, the condition of the Church, the beloved Spouse of Christ and mother of us all, is most woefull and miserable, in that hereby shee is forced to acknowledge a devouring wolfe, making havock of the sheepe of Christ, redeemed with his precious blood, to bee her Pastor and guide. Secondly, some are of opinion, that the Pope, if hee become an open and professed heretick, is deposed *ipso facto*, by the sentence of the Canon, and that the Church may declare, that hee is so deposed. Thirdly, there are that thinke that an hereticall Pope is not deposed *ipso facto*, but that he may bee deposed by the Church. Fourthly, many worthy Divines of the *Roman* Church heretofore have beene of opinion, that the Church or generall Councell may depose the Pope, not onely for heresie, but also for other enormous crimes. Of this opinion was Cardinall ^b *Cusanus*, Cardinall ^c *Cameracensis*, ^d *Gerson* Chancellour of *Paris*, ^e *Almaine*, and all the *Parisians*, with ^f all the worthy Bishops and Divines in the Councels of *Constance* and *Basil*. Yet the Papists at this day for the most part dislike and condemne this opinion, and acknowledge no deposition of any Pope how ill soever, unlesse it be for heresie. And *Bellarmino* (to make all sure) telleth us farther, that the Church doth not by any authoritie depose an hereticall Pope, but whereas hee is deposed *ipso facto*, in that hee falleth into heresie, onely declareth the same; and thereupon largely refuteth the opinion of Cardinall *Cajetane*, ^g who thinketh that the Pope when he falleth into heresie, is not deposed *ipso facto*, but that deserving to bee deposed, the Church doth truly, and out of her authoritie depose him. First, because, (as he saith) if the Church or Councell may depose the Pope from his Papall dignitie, against his will, for what cause soever, it will follow, that the Church is above the Pope, which yet *Cajetane* denieth. For as it will follow, that the Pope is above other Bishops, and of more authority than they, if hee may depose them; so if the Councell of Bishops may depose the Pope, they are greater than hee. Secondly, hee saith, to bee put from the Papacie unwillingly, is a punishment; so that if the Church may depose the Pope, though unwilling to leave his place, it may punish him, and consequently is above him. For hee that hath power to punish, hath the place of a Superior and Judge. Thirdly, hee that may restraine and limit a man, in the use and exercise of his ministerie and office, is in authority above him; therefore much more hee that may put him from it. By these reasons it is clearly demonstrated and proved, that if the Church or generall Councell have authority in case of heresie to depose the Pope, at least in some sort, it is of greater authority than the Pope. And therefore to avoyde this consequence (as ^h *Gerson* rightly noteth) they that too much magnifie the greatnesse and amplitude of Papall power, say, that an hereticall Pope, in that

^a Bell. lib. 2. de Pont. Rom. cap. 30.

^b De Concord. Cathol. l. 2. c.

^c 17. ^d Camerac. in Concilio Constant.

^e Gers. de auctor. Papæ consider. 16.

^f Vid. act. conc. Constantiens. & Basiliens.

^g Cajet. in tract. de auctor. pap. & Conc.

^h cap. 20 & 21.

ⁱ Gerson loco suprà citato.

hic

Titus 3.11.

hee is an Heretick, ceaseth to be Pope, and is deposed by Almighty God. So that the Church doth not by vertue of her authority and jurisdiction depose him, but onely denounce and declare that hee is so deposed by God, and to bee taken for such a one by men, and not to be obeyed. This they endeavour to prove, because all ^b *Hereticks are condemned by their owne judgment*, as the Apostle saith, and stay not as other evill doers, till the Church cast them out, but voluntarily depart of themselves from the fellowship of Gods people, and cut themselves off from the unity of the Body of the Church; thereby ceasing to be members of it, and consequently losing all authority and command they formerly had. For the clearing of this point, wee are to observe, that there are some who runne into errors so directly contrary to all Christianity, and the sense and judgement of all Christians, that by the very proposing thereof, they abandon and drive from them all such as dissent; and are abandoned of all. Secondly, there are some that runne not into errors so directly contrary to the sense and judgement of all Christians as the former, but with such furie, madnesse, and pertinacie, that they utterly reject, forsake, and depart from all such as doe dissent, or are otherwise minded. Thirdly, there are some, who though they be not carried with such violent furie into error, as to condemne, reject, and depart from all that dissent, yet they runne into old heresies formerly condemned, and so by force of the former condemnation, are rejected, and put out of the lap and bosome of the Church. Fourthly, there are some who fall into hereticall and dangerous errors, but neither directly contrary to the common sense of all right beleeving Christians, nor formerly condemned by the consenting voyce of the whole Church of God, nor with such pertinacie, as either to refuse to communicate with them that thinke otherwise, or to seeke to deprive, depose, degrade, or otherwise violently vex and molest them that are under them, for not consenting to them in their error. The three former sorts of men falling into error and heresie, voluntarily cut themselves off from the unity of the Body of the Church, depart from the fellowship of Gods people, and *ipso facto* cease to be members of the Church, and lose all authority and command they formerly had. So that they neede not the Churches censure or sentence to cast them out, departing of themselves: but it sufficeth, that their breaches and divisions from the maine body of the Christian Church, be published and made knowne, that so they may bee avoyded. So

1 Aet. Concl.
Eph. tom. 1.
cap. 19.

k Ibid.

1 August. lib. de
Baptism. c. 18.

ⁱ *Celestinus* in his Epistle to *John of Antioch*, saith, that if any one have beene excommunicated, or deprived by *Nestorius*, or any of his adherents, since the time they first began to publish their impieties, he still continueth in the communion of his Churches, neither doth hee judge him to be removed from his place: and the like hee hath in his ^k Epistle to the Clergie of *Constantinople*. But the fourth sort of men erring, doe not cease to bee members of the Church, nor lose their places by so erring, till both the point of doctrine wherein they are deceived, bee tried and examined, and by lawfull and highest authority be found faulty: and their pertinacie such, as rather to suffer themselves to be rejected, and put from the communion of all that are otherwise minded, than to alter their judgements. ⁱ *Cyprian* fell into an hereticall opinion, that the Baptisme of Hereticks is voyde, and that all that have beene baptized by Hereticks, are to be rebaptized. Yet because this point was not examined and condemned in a generall Councell, nor his pertinacie therein upon such examination and condemnation, found such, as rather to suffer himselfe to be rejected from the communion of all them that thought otherwise, than to give way and alter his judgement, hee was no heretick, neither did he lose his place of ministry in the Church of God. The question therefore is, whether if the Pope fell into such an error, as that of *Cyprian*, by which he doth not actually, and *ipso facto* divide and cut off himselfe, the Church may examine it, and judge him to be rejected, and put from the communion, if he alter not his judgement. If they say it may, then hath the Church power to judge a Pope that is not an Heretick. For he is not an Heretick till after such determination, he chooseth rather to bee rejected from the communion of the faithfull, than to alter his judgement. If it may not judge the Pope so erring, then might the Popes in former times have taught rebaptization with *Cyprian*; the error of the *Chiliasm*, with sundry of the

the Fathers: that all right beleevers, how wickedly soever they live, shall in the end be saved, with some of the Ancient; that the just shall not see God till the resurrection, and the like: and yet the Church have had no power to force them to forsake and condemn such errors, or to cease from perswading and inducing men, both by doctrine and example to erre in like sort. And then we may runne into their error, who think, that though the Pope bee an Heretick, yet hee is neither deposed *ipso facto*, nor may be deposed, but that the Church must acknowledge a devouring wolfe, making havock of the flock of Christ, to be her Pastor; which *Bellarmino* himselfe thinketh to be very absurd. Thus then we see, that all who fall into heresies, doe not cut off themselves from the unity of the body of the Church, nor lose the jurisdiction and authority they formerly had *ipso facto*, as the Papists (to avoyd the deposing of Popes by the authority of the Church) seeme to imagine; but that many doe so fall into heresies, that they goe not out of themselves till they be rejected and cast out. But howsoever our Adversaries must not defend, that Popes falling into heresies are deposed *ipso facto*, for if they doe, they overthrow the whole building and fabrick of Popery. The constant opinion of almost all later Papists is, that howsoever the Pope may personally erre and fall into heresie, or become an Heretick, yet the providence of God over him is such, (because he is Christs Vicar, *Peters* Successour, heire of the Apostles, and head of the universall Church) that hee cannot define or decree any heresie, or prescribe unto all Christians to beleeve amisse. Which conceit cannot stand, but falleth to the ground, and is clearely overthrowne, if the Pope by becomming an heretick, be deposed *ipso facto*. For doubtlesse if the Pope becomming an heretick *ipso facto* cease to be Pope, and to be so much as a member of the Church, then doth not the prayer of Christ for the not failing of *Peters* faith extend to him any longer, neither is hee any longer any way priviledged, by vertue of his succeeding blessed *Peter*, but that he may run into all extremities in most damnable sort, seeke to subvert the faith, to force all to beleeve as he doth, and define and determine that all shall professe the same doctrine of Devils, that himselfe doth; seeing when God forsaketh him, and putteth him out of his protection, the Devill entreth into him as he did into *Judas* the traytor. And how violent and strange the movings of the evill spirit are, we are not ignorant: for *sometimes he casteth them that are possessed by him into the fire and sometimes into the water*: sometimes into one extremitie, and sometimes into another. Wherefore either the Papists must confesse, that the Pope may define for heresie, & then all their religion is overthrowne: or else they must acknowledge, that he is not deposed *ipso facto*, by becomming an heretick, but that he is to be deposed by the authority of the Church, & so make the Church of greater authority than the Pope: and then they are in worse case than before. For then, as the Church by her authority censureth him for heresie, lest he subvert the faith, misse-leade the people of God, and overthrow religion: so she may likewise censure him in other cases for the avoyding of the like danger: Seeing such may be his prodigious and hellish conversation, and his execrable corruption and violence in doing wrong, in perverting justice, in turning judgment into wormwood, in violating all Lawes and Canons, in overthrowing the jurisdiction of all other Bishops, and in making a scorne of all Religion, as may be as hurtfull to the Church as heresie. Now that wee speake not of an impossible or strange thing, or never heard of before, when we speake of monsters, prodigious and hellish monsters, intruding themselves by sinister meanes into the holy chaire of blessed *Peter*, let the Reader peruse the Histories written of the Popes, by their owne friends, and by the lovers of the Church of Rome, which are full of the villanies of this kinde of men, in which nothing is more ordinary, or more often repeated than those honourable titles of most wicked Popes, *Monstra*, *eterrima monstra*: Monsters, most hideous and ugly monsters. Let him cast his eyes upon the 50 Popes mentioned by *Genebrard* (that vassall of the Pope, and sworn enemy of all honest and good men) which are by him acknowledged to have beene monsters, and Apostaticall, rather than Apostolicall: and among them upon that monster of monsters, *John* the twelfth, than whom a viler hell-bound never breathed upon the earth; and who seemed to be a very Devill incarnate.

Wherefore,

m Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 3. Stapleton. Rel. Controv. 3. quæst. 4.

n Marke 2. 22.

o Platina in Ioh. 10. Benedict. 4. Sergio 3. & Christophor. 1. Sigon. de regno Italiae lib. 6. in vita Formosi. Genebrar. Chronol lib. 4. Szculon 1900

De Rom.
Pont. l. 2. c. 26.

Wherefore, let us passe from the case of heresie, to see whether the Pope may not be deposed for other enormous crimes publickly scandalous. The chiefe and principall reason brought by our Adversaries, to prove that he may not be judged of any, whatsoever hee doe, is, because he hath soveraigne authority over all, and is Prince of the whole Church. But this reason (as ¹ *Bellarmino* confesseth) is *Petitio principii*, that is, a grosse begging of that which is in question; and besides, they who bring this prooffe, runne round in a circle, and make themselves giddy by sophistickall circulation. For thus they dispute: The Pope hath an absolute Soveraignty over all, and is Prince of the whole Church, because no man may judge him; and if any man doubt, whether he may be judged or not, they prove full wisely that he may not; because hee hath an absolute soveraignty. Wherefore the Cardinall leaveth the proving of this point by reason, and undertaketh to demonstrate the same by authorities. But they are such as are not much to be esteemed. For either they prove not the point in question, or else they may justly be suspected of forgerie and corruption.

Aug. de unico
Baptismo¹ con-
tra Petilian,
l. 1. c. 16.

The first testimony he alleadgeth, is out of the Councell of *Sinuessæ*, which was called (as it is supposed) by the Clergie of *Rome*, in the time of *Dioclesian* the Emperour, to examine the fact of *Marcellinus*, that had sacrificed unto idols. Of the acts of this Councell, *Binnius* in his Annotations upon the same, in the first Tome of the Councels, saith: That very many of the best learned Divines doe thinke them to be meere counterfeits, and of no esteeme or credit, and that they were but the device of the *Donatists*, seeking to blemish the blessed memory of *Marcellinus*, whom all antiquity much esteemed and honoured. Whereupon Saint ¹ *Augustine* saith, that certaine *Donatists* objected the fall of *Marcellinus* to the Catholicks, but that they could never yet prove any such crime to have beene committed by him, as they charged him with. Howsoever there are many most strong and forcible arguments to prove, that the acts of this Councell are meere forgeries. For first, whereas this Councell is said to have beene holden at *Sinuessæ*, in a certaine vault or cave under the ground, that was named the vault or cave of *Cleopatra*, there is no History, nor no Writer that mentioneth any such cave, nor any man that can tell of any the least memoriall of any such thing. Neither doth that answer satisfie men, that many famous Cities have beene made desolate by Earth-quakes, and many mountaines and plaines have changed both their situation, place, and name. For howsoever they lost their old names, and are called by new, yet their old names remaine still in those ancient Writers, wherein formerly they were; but the name of this cave or vault cannot be found in any ancient Writer whatsoever. Secondly, it is very strange, that in the time of *Dioclesian*, when the persecution was hottest, and the flame of that fire consumed and wasted all that came neere it, three hundred Bishops should bee assembled together, and meete in such a cave, whereinto they could not all enter; and so hide themselves: but onley fifty at a time, leaving the rest abroad to be spied and apprehended: than which, what can bee more unlike? For they are reported to have made choyce of a cave to meete in, that by hiding themselves, they might decline the furie of their bloody enemies, and yet this cave is described to have beene in a Citie, and of so small receipt and narrow compasse, that onley fifty could enter into it at a time. So that 250 were alwaies in open view abroad in the Citie. Thirdly, in the accusation that is brought against *Marcellinus*, it is said, that *Dioclesian* brought him into the Temple of *Vesta* and *Isis*, and that he caused him to sacrifice to *Saturne* and *Iupiter*; whereas it is certaine, that divers Gods and Goddesses among the heathen had their divers Temples, so that they never used to sacrifice to *Iupiter* in the Temple of *Vesta*, or to *Vesta* in the Temple of *Iupiter* or *Mars*. Fourthly, the Author of the *Pontifical* saith, *Marcellinus* did sacrifice, & a few dayes after repenting of that he had done, was martyred. Now how 300 Bishops in so few dayes could bee brought together, I thinke neither the Authours nor the Patrons of these forgeries can easily tell us. These and the like reasons, are brought by Cardinall ¹ *Baronius* and others, who (thinking that to acknowledge that *Marcellinus* did sacrifice to idols, doth more disadvantage their cause, than any thing decreed in it doth helpe it) incline to say, that the acts

f Baron. annal.
Tom. 2 anno
303.

of this Councell are counterfeit, and that all these things were devised by the enemies of the See Apostolick. But others thinking that the fact of this Pope may bee excused, and supposing that the Decree of this Councell, that *the first See is to bee judged of none*, may much helpe their helpelesse cause: and for that otherwise they shall bee driven to discredit it, their *Martyrologies*, and their *Breviaries*, and Pope *Nicholas* the first, who urgeth the saying of these supposed Bishops in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour, admit this Councell as if it were of credit, and urge the authority of it to confirme things questioned betweene them and us; though they bee not able to answer the reasons of the other side, to the satisfaction of any indifferent man: for this is the manner of these Jesuited Papists, to reject or admit nothing otherwise, than as they thinke it may make for them or against them. But to leave them thus striving and contending one with another, and to come to the saying alleadged by *Bellarmino* out of this supposed Councell, it no way maketh for them, but against them, and cannot stand with the grounds of their owne Divinity, unlesse they will be of their opinion, who thinke, that the Church must endure an hereticall Pope, and that he must be still taken to be a Shepheard of the sheepe of Christ, though as a devouring wolfe, he make havock of the flock of Christ. For, is not infidelity as bad as heresie? And did not *Marcellinus* as much endanger the Church of *Rome*, and the Religion of Christians, in making friendship with *Dioclesian*, by sacrificing to his Idols, as *Liberius* did by subscribing to the *Arrians* wicked proceedings against *Athanasius*, and communicating with Hereticks? Was it lawfull for the Clergie of *Rome*, upon the knowledge of *Liberius* his fact to depose him; and might not the same Clergie, assisted with three hundred Bishops, judge and depose *Marcellinus*? But heere wee may see the partiality of these Papist, and that they write without all conscience. For *Bellarmino* being to justifie *Felix* to be a true Pope, who possessed the place while *Liberius* lived, saith, that in his entrance hee was a schismaticke (*Liberius* yet living, and continuing a Catholick Bishop:) but that after the fall of *Liberius*, for which the Church did lawfully depose him, hee was by the same Church admitted and taken for a true Bishop. Yea, though *Liberius* were not in heart an Heretick, but was presumed to bee an Heretick, onely because hee made peace with the *Arrians*, and so was an Heretick in his outward courses and acts, of which men are to judge, and not of the heart. And yet touching *Marcellinus*, hee saith, hee thinketh hee lost not his Popedome, nor might not bee deposed from it for that most execrable externe act of idolatry and infidelity, because it might bee thought, hee did it out of feare. Shall the uncertaine conjecture of the motive that made him doe so vile an act, excuse him from being proceeded against, as an Infidell that doth the works of an Infidell? and shall not the like conjectures stay the proceedings against men as Hereticks, upon their outward concurring with Hereticks in some things? Shall feare excuse *Marcellinus*? and shall not the impatience of *Liberius* (no longer able to endure such intollerable vexations as he was subject to) excuse him? was it not as strongly presumed, that impatience moved the one to doe that hee did, as feare the other? Yes surely much more. For, if wee may beleieve the acts of this feigned Councell, *Marcellinus* was rather won with flattery and faire promises, than forced with terrours, the Emperour seeking to winne him with kindnesse, and not to force him with severity and extremity, being perswaded by *Alexander* and *Romanus*, so to doe. For that if hee could insinuate himselfe into the affection of the Bishop, and assure him unto himselfe, hee might thereby easily gaine the whole Citie. Thus having examined the first testimony produced by the *Romanists*, to prove that the Bishops of the *Roman* See may not be judged, and found it to be of no credit, let us see if the next will be any better.

The next is taken out of the *Roman* Councell under Pope *Sylvester*, consisting of 384 Bishops, wherein wee finde these words: '*Neq, ab Augusto, neque à Regibus, neque ab omni Clero, neque à populo judicabitur prima sedes*: that is, The first See shall not be judged neither by *Augustus*, neither by Kings, neither by the whole Clergie, neither by the people. Before we come to answer this authority, wee must observe, that

Binn. annot.
in Conc. Sinu
ellianum.

De Pont.
l. 5. c. 9.

1b. cap. 8.

Cap. 20.

^a Euseb. de vita
Constantini, l.
1. c. 20, 21, 22,
23, 24, 25, 26.
^b Sozom. lib. 1.
cap. 3.

ⁱ Vide Acta
Sylvestri quæ
extant in epist.
quadam decre-
tali, Tom. 2.
Epist. Pontif.
item Acton. 1.
Concil. Niceni
2. & Baronium
an. 324. num.
32. & Seq. &
Binnium in
notis in vita
Sylvestri.

^c Euseb. lib. 4.
de vita Con-
stantini, cap.
61, 62.

^d Hieronym. in
Chronico.

^e Theodor. hist.
lib. 2. cap. 26.

^f Socrates l. 2.
cap. 29.

^g Sozom. lib. 4.
cap. 17.

^h Euseb. hist.
lib. 10. cap. 5.

^{*} This Council
was holden af-
ter the ending
of the Nicene
Council, & wee
may beleve
the Epilogue
before it.
ⁱ Cap. 1.

that many things are most fondly and fabulously devised and attributed to this *Sylvester*, under whom this imagined *Roman* Councell is supposed to have beene holden. For whereas ^a *Eusebius*, ^a *Zozomen*, and other Historians of credit report, that the conversion of *Constantine* the great, was partly out of those good lessons he had learned of his Father, and partly by a strange apparition of the signe of the Crosse, with an inscription in it; *In hoc vince*, that is, In this overcome, appearing to him in the ayre, when preparing himselfe to the warre against *Maxentius*, he carefully bethought himselfe to what God hee should betake him, and whose helpe among the Gods hee should specially seeke; and partly by a vision of Christ appearing to him: whereupon he sent for the Priests of that God that had so manifested himselfe unto him, and learned of them what God he was. Those fond men ^b that published the feigned acts of *Sylvester*, report, that *Constantine* after many horrible murders of his nearest Kinsmen, and the parricide of his owne sonne *Crispus*, being stricken with leprosie, was wished by the Southsayers, to whom hee sought for counsell and advice, to take the blood of Innocents, and to bathe himselfe in it for the curing of his leprosie; but that discouraged from the effusion thereof, by the piteous cries of their tender Mothers, hee bethought himselfe better, and sought expiation of his grievous crimes, which all other denying to him, for so grievous offences, *Hofius* of *Corduba* told him, that the Christians could purge him, and *Peter* and *Paul* appearing to him, told him, hee must recall *Sylvester* out of his hiding place, whither he was gone for feare, and seeke baptism of him; and that then he should be purged both from the impurity of his soule and body, which accordingly was done, and he recovered. In thankfull requitall whereof hee cast downe the Temples of the false Gods, builded many Christian Churches, and gave to *Sylvester* the Citie of *Rome*, with all *Italy*, and many other Provinces besides, making him temporall Lord of all those places. Whereas it is most certaine, that *Constantine* was not baptized till a little before his death, as it appeareth by ^c *Eusebius*, by ^d *Hierome*, and by the Synodall Epistle of the Councell of *Ariminum*, written to *Constantius*, reported by ^e *Theodoret*, ^f *Socrates*, and ^g *Zozomen*; and as certaine, that *Constantine* was a Christian Emperour, before *Sylvester* was Bishop. For ^h in the dayes of *Melchiades* his predecessour, he tooke notice of the differences among Bishops, in respect of *Cacilianus*, and rested not till hee had composed them; professing, that he so honoured the Catholick Church, that hee could not endure any schisme to be in it. Notwithstanding the same authors of lyes goe forward, and tell us, after the Baptisme of *Constantine* by *Sylvester*, of a Councell holden at *Rome* by the same *Sylvester*, consisting of 284. Bishops, brought thither, and maintained there at the Emperours charges. But there are many things that bewray it to be a more counterfeit. For first, it hath a senselesse title; for it is named another *Roman* Councell under *Sylvester* the first, whereas no man can tell of any besides this. Secondly, it is fronted with a brieft Epilogue in stead of a Preface. Thirdly, there is scarce any sense to be made of any one sentence throughout the whole. Fourthly, it is said to consist of 139 Bishops out of the Citie of *Rome*, or not farre from it, and the rest out of *Greece*; whereas all men know, the Citie of *Rome* had but one Bishop, so that it was senselesse to say, there were in that Councell 139 Bishops out of the Citie of *Rome*, or not farre from it. And besides, all men see, how silly a thing it was to muster so many names of Bishops, without specifying the places whereof they were Bishops. Fifthly, whereas it is said to have consisted of 284 Bishops out of the Citie of *Rome*, and places neere to it, and out of *Greece*, as if it had beene a generall Councell; it is strange that the Histories reporting farre meaner Councils than this, is supposed to have beene, should never make any mention of this, nor the occasion of calling it. Sixtly, whereas the supposed Fathers of this Councell, doe condemne (though in very senselesse manner) certaine unknowne hereticks, it is strange they should make no mention of the *Arrians*, who were famous, and ^{*} at that time troubled all the East. Seventhly, the end why these supposed Fathers met, was ridiculous. For thus it is expressed, *Ut Ecclesia regia non vacilletur, sed sit firma, & claudat ostium propter persecutorem*. Or as other Edition hath it: *Ut Ecclesia regia non vacilletur, sed sit firma, & claudat ostium propter persecutorem*

persecutores. For why should these good men forbid the kingly Churches to prophetic? or why should they feare the shaking or tottering of them? or shut the doore for feare of the persecutor, after *Constantine* was become a Christian, baptized by *Sylvester*, and in requitall of his kindnesse, had given him all the Empire of the Welt? Lastly, whereas the manner of Councells was, that the Bishops sate round in a compasse, the Presbyters sate behind them, and the Deacons stood before them: the Councell of *Carthage* forbiddeth a B. to sit, and suffer a Presbyter to stand: and *Hierome* sheweth, that even in *Rome* the manner was, that Presbyters did sit, and Deacons stand: here it is noted, that none sate but Bishops. These things being observed touching the credit of this Councell, let us come to the Decrees of it, by which the Pope would exempt himselfe from all judgment of men, whatsoever villanies he should chance to commit. Thus then the Decrees of this sacred Synode are passed in favour of the Pope. First it is decreed, *That no Presbyter a die onus Presbyterii* (Latine fitter for Hog-heards than Bishops) shall marry, and that if hee doe, he shall lose his honour for 12. yeares. Secondly, it is ordered thus: *That if any one shall doe against this present hand-writing, hee shall be condemned for ever.* For let no man judge the first See: for neither shall the Judge be judged of *Augustus*, nor of all the Clergie, nor of Kings, nor People. These senselesse Decrees of a feigned and ridiculous Synode, our Adversaries (such is their poverty in this cause) bring forth, as good authorities for the Pope. But I thinke the Reader will not much be moved with them, unlesse it be to pitie those that lived before us, who were abused with such fooleries, and shamelesse forgeries: and to give thanks to God that hath given us meanes to descry the cozening devices of Satans Agents. Neither doth it any thing assure us of the truth of this Councell, that Pope *Nicholas* was content to make use of it in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperor of *Constantinople*, seeing he citeth also in the same Epistle the *Roman Synode* under *Sixtus* the 3^d, in the cause of *Polychronius* B. of *Hierusalem*, whereas yet notwithstanding *Binnus* saith confidently, that every learned man will pronouce the acts of it to be counterfeit, if he attend the names of the Consuls in whose times it is supposed to have beene holden: the name of him that was accused, and other things described in those supposed & pretended acts. To these they adde another authority (as it may seeme) of the same stamp, out of the Councell of *Rome* under *Sixtus* the third, which they endeavour to strengthen with certaine sayings out of a booke of one *Evodius* a Deacon, admitted, and allowed in the fifth Councell under *Symmachus*. The *Roman Councell* under *Sixtus* was called to examine a very foule fact, wherewith *Sixtus* was charged, which was the abusing of one *Chrysogonet*, a professed and consecrated Virgin. In this Councell *Sixtus* presented himselfe, and professed, that it was in his power and choyce either to submit himselfe to the judgment of the Councell, or to refuse it; and yet voluntarily referred his cause to be there heard: whence our Adversaries suppose, they may inferre that all the world may not judge the Pope against his will. The barbarismes, & manifold senselesse absurdities that are found in this Councell, may justly make us suspect it of forgery. But admitting it to have bin a lawfull Synode, no such thing can be concluded out of it, as our Adversaries dreame of. For it was but a *Diocesan Synode*, and there was never a Bishop in it, besides *Sixtus*, whom they went about to judge. And therefore it was not to be marvelled at, if *Sixtus* said, it was in his power and choyce whether he would be judged by the Presbyters and Deacons of his own Church, or not: seeing no Bishop, be he never so meane, may be judged by the Clergie of his own Church, but by the Synode of the Bishops of the Province: and therefore I greatly feare, they will hardly draw a good argument fro hence, to prove, that the Pope may not at all be judged. For I think it will not follow: *Maximus* the Exconsul said, it was not lawfull for those Lay men, & inferior Clergi-men then assembled, to give sentence against the B. of *Rome*; and the B. himselfe protested that he might chuse, whether he would be judged by them or not: therefore the whole Christian world may not judge the Pope. Wherefore, let us come to the sayings of *Evodius*, and see whether they confirme the *Romish conceit* any better: The occasion of the writing of this booke of *Evodius*, was this: *Symmachus* the

Conc. Carth.
4. Canone 34.
Hieron. epist.
85. ad Evagri-
um.

Cap. 19.

Cap. 19. &
20.

Annor. in
acta de Syno-
dali accusat. &
expurg. Poly-
chronii. Tom.
1. Concil.

Tom. 1. Con-
ciliorum.

9 Synod. Ro-
mana 3. sub
Symmacho in
2. tom. Concil.

Bishop of Rome, being charged with certaine grievous crimes, was to bee judged in a Synode called by *Theodoricus* the King, not without his owne consent. To this Councell he was willing to come, and to submit himselfe to the judgement of it; onely he desired restitution of such things as had beene taken from him, till he were convicted: which he could not obtaine, and yet presented himselfe in the Synode. But such was the furie and violence of his enemies pressing in upon him, that he was in very great danger of his life; and therefore after the first time, would come no more to the place where the Bishops sate. Whereupon they, not knowing what to doe (for it was not fit to judge him being absent, and there was no reason to proceed against him as contumacious in refusing to come unto them, seeing his refusall seemed to proceed from just feare of danger) utterly refused and disclaimed the trying of his cause, and the judging of it; moved not a little so to doe, because great multitudes of the people communicated with him, and they had no president of such proceedings against former Bishops. The King somewhat offended herewith, told them, that if they did not discusse the cause, they would give an ill example to all Bishops to live wickedly, and at their pleasure, in hope of impunity; and yet left the matter wholly to them, who did nothing in it, but onely perswaded to unity. Hereupon there grew some distraction among the Clergie and people of Rome, and some thought the Bishops had done ill in leaving the matter unexamined. Upon which occasion one *Evodius* a Deacon, writeth a booke in defence of their proceedings, which they approve in their fifth Synode or meeting, wherein among other things hee hath these words: *Lex probitatis & mentis est, quæ hominem viventem sine lege castigat: propriè moribus impendit qui necessitati non debet disciplinam. Aliorum fortè hominum causas Deus voluit homines terminare, sed sedis istius Prasulis suo sine questione reservavit arbitrio. Voluit beati Petri Apostoli successores cælo tantùm debere innocentiam, & sublimissimi discussoris indagini inviolatam exhibere conscientiam*: That is, The Law of vertue and of the minde keepeth them in awe, who live without any other Law, Hee that is not otherwise inforced to live well, will live orderly for the love of order and good life. Haply God would have the causes of other men ended by men, but the causes of the Bishop of this See hee reserved no doubt to his owne judgement: and his pleasure was, that the successors of blessed *Peter* should be accountable for their good or ill living to heaven only, and present and exhibite their consciences kept inviolable to the examination of the most exquisite examiner. For answer to this allegation wee say, that neither the credit of *Evodius* is so great, that upon his bare word wee should be bound to beleieve him, nor the authority of these Fathers such, that whatsoever they approve and allow, must bee holden for good. Notwithstanding; admitting these sayings to bee true, their owne Canonists and Divines in their Glosses, doe limit and restraîne them with certaine exceptions. For first they say, the case of heresie must bee excepted, there being no question, but that the Pope may be judged and condemned by men, if he become an heretick. Secondly, the case of Penitentiall confession, wherein he yeeldeth himselfe, as in duty bound so to doe, to be judged, directed, and commanded for his soules good, by him to whom he is pleased to reveale the estate of the same. Thirdly, the case of voluntary submission. It is in my power (saith Pope *Sixtus*) to bee judged or not, but let matters bee examined, and the truth found out. And in like sort, *Symmachus* submitted himselfe to bee judged by the Councellof Bishops. Fourthly, the case of incorrigible wickednesse, when the Church is grievously scandalized by the notorious ill life and wickednesse of the Pope, and he is found incorrigible in the same. This case the Glosse excepteth, warranted so to doe by the very light of naturall reason, which teacheth us, that when any member of the Body, after the cutting off whereof, the body may live and continue, infecteth and indangereth the rest, and is incurable, it may, and ought to be cut off. Now though the Pope should in a sort bee acknowledged to have the proportion of the head in the body of the Church, yet is he herein unlike unto a naturall head, for that the body of the Church dyeth not when hee is taken away from it; and therefore to stop the deadly infection of his impiety,

* Vid. Ockam.
dial. l. 6. part. 1.
cap. 62.

impiety, and outrageous wickednesse from spreading it selfe any further, he may be cut off. So that this is the onely difference betweene the Pope and other Bishops, that other may be judged, though they be not incorrigible, but he is not to be judged of any other, without his owne consent and concurrence, when hee may be induced to reforme and correct what is amisse, as being the chiefe of that company that is to judge of ill doers; but if he be incorrigible, hee may be proceeded against, even against his will, as wee see by the example of *John* the twelfth, who being prodigiously wicked, and after many and most earnest admonitions, intreaties and perswasions of the Emperour and others, refusing any way to reforme himselfe, the Emperour called a Councell, and deposed him, and chose another to succcede him; and that this deposition was lawfull and good, it is evident, in that the succeeding Pope was holden to bee a true and lawfull Pope while hee yet lived. But concerning *Gregory* the Pope, *Henry* the third, did rather perswade him to yeeld, and to relinquish his place, than depose him, because he found him tractable.

Sigebert. Anno 963. Otho Frising. l. 6. cap. 23.

Otho Frising. lib. cap. 32.

Two other authorities our Adversaries have yet behinde, to prove that the Pope may not be judged. The first, is out of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, where the Fathers, among many other reasons alleadged why they condemned *Dioscorus*, urge this also as one, that hee was so farre from repenting of his manifold evill doings, that he railed against the Apostolick See, sought to excommunicate blessed *Leo*, and persisting in his wickednesse, was wilfull against the whole Councell, and refused to answer to such things as he was charged with. How it will be inferred from hence that the Pope may not be judged by a generall Councell, I see not. For though it be true, that the inferiours may not judge the greater and superiour; and that therefore *John* of *Antioch* was condemned for judging *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *Dioscorus* for judging *Leo*, yet it is no way consequent, that either *Cyril* or *Leo* were free from all judgement, or that they might not be judged by a generall Councell, whatsoever they should doe. The other authority is out of the *Roman* Councell under *Adrian* the second, whose words recited in the eighth generall Councell are these: We reade that the *Roman* Bishops have judged the Bishops of all Churches, but that any one hath judged them, wee doe not reade. For the better understanding and clearing whereof, we must observe, first that the person of the Bishop of *Rome* alone is not meant, when he is said to have judged the Bishops of all Churches; but he must be understood to have judged them with his Synode, and the Bishops subject to him, as Patriarch of the West. For otherwise he might not, nor did not judge any Bishop of himselfe alone. 2^d, That being Bishop of the first See, hee, with his associates, might judge any other Bishop or Patriarch, but no particular Patriarch with his Bishops might judge him and his, because there is no particular person, or company of men greater than he and his, being chiefe Patriarch of the world: but that both he and his may be judged by a generall Councell, it appeareth by the eighth generall Councell, wherein the words now urged, are recited. For that Councell taketh order, that all the Patriarchs shall be honoured and respected, and especially the Bishop of *Rome*, and forbiddeth any man to compose any Billes or writings against him, under pretence of some crimes, wherewith they will charge him, as *Dioscorus* did: but that if there be a generall Councell, and any question be moved touching the *Roman* Church, they may in reverent and due sort determine the same, though they may not proceede contemptuously against the *Roman* Bishop. And so first, the Councell of *Nice* gave Lawes, as to the other two Patriarches, so likewise to the Bishop of *Rome*, and included him within his owne bounds and limits. Secondly, the Councell of *Chalcedon* made the Bishop of *Constantinople* a Patriarch, and the Bishop of *Rome* Peere, notwithstanding the resistance of those that were there present on the behalfe of *Leo*, then Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Bishops of the West. And this decree in the end prevailed, so that after much contradiction, and long continued opposition, the Bishops of *Rome* were forced to yeeld unto it. Thirdly, generall Councils reexamined and judged againe things judged by the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops, as the Councell of *Chalcedon* reexamined the judgement of *Leo* against *Dioscorus*, and for *Theodorct*. And the sixth generall Councell, the judgement

Action. 3. ep. ad Martian & Valentinianum.

Actione 7.

Vid Ockam, Dialog lib. 6. part. 1 cap. 1.

Canone 21.

Canone 6.

Actione 16.

Cusan, Concord cathol. l. 2. cap. 17.

d August epist.
162.

e Gregor. lib. 4.
epist. 38.

f Canone 3.
& 17.

g Vt patet in
Concilio Car-
thag. 6.

h Actione 16.

i Ca. 16. & 17.

k Actione 16.

l Canone 17.

* This Councell

of Chalcedon

speakesh only of

the Patriarch

of Constanti-

nople in that

restraint, but

making him

equall with the

Bishop of Rome

by the same Ca-

non, restraineth

the one as much

as the other.

m Synod. gene-

ral. 6. action. 1.

ment of Pope *Martine*, with his Synodes against *Pyrrhus*, and *Sergius*: and the eighth, the judgements of *Nicholas* and *Adrian* against *Photius*. ^a *Augustine* speaking of the sentence of the 70. Bishops against *Cacilianus*, retracted and reversed by *Melchides* Bishop of *Rome* and his colleagues (whom upon the suites of the *Donatists*, *Constantine* appointed to heare the matter) saith, they therefore appealed to the judgements of the Bishops beyond the Seas, that if by any falsehood and slanders they could prevaile, they might gaine the cause: if not, they might say (as all men that have ill causes are wont to doe) that they met with bad Iudges. But (saith hee) let us grant that those Bishops that judged the matter at *Rome*, were not good Iudges; yet there remained a generall Councell of the whole Church for them to flye unto, where the matter might anew have beene handled with the former Iudges; that their sentences might bee reversed, if they should have beene convinced to have judged ill. Which thing if they did, let them make it appeare unto us. Wee prove they did not, because all the world communicated with *Cacilianus*, and not with *Donatus* and his adherents. So that either they never brought the matter to be scanned in a generall Councell, or else they were therein condemned also. Heere wee see hee clearly acknowledgeth the generall Councell to have power to reexamine and reverse the judgement of the Bishop of *Rome* and his colleagues. Saint ^e *Gregory* likewise acknowledgeth the universall Church to be greater than hee and his. For, professing to follow the direction of Christ (in the matter betweene him and the Bishop of *Constantinople*) who willeth us, if our brother offend against us, to goe and admonish him betweene him and us; and if then hee heare us not, to take two or three with us, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand: and if hee heare not them, then to tell the Church, he saith, that hee had first sent to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and by his messengers admonished him in all gentle and loving sort; and that now he writeth unto him, omitting nothing that in all humility he ought to doe: but that seeing he is thus despised, there remaineth nothing, but that hee use the helpe of the Church, for the repressing of the insolencie of this man, so prejudiciall to the State of the whole Church. Fourthly, generall Councells have by their decrees ordained many things concerning the See of *Rome*, either enlarging or limiting the power of it, and the exercise of the same, as it seemed good unto them: as we see in the Councell of ^f *Sardica*. *Hosius* with the Bishops there assembled, resolved in the honour of the memory of *Peter*, to make a Decree, that Bishops condemned by the Bishops of their owne Provinces, might appeale to the Bishop of *Rome*: and that it might be lawfull for him upon such appeale, to write to the Bishops of the next Province to reexamine the matter againe: And if he pleased to send some from himselfe to sit with them in joynt commission. Neither did the Bishops of *Rome*, ^g *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Celestinus*, urge the Law of Christ, or the right of Saint *Peter*, to iustifie their claime of receiving appeales out of *Africa*, but the Decrees of the *Nicene* Councell. And this is farther confirmed, in that the Bishops in the Councell of ^h *Chalcedon* say, the Fathers gave the preheminance to the Bishop of *Rome* in ancient times, because it was the seat of the Empire: and that therefore now, they would give the like to *Constantinople*, now become the seate of the Empire, and named new *Rome*. And as generall Councells gave preheminences to the *Roman* Bishops, so also they restrained and limited them in the use of their jurisdiction, when they saw them to encroach too much: as the Councell of ⁱ *Sardica* tooke order, that they should not meddle with the causes of Presbyters and inferiour Clergy-men upon any appeale, but leave them to their owne Bishops, and the Synodes of the Provinces, and in the case of Bishops appealing, not to reverse the acts of the Synode of any Province without another Synode of the Bishops of the next Province. And the Councells of ^k *Chalcedon*, and *Constantinople* the ^l eighth decreed, that the Bishop of ^m *Rome*, and the other Patriarches shall confirme the Metropolitanes subject unto them, by sending the Pall, or by imposition of hands, but shall not intermeddle in the ordination of Bishops. Fifthly, it appeareth that the *Roman* Bishops; are inferiour to the whole Church. First, in that their Legates ⁿ rise up when they speake

in generall Councils. And secondly, in that in the Council of *Ephesus*, when they with others were sent by the Councell to the Emperour, they were willed precisely to follow the directions and instructions given them. For that if they did not, all their proceedings should bee voyded, and they rejected from the communion of the rest. Sixthly, in that the sixth generall Councell particularly giveth Lawes to the Church of *Rome*. For in the thirteenth Canon it reprehendeth the *Roman* Church, because it forbiddeth Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons, to live in matrimoniall society with their wives, and commandeth it to leave them to their owne liberty in this behalfe. And in the 55. Canon it reprehendeth the same *Roman* Church for fasting, on Saturdayes in *Lent*, and forbiddeth the continuing of that observation any longer. Seventhly, the Pope is but a Bishop, as appeareth in that hee is ordained by Bishops, and in that *Dionysius* acknowledgeth no higher dignity in the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, than that of a Bishop. Now all Bishops, as Bishops, are equall. For howsoever Metropolitans in Provinces, and Primates, or Patriarches in their larger circuites, are in all common busineses to be first sought unto, that actions of that nature may take beginning from them; yet have they no voyce neither affirmative nor negative, in determining or concluding things otherwise than as the major part of those Bishops among which they are in order first, shall sway them; and therefore they have not a more ample jurisdiction than other Bishops, but in the administration and exercise of the power of jurisdiction common to them and other, they have the first place, and are in honour before others. Wherefore seeing the Pope hath not any dignity or ordination Ecclesiasticall, greater than that of a Bishop, and all Bishops by Gods Law are equall in the power of jurisdiction, howsoever in the execution and exercise thereof, some be before other, there is no question to be made, but that the Pope is subject to some censure and judgement. Eightly, the Pope being a Bishop, and the Councils making lawes generally to binde Bishops, it is not to be doubted, but that the same Lawes and Canons doe binde him. Now many of those Lawes and Canons doe deprive them that shall offend against them, *ipso facto*, and other make them depriveable. Therefore hee is subject to censure and judgement. To this our Adversaries answer, That the Lawes and Canons of generall Councils doe not extend to the Pope, but only to such as are subject to them, as inferiour Bishops, and such as are below the condition of Bishops. But this answer is easily refuted, because the Popes anciently at the time of their admission, did by a solemne profession binde themselves to the observation of the Decrees of generall Councils, in as precise and strict sort as any other Bishops. The forme of their profession was this: *Sancta octo universalis Concilia usque ad nunc apicem immutata servare, & pari honore, & veneratione digna habere, & que predicaverunt, & statuerunt, modis omnibus sequi & predicare, quaque condemnaverunt, ore & corde condemnare profiteor*: that is, I professe to keepe inviolable the sacred eight generall Councils, even to the uttermost title and jota, and to esteeme them worthy of equall honour and reverence, and by all meanes to follow and publish those things which they published and decreed; and to condemne with mouth and heart whatsoever things they condemned. But they will say perhaps, the Pope is in such sort bound to keepe the Lawes of the Church; and the Canons of generall Councils, that hee offendeth God, and shall be punished by him if hee keepe them not. But that no man hath power to punish him for the not keeping of them, or to force him to keepe them. And that therefore though hee neglect his owne salvation, and the salvation of his brethren; yea, though he draw innumerable multitudes with him into hell, there to perish everlastingly with the Devill and his Angels, yet no Councell, nor company of mortall men upon earth may presume to censure him, unlesse he erre from the faith, because he being to judge all, must be judged of none. This answer will be found very insufficient and weake; for seeing (as it is before proved) all Bishops are equall in the power of jurisdiction, one hath no more power to make lawes than another, neither can any one actively binde other to the observation of any thing more than any other may binde him. And therefore if other Bishops cannot bind the Pope by their lawes, he cannot bind them by his, and so by this meanes

Act concil.
Eph. tom. 4.
cap. 19.

Cusan. Conc.
cath. l. 2. c. 13.

Bell. de Rom.
Pont. l. 2. c. 27.

Ex diurno
libro dist. 16.
cap. 4.

Bell. ubi su-
pra. Quoad di-
rectionem, non
quoad coactionem.
f. Dicitur Bo-
nifacii dist. 4.
Si Papa.

¹ Cyp. in conc.
Carthag. & lib.
² ep. 1.

all shall be left free to doe what they will. For it is true of all Bishops that ¹ Cyprian speaketh of himselfe, and the *Roman* Bishop, that none of them severally hath power to judge other, but they are accountant onely to God; yet is every Bishop subject to the companies of Bishops, whereof he is but a part; and if any one having none other dignity or ordination but that of a Bishop, may exempt himselfe from being subject to the Synodes of Bishops, every one may, and so all shall be set loose and at liberty to doe what they list. But here perhaps some man will say, that Metropolitans cannot be judged by the Bishops of the Provinces; as being in a sort heads of those companies of Bishops, but by greater Synodes: therefore the *Roman* Bishop, being Primate of the chiefe part of the Christian world, as Patriarch of the West; and President of a generall Councell, as being the first among the Patriarches, is not to be judged at all, there being no greater company of Bishops to judge him, than those of which hee is in a sort head and President. For answer whereunto, first wee say, that the Bishops of the Provinces may judge the Metropolitans in all those cases, wherein their places are made voide, and they put from all Ecclesiasticall honour, *ipso facto*, by force of the Canon it selfe, that is, they may declare, that they are by the sentence of them that made the Canon, voyded out of their places, and consequently, the Bishops of the West subject to the Pope, as their Primate or Patriarch may judge him, that is, declare and pronounce, that hee is deposed by the sentence of the Canon, in all such cases, wherein Bishops are deposed, *ipso facto*. Secondly, we say, that though ordinary Bishops may not be deposed without consulting with the Metropolitan, nor the Metropolitan without consulting with the Patriarch, nor the Patriarch of a meaner See, without consulting with them of greater and superiour Sees, because still there is an higher to whom to goe: yet hee that is the first, and in order before all other, if by no other meanes hee may be induced to reforme himselfe, or voluntarily to relinquish his place, (if his offence so require) may, in case of grievous and scandalous wickednesse, wherein he is found incorrigible, be deposed by them that are in a sort inferiour to him. Neither neede this to seeme strange in the deposition of Bishops, seeing the same falleth out in their Ordinations. For ordinary Bishops may not be ordained without the Metropolitans, who are in order and honour greater than they, nor Metropolitans without the Patriarches, from whom they are to receive imposition of hands, or confirmation by a Pall sent unto them. But the Patriarches are ordained by their owne Bishops, and have no imposition of hands of any that are greater than themselves; nor other confirmation than that which the meanest is to give to the greatest, as well as the greatest to the meanest. But some man will say, is there then no difference betweene him that is the first among Bishops, and them that are of an inferiour condition? Is he no more exempted from judgement than they? surely no; yet, as some thinke, there is some difference betweene him and them, because they may be judged, though not incorrigible; but he as being in order and honour the first, is not to be judged, if by any other meanes he may be induced to reforme himselfe, or voluntarily to relinquish his place, if his fault so require. And that in this case, as well as for heresie, the Pope may be deposed, we have many of the best learned Papists consenting with us: as ¹ Ockam, ² Cusanus, ³ Cameracensis, ⁴ Gerson, ⁵ Almaine, the Bishops and Divines in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basill*, ⁶ Driedo; and in a word, all those that thinke the Councell to be of greater authority than the Pope.

¹ Ockam. Dial. 1. 6. part. 1. cap. 62.
² Cusan. concord. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 17.
³ Gers. de auferibilitate Papae, confid. 16.
⁴ Almain.
⁵ Dried. de dogmatib. extra can. script. sac. constit. l. 4. c. 4.

CHAP. 41.

Of the Titles given to the Pope, and the insufficiencie of the proofes of his illimited power and Jurisdiction taken from them.

Seeing the universality of the Popes power and jurisdiction cannot bee proved, from any exemption hee hath from being judged; let us proceede to consider the next prooffe taken from the names and titles given to him, which is more weake than any other. For wee shall finde, that other Bishops in ancient times,

writing

writing to the *Roman* Bishop, sometimes call him Brother, sometimes Fellow-bishop and colleague, sometimes Bishop, sometimes Archbishop, sometimes Patriarch; but that they never gave him any title whence he may be proved to have an universality of illimited jurisdiction over all.

The first Title that our Adversaries^a urge, is that of *Pope*, which (as I thinke) will hardly prove the *Roman* Bishop to have power over all. For whereas *Papa* or *Pap*^a among the *Greekes*, signifieth a Father, and is the appellation that little children beginning to speake are wont to give to their parents; and in like sort among the *Latines* noteth a Father or Grandfather; hence the Christians in ancient times, did use to call their spirituall Fathers and Bishops *Papes* or *Popes*. So that the name of *Pape* or *Pope* was a common name to all Bishops. Whereupon ^b *Hierome* writing to *Augustine*, calleth him *Pope*, and writeth, *To the most honourable Pope*; whereas yet hee was not universall Bishop, but Bishop of little *Hippo* onely: and therefore the name of *Pope* doth no way prove every one that is so called, to be universall Bishop. But they say, the Bishop of *Rome* is named absolutely *Pope*, and none other Bishop, and that whensoever the name of *Pope* was used absolutely without addition, all men understood thereby the *Roman* Bishop to be meant. Whence it may be inferred, that he was greater than all the rest, as being esteemed a common Father of all. But for answer hereunto wee say, that the *Roman* Bishop was never in ancient times named absolutely the *Pape* or *Pope*, without specification of his name, or the place whereof hee was *Pope*, but when by some other circumstance it might be knowne, what *Pape* or *Pope* it was men speake of, accordingly as men are wont to say no more, but, the Bishop did this or that, when by things going before, it may be knowne what Bishop they meane; and so the Vicars of *Leo* in the Councell of *Chalcedon* said: The most blessed and Apostolick man the *Pope* gave them such directions, as they there specify, without adding of *Rome*, or the name of *Leo*, because all men knew, from what *Pope* they came, and whose Vicegerents they were in that Councell. For otherwise without some circumstances specifying the party, men would never have understood whom they had meant, if they had only named the *Pope* indefinitely. But the same Vicars of *Leo*, in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, call him *Pope* of the universall Church; Therefore, saith *Bellarmino*, wee may conclude him to be supream and absolute Commander over all, out of the titles given unto him. If the Cardinall would but remember, that every Bishop is interested in the care and government of the whole Church (as I have else-where shewed out of ^c *Cyprian*) hee would easily finde the weaknesse of this consequence.

Wherefore, let us passe from the title of *Pope* to the next, which is *Pater Patrum*, that is, Father of Fathers, which *Bellarmino* saith is given to the *Roman* Bishop, and to none else; whereas yet he knoweth the contrary to be most true. For the relation made to *John* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, by the whole Synode assembled, beginneth in this sort: *Domino nostro sanctissimo, & beatissimo Patri Patrum, & Oecumenico Patriarcha, Synodus, &c.* Where we see that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* is called by a whole Synode, most holy Lord, most blessed Father of Fathers, and Oecumenicall Patriarch. And the ^d Epistle of the Bishops of the second *Syria*, to the same *John* the Patriarch, beginneth thus: *To our most holy Lord, and to the most blessed Father of Fathers, Oecumenicall Archbishop and Patriarch.* So that the Title of Father of Fathers is not proper to the *Roman* Bishop, as *Bellarmino* untruly affirmeth. The title of *summus Sacerdos*, or High Priest, given to him by Saint *Hierome*, is common to all Bishops, in respect of Presbyters, and all Metropolitans, in respect of Bishops, (although the third Councell of ^e *Carthage*, to shew that Metropolitans have not an absolute command, will not have them called High Priests, or chiefe Priests, but onely Bishops of the first See) and therefore though the *Pope* should bee named, most holy Father, chiefeest *Pope*, chiefe of Priests, or high Priest, yet nothing could be concluded from hence, that either we deny, or they affirme.

The title of *Vicar of Christ* is new, and not found in all Antiquity, the first in whom we reade it being ^f *Bernard*; and therefore not much to bee stood on, seeing the An-

^a Bel. de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 31.

^b Hier. in omnib. Epist. ad Augustinum.

^c Aetione 16.

^d Vbi supra.

^e Cyp. lib. 3. epist. 13.

^f Relat. Conc. sub Menna, act. 5.

^g Ibidem. idem habetur in Supplicat. Cleric. & Monachor.

^h Antioch. ad Ioan. Patriarch. & Synod. Congregatam, Ibid.

ⁱ Hier. in pref. Evang. ad Damasum.

^j Canone 16.

^k Bern. lib. 2. de Confid.

cient

1 Actions 1.

Greg. lib. 4.
ep. 38.

Conc. Flor.
Sess. ult.
Conc. Lugd.
cap. Ubi peri-
culum de ele-
ctione in 6.
Epist. 237.
Gerson de
auferibilitate
Papæ.

Aug ep. 106.

Epist. 162.

Chap. 3.

cient make all Bishops the Vicars of Christ, and doe never appropriate it unto the Bishop of Rome. Yet will not *Bernards* appropriating of it prove the thing in question, seeing hee may bee thought to have had an eye in so doing, to the chieftie of order and honour, (in respect whereof, he is in more speciall sort a Vicar of Christ, than some other) rather than to any universality of commission and authority. Head of the Church the Pope is never called among the Ancient, though the Cardinall be pleased untruely so to report. But the Bishops assembled in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, writing to *Leo*, who by Vicars was President of that assembly, say, hee was over them, as the head over the members, not in respect of absolute commanding authority, but of honourable presidencie onely, as it appeareth in that (notwithstanding the resistance of his Vicegerents) they passed a decree for the advancement of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. For otherwise Saint *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* alloweth no man to be called Head of the Church. *Petrus* (saith hee) *primum membrum sanctæ & universalis Ecclesiæ est*: *Paulus, Andreas, Jacobus, quid aliud quam singularum plebium sunt capita? omnes tamen sub uno capite membra Ecclesiæ sunt*: that is, *Peter* is the first, and in honour the chieftie member of the holy and universall Church; *Paul, Andrew, James*, what other thing are they, than heads of severall parts of Gods people? Yet so, that all notwithstanding are members of the Church under one Head. So that a Head of the Church, besides Christ, must not be acknowledged, because no one hath an universall commanding power over all, but hee onely: Yet in a certaine sense the *Roman* Church is named the Head of all Churches; that is, the first and chieftie of all Churches, as the Citie of *London* may be named the Head of all Cities in this State and Kingdome, though it hath not a commanding authority over them, neither is the chieftie Magistrate thereof head over all other Magistrates in the Kingdome. The authority of the *Florentine* Councell, naming the Bishop of *Rome*, *Father and teacher of all Christians*, and the Councell of *Lyons* naming him *the bridegroom of the Church*, is not so great, that wee should neede much to insist upon any thing that is alleged out of them. And touching the later title, we know *Saint Bernard* in his Epistles, wisheth the Pope not to take it on him, as being proper to Christ, but to think it honour enough to bee a friend of the Bridegroom. And yet if we should yeeld it unto him, wee know what *Gerson* hath written, to shew how this Bridegroom may be taken away from the Church the Spouse of Christ, and yet the Church remaine entire and perfect.

The next glorious title of the *Roman* Bishop, is Bishop of an Apostolick See. But this is common to him with many others, as some of the rest also are: For, as not onely the *Roman* Church, but the Churches of *Ephesus*, *Antioch*, *Hierusalem*, and *Alexandria*, which the Apostles founded, and in which they sate as Bishops, are named Apostolick Churches, so the Bishops of all these are named Bishops of Apostolick Sees. Neither doe men know which of the Apostolick Churches is expressed by the name of the Apostolick Sees, or which of the Bishops by the name of the Bishop of the Apostolick See, unlesse by some circumstance the same be specified. As when *Augustine* said, there were relations made from the Councell of *Carthage* and *Milevis* to the Apostolick See: all men understood what Apostolick See hee meant, because it was knowne to what Apostolick Church they used to make such relations. Neither doth the principality of the Apostolick chaire, which *Augustine* affirmeth to have ever flourished in *Rome*, argue the supreamacie of the Pope, seeing the principality or chieftie of the Apostolick chaire, mentioned by Saint *Augustine*, may seeme to import the chieftie that the Apostolick chaire hath above those that are not Apostolick, or in which blessed *Peter* the chieftie of the Apostles did not sit. For though the chaires of the Apostles were in divers places, yet *Peters* chaire was esteemed the principall of all the rest, which being the See and chaire of one, yet was in three places, and three Bishops did sit in it: Namely the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, as I have shewed before out of *Gregory*; yet was the principality, or chieftie of this chaire of *Peter* more specially in *Rome* than in the other places, and the Bishop of *Rome* in order and honour the first and greatest of the three.

The

The last title brought to prove the supremacie of the Pope, is that of *Universall Bishop*, which though it be not given to *Leo Bishop of Rome*, by the whole Councell of *Chalcedon*: yet is it given to him in the Epistles of three severall *Grecians*, writing to him, as wee may reade in the third action of that Councell: and Saint *Gregorie* saith, it was offered to his predecessours in that Councell, and that they refused it. This title will prove the supremacie of the Pope no better than the rest, being common unto other with him, and therefore no way arguing any thing peculiarly found in him alone. For wee shall finde, that the *Bishops of Constantinople* are named universall Bishops, and Oecumenicall Patriarches, as well as the Bishop of *Rome*, and that not by one or two particular men, but by whole Councells, by Emperours, and Popes: and though Saint *Gregorie* justly disliked this name or title, as profane and prejudiciall to the dignity of all other Bishops and Patriarches, when it importeth an universality of jurisdiction, and generall commanding authority over all, yet might any one of the Patriarches be named an universall Bishop, as being one of those five principall Bishops, to whom all the Bishops and Metropolitans in the world were subject.

Concil. Chal. actione 3. Greg. lib. 4. ep. 32.

Adrian. ad Tarasium 7. Syn. actione 2. epist. Praeful. Orient. ad eundem, action. 3.

C H A P. 42.

Of the second supposed priviledge of the Roman Bishops, which is infallibility of judgement,

Being our Adversaries cannot prove the universall and illimited power and jurisdiction of their Popes, but the contrary is most clearely depose by those witnesses which they produce to speake for them, affirmed by those Divines, whom they cannot but acknowledge to be Catholick, and inferred out of their owne principles; let us proceed to see whether they have any better proofes of the infallibility of their judgement, which is the next supposed priviledge of the *Roman Bishops*. Touching this point, I finde foure opinions in the Church of *Rome*. The first is: that the Pope is so led into all truth, that he cannot erre in such sort as to become an Heretick. And of this opinion was *Albertus Pighius*. The second leaveth it doubtfull, whether he may be an Heretick or not, but pronounceth confidently that whether hee may or not, yet hee cannot define and decree any thing that is hereticall. And this is the opinion of almost all *Papists* at this day. The third, that the Pope not onely as a particular Doctour, but even as Pope, may bee an Heretick, and teach heresie, if hee define without a generall Councell. This was the opinion of *Gerson*, *Almayne*, and other *Parisians*; of *Alfonso à castro*, Pope *Adrian* the sixth, *Cardinall Cameracensis*, *Cusanus*, *Occam*, *Durandus*, the Fathers of the Councells of *Constance*, and *Basil*, and many more. The fourth, that hee may erre and define for heresie, though he be assisted with a generall Councell. Of this opinion was *Wal. densis*, and sundry other, as appeareth by *Picus Mirandula* in his *Theorems*. So that it is not true, that *Bellarmino* saith, that all Catholicks consent, that the Pope with a generall Councell cannot erre. For these teach, that onely the resolutions of the universall Church (which is the multitude of beleivers that are and have beene) are to be received without any further question or examination, as undoubtedly true. These are the differences of opinions found among them that bragge so much of unity, and make the ground thereof to be the submitting of their judgements to the Pope. But because in so great uncertainty and contrariety of judgements, almost all *Papists* at this day encline to that opinion, that the Pope, whether he may erre personally or not, yet cannot define for falshood and erre; let us first see, how they endeavour to confirme the same: and secondly, how they can cleare those Popes from heresie, and decreeing for heresie, that are charged therewith.

Hierarch Eccl. l. 4. c. 8.

Bellar. l. 4. de Pont. cap. 3.

Cajetan in opusc. de potest. Papæ & conc.

Citat. à Bell. l. 4. de Pontif. cap. 2. & à Stapletono contr. 3. q. 4.

Doctrinal. fidei, l. 2. art. 2. cap. 19.

Theorem. 4. f Vbi suprâ.

Bellarmino de Pontif. l. 2. c. 3.

Luke 22.

To prove that the Pope cannot decree for heresie, they alleadge in the first place the saying of Christ, who professeth, that he prayed for *Peter*, that his faith should not faile; and lest we should mis-understand the words of Christ, they bring us the interpretations

i August. lib. de
 corrept. & gra-
 tia cap. 8.

& Chrysost. ho-
 mil. 83. in Mar-
 thzum.

i Theophyl. in
 cap. 22. Lucæ.

interpretations of *Augustine, Chrysostome, and Theophylact*: whereof the first saith, *That when Christ prayed, that Peters faith might not faile, he prayed that hee might have a most free, couragious, invincible, and resolute will, to continue in the true faith.* The second, that *Christ did not say to Peter, Thou shalt not deny me; but I have prayed, that thy faith shall not faile. For by his care and favour it was brought to passe, that Peters faith should not faile, though for feare hee denied his Master.* The third bringeth in Christ speaking to Peter in this sort: *Although for a little time thou shalt be shaken, thou hast notwithstanding the seedes of faith hid in thee; although the winde and violent blast of him that setteth on thee, shall shake off the leaves, yet the roote shall live, and thy faith shall not faile.* So that all these so understand the prayer of Christ for Peter, as that he should not onely rise againe after his fall, and be found faithfull in the end, but that he should never fall in respect of the perswasion of faith that was to rest immoveably in him, even in that most dangerous time of the temptation and triall of the Apostles, when Christ was delivered into the hands of wicked men to be crucified. For howsoever he denied Christ with bitter imprecations, yet he did it out of feare, and not out of infidelity, the perswasion of his heart remaining the same that it was before. Wherefore having the words of Christ, and the meaning of them, let us see whether the opinion which our Adversaries have of the Pope his infallible discerning and constant defending of the trueth, may be confirmed out of them. If they could prove the contrary to that which was found in Peter to bee found in the Pope by vertue of Christs prayer for Peter, they might easily make good their opinion. But otherwise never out of these words. For thus they must reason, if they will confirme the conceit they have of the infallibility of the Popes judgement, by Christs prayer for Peter. Peters faith by vertue of Christs prayer for him, remained firme, immoveable, and most constantly settled in inward perswasion and affection, though it failed for a little time in outward profession: Therefore howsoever the faith of the Pope may faile in respect of the perswasion of his heart, yet it shall never faile in respect of outward profession. For though hee become an heretick in heart, yet hee shall ever profess rightly concerning Christ, to all men that shall come unto him, to enquire of him, and to bee resolved by him. This kinde of reasoning, I thinke, is not very forcible, and therefore it is much to be doubted, that the *Romanists* will never be able to perswade men that the Pope cannot erre, by vertue of Christs prayer for Peter: Nay, that no such thing can be proved out of Christs words unto Peter, it is most plaine and evident, because the words that Christ spake unto Peter, when hee said unto him, *I have prayed for thee that thy faith faile not, and, when thou art converted, confirme thy brethren,* are no way appliable to Peters successours. For that if they were, first they must ever bee right beleevers in heart, notwithstanding whatsoever failings in outward confession. Secondly, they must deny Christ as he did, and afterwards repent of such deniall, and convert and turne unto God, that so they may confirme their brethren. For so it was in Peter. And *Theophylact* doth not attribute the confirmation of the brethren by Peter, which hee is commanded to performe, to his constancie in the true faith, and in the profession of it; but to the experience that hee had of the tender mercie and goodnesse of God towards him. Out of which hee was able to strengthen them that were weake, to comfort them that were sorrowfull, to put them in assured hope of finding mercie, that otherwise might despaire, and to confirme them that were doubtfull. For who will not (as the same *Theophylact* fitly observeth) bee confirmed by Peter in the right perswasion of the mercies and goodnesse of God towards repentant sinners, when he seeth him whom Christ had so much honoured, after so shamefull a fault, and so execrable a fact of the abnegation of his Lord and Master, the Lord of life, not onely received to mercie, but restored to the dignity of the prime and chiefe Apostle? To this objection (as we thinke) unanswerable, *Bel-larmine* answereth, first, that it is not absurd to referre the conversion of Peter, mentioned by Christ, after which he is to confirme his brethren, not to his turning from sinne, but to his brethren, to advise, admonish, and direct them; not making the sense to bee, thou being turned from sinne by repentance, confirme thy brethren, but thou

in Luc. 22. 32.

In hunc locum.

De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 3.

thou whose faith shall never faile, when thou seest any of thy brethren wavering, turne thy selfe unto them, and confirme them. Secondly, that it followeth not, that the successours of *Peter* must first fall, and after repent of their fall, if the words of Christ bee applied unto them, of confirming the brethren; seeing *Peters* fall was personall, but his confirming of his brethren is of office, wherein they are to succcede him, and not in the things that are personall. This answer of the Cardinall is insufficient. First, because the current of almost all Interpreters understandeth the conversion of *Peter* mentioned by our Saviour, of his turning from sinne, and not of his turning of himselfe to them, whom hee was to advise, comfort, and confirme. And secondly, because in this his answer hee contrarieth himselfe. For^e else-where (which it seemeth in making this answer he had forgotten) he denieth that the words of Christ directed to *Peter*, of confirming his brethren, may be understood of the universall Church, or the Bishops of it, and saith; *Hoc certè non potest Ecclesia toti convenire, nisi dicamus totam Ecclesiam aliquando esse pervertendam, ut postea iterum convertatur*: that is, This saying of Christ cannot agree to the whole Church, unlessse we say, the whole Church shall at somtime be perverted, that afterwards it may be converted. Whereby it is cleare he thinketh, that the later part of Christs speech, of confirming the brethren, can agree to none, to whom the former doth not. So that wee see, the words of Christ spoken to *Peter*, are no sufficient warrant unto us that the Pope cannot erre, and therefore the better to perswade us of the same, our Adversarits bring the sayings of some great Divines, who conceived, that some such thing may be inferred out of the words as they dreame of; as¹ *Lucius*, *Felix*, and *Marke*, ancient Bishops of *Rome*, and great Lights of the world in their times. If they could indeede bring us the judgement and resolution of these ancient Bishops, they would doubtlesse greatly prevaile with us. But seeing under these names they bring forth unto us the Authours of shamelesse forgeries, wee are thereby induced more to dislike their conceits than before. Now that they (who masked under the names and titles of ancient *Roman* Bishops, magnifie the greatnesse of the *Roman* Church, and pleade for the not erring of the Bishops thereof) are nothing else but ignorant authors of absurd and shamelesse forgeries, it will easily appeare out of that which I have^e else-where largely discoursed, to shew, that the Epistles attributed to the ancient Popes, are forged and counterfeited; not onely by the judgements and opinions of the best learned on both sides, so censuring them, but by many reasons inducing us so to thinke: among which one is, the likenesse of the stile found in these Epistles, arguing, that they came all out of the same mint, and were not written by those different Popes, living at divers times, to whom they are attributed. Which similitude of stile will bee found in these Epistles that our Adversaries alleadge to prove, that the Pope cannot erre, as much or more than in any other. For in these wee shall finde the very same words. The agreeing of witnesses in the same substance of matter with some difference of words, argueth, that they speake truly; but their precise agreement in words and formes of speaking, argueth rather a compact and agreement to speake the same things, than a desire to utter the truth. So here, the precise using of the very same words by all these Popes living at divers times, argueth, that it was one man that taught them all to speake. But they will say, Pope *Leo* in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the Popedome, saith as much as they doe: and that therefore wee may not discredit their testimonie. Surely if they can prove that *Leo* saith any such thing as the former Popes are taught to say, wee will most willingly listen unto them. For we acknowledge *Leo* to have beene a most worthy Bishop, and the things that goe under his name, to be his indubitate workes. Let us heare therefore what he saith. His words in the place cited by the Cardinall are these: *Christ tooke speciall care of Peter, and prayed specially for him, because the state of the rest is more secure, when the minde of him that is chiefe is not overcome. In Peter therefore the strength of all is surely established, and God doth so dispende the helpe of his divine grace, that the same firmenesse that he giveth to Peter, is by Peter conferred and bestowed on all.* Here is nothing to prove that the Pope cannot erre, which is that our Adversaries undertake to demonstrate, nor that the *Roman* Church cannot erre, which

Bodens esp.

Lucius 1 in

epist. ad Episc.

Hispan. & Gallie.

Felix 1 ep. ad

Benign.

Marc. ep. ad

Athanaf. de

missionis cau.

Nicensi conc.

chap 2. 4.

Lib. 1. de
Pont. c. 11.

Actione 4.

9 Platina in
Marcellino: &
Acta Concil.
Synuessani.
2 Athanas. ep.
ad Solit. vitam
agentes. Hier.
in Chronic. &
in Catal. Scrip-
tor. Eccles. in
Fortunatiano
& Acacio. Da-
masus in vita
Liberii.
4 Epist. Aga-
thonis ad Con-
stantinum quæ
habetur Sy-
nod. 6. actio 4.
6 In fine ejusd
Concilii.
c Habentur
hæc verba in
Syno. 9. act. 7.

4 Epist. ad Pe-
trum Antioch.
6 Epist. ad Epif.
Arelar. & habet
ur cap. majores
extra. de
Baptismo &
ejus effectu.

is that the former Popes affirme in their counterfeit Epistles: but that the state of the rest is more secure, when he that is chief is not overcome, which no man ever doubted of: and that Christ gave, or at least promised to give that assistance of his grace to Peter, which he meant to the rest, and to passe it by him unto them, so as they should receive it after him, but not from him. For thus the words of *Leo* must be understood, seeing it is most certaine (which thing also *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth) that the Apostles received their infallibility of judgment, and their commission or authority immediately from Christ, and not from *Peter*. From *Leo* they passe to *Agatho*, who in his Epistle to *Constantine* the Emperour, read and approved in the sixth generall Councell, saith, that by the grace of God such hath beene the felicitie and happinesse of the Roman Church, that it can never be proved to have erred from the path of the Apostolicall tradition, nor to have fallen being depraved with hereticall novelties, but the same faith it received at first, it holdeth still, according to Christs promise which he made to Peter, willing him to confirme his brethren. Which thing (saith *Agatho*) my predecessors have ever done, as is well knowne to all. These words of *Agatho* are not so farre to be urged, as if simply never any of his predecessors had failed to defend the truth, and confirme his brethren, but that the Roman Church was ever so preserved from heresie, that howsoever some few in it for a time might neglect to doe their duty, yet neither so long, nor in such sort, but that that Church and the Bishops of it, were alwayes a stay to the rest in all the dangerous tryals that fell out in ancient times, even as in the question concerning the two wils of Christ, about which the Councell was called, it was; wherein though *Honorius* failed, yet the rest that governed the Apostolicall throne with him, did not; and *Agatho*, who soone after succeeded, shewed himselfe an orthodoxe and right beleever. For, that all the predecessors of *Agatho* did not alwayes confirme their brethren in the true faith of Christ, it is most evident, in that *Marcellinus* sacrificed unto Idols (if we may beleve the *Romish* stories) and was forced being convicted thereof to professe himselfe unworthy of the Papall office and dignity, in a Synode of Bishops; in that *Liberius* and *Felix* communicated with hereticks, and subscribed to the unjust condemnation of worthy *Athanasius*; which was not to confirme the brethren, but to discourage, dishearten and weaken them: and in that *Agatho* himselfe doth anathematize his predecessor *Honorius* as a Monothelite, with whom *Leo* the second concurreth in his Epistle to *Constantine* the Emperour: who anathematizing *Theodorus*, *Syrus*, *Sergius*, *Pjrrhus*, *Paulus*, and other Monothelites, addeth to them *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome* his predecessor; saying, we accurse also *Honorius*, who did not lighten this Apostolicall Church with the doctrine delivered by the Apostles, but sought to subvert the undefiled faith by profane perfidiousnesse. With whom also Pope *Adrian* agreeth, who in the Synode of *Rome*, called about the businesse of *Photius* of *Constantinople*, saith, that the Roman Bishop hath judged of the Bishops of all Churches, but that we reade not of any one that hath judged him. For though *Honorius* were accursed after his death by those of the East, yet it was because he was accused of heresie, in which only case the lesser may judge the greater: yet even there it had not bin lawfull for any of them to give sentence against him, had not the consent of the first See gone before. So that we see the Epistle of *Agatho* doth not sufficiently prove that the Popes cannot erre. Let us therefore consider whether they have any better proofes. *Nicholas* the first (saith *Bellarmino*) in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour pronounceth, that the priviledges of the See of *Rome* are perpetuall, rooted and planted by Almighty God, in such sort, that men may tumble at them, but cannot remove them; may pull at them, but cannot pull them up; therefore hee thinketh the Pope cannot erre, which is a very bad consequence. For the infallibility of judgement in the Pope, is not mentioned among the inviolable priviledges of the Church of *Rome*, and therefore the priviledges of that Church may be inviolable, and yet the Pope subject to error: neither hath *Nicholas* one word of the Popes not erring. The testimonies of *Leo* the ninth, and *Innocentius* the third, as being late & partiall in their own cause, may justly be excepted against, yet do they not prove the thing in question. For they speak of the See and throne of *Peter*, in which the faith may continue without failing (though the Popes

Popes erre and seeke to subvert the same) so long as any other, that are to governe the throne with them, persevere in the true faith.

Wherefore, from the prayer of Christ made for *Peter*, that his faith should not faile, they descend to other proofes taken from the promise made to *Peter* by Christ, *that upon him he would build his Church*; and his mandate requiring him to *feede his Sheepe, and to feed his Lambes*; which are too weake to perswade us that the Pope cannot erre, or is more priviledged than other Bishops in this respect. First, because it is most cleare and evident, and confessed by our Adversaries themselves, that the Church was builded upon all the Apostles, as well as upon *Peter*; and there is no kind of feeding of Christs sheepe and flock that comineth not within the compasse of that office and commission which the other Apostles had in common with him: as I have¹ else-where shewed at large. Secondly, because *Peter* and his colleagues were foundation stones upon which the Church was builded, in that their doctrine was received by immediate and undoubted revelation, without mixture of errour, upon which the faith of all after-commers was to stay it selfe: none of which things agree to the *Roman Bishop*. So that it is no way necessary, that there should be the same infallibility of judgment in him that was in *Peter*, and in his colleagues. Thirdly, because we know, and all that are in their right wits doe acknowledge, that a man may be a Pastor in the Church of God, and yet subject to errour: and that therefore Christs requiring *Peter* to doe the duty of a Pastor, will not prove that the Pope cannot erre.

Wherefore, from the Scriptures they passe to the Fathers: and among them first they produce *Theodoret*, who in his Epistle to *Renatus* a Presbyter, saith, that among other things, the reason why the *Roman Church* hath a kind of chiefity among other Churches, is, because it hath ever remained free from heresie. From whence I think hardly any good proofe can be drawne of the Popes not erring. For how will this consequence ever be made good? There are many things that make the See of *Rome* great, as the greatnesse of the City, the Empire, the sepulchers of those common Fathers and Doctors of truth, *Peter* and *Paul*, those two great lights that rose in the East, and cast forth their beames into all parts of the world; but set in the West; and sundry other things, and among them the felicity and happinesse of it. that till the time of *Theodoret* no heresie ever prevailed in it: therefore the Bishop of *Rome* can never erre: Seeing *Theodoret* doth not dispute what may be, but sheweth only, what by the happy providence of God had bin: and besides speaketh not precisely of the Bishop of *Rome*, but of the *Roman See*, including the whole company of the Bishops of the West adhering to him: which was a great part of the whole Christian Church, and more glorious than the rest, for that it was more free from hereticall novelties in those times than they. To *Theodoret* they adde S.^r *Augustine*, who saith, the succession of Bishops from *Peters* chaire to his time, is that rock against the which the proud gates of hell cannot prevaile. His meaning is, that what all those Bishops have constantly and successively taught as true, must needs be true; and what they have impugned as false, must needs be false: seeing it is impossible that any errour, or the impugning of any truth, should have bin found successively in all the Bishops of that, or any other Apostolicall Church whatsoever. But what is this to the Popes not erring? Surely as little as that of *Gelasius* in his Epistle to *Anastasius* the Emperour, *that the glorious confession of the Apostle Peter, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, is the root of all the faith & piety of the whole world: and that therefore the Apostolick See carefully looketh unto it, that no chinke be made in it, and that it be not spotted with any contagion; for that if it should, there were no meanes of resisting any errour*. But because this maketh not for them, the Cardinall helpeth the matter with an untruth, saying: that *Gelasius* proveth that the See of *Rome* cannot erre, because the confession of it is the root of all the faith & piety that is in the world: where-as he neither goeth about to prove the one, nor speaketh any word of the other: but of the excellencie of the confession that *Peter* made, the necessity of preserving it inviolable, and the care of the See of *Rome*, in and before his time, for the safe keeping of the same. Wherefore let us come to the places that are cited to this purpose out of *Gregories* Epistles, w^h shew plainly, they are past shame that manage the Popes affaires, & defend

Greg. lib. 4.
ep. 32.

Epiſt. 67.

Greg. lib. 6.
ep. 37.

his cauſe. For whereas ^mGregory ſaith, that if he that claimeth to be univerſall Biſhop doe fall, all the whole Church is overthrowne, and that therefore there muſt be no ſuch univerſall Biſhop; and particularly ſheweth by the grievous hereſies that prevailed in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, how ill it would have beene for the Churches of God, if the Biſhops thereof had beene univerſall Biſhops, as they ſought to be: they bring this place to prove, that the Pope cannot erre: whereas they ſhould have brought it to ſhew, how dangerous it is, that there ſhould be any one univerſall Biſhop, ſuch as their Pope deſireth to be; and that therefore (as ^mCyprian obſerveth) Almighty God wiſely foreſeeing what evils might follow ſuch univerſality of power and iuriſdiction in one man, ordained that there ſhould be a great number of Biſhops joyned in equall commiſſion, that ſo if ſome fell, the reſt might ſtand and keepe the people from a generall downefall. The next allegation is out of the Epistle to *Eulogius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, whereby the Reader may ſee with what conſcience theſe Ieſuited Papists doe cite the writings of the Fathers. The words of *Gregorie* are theſe: *Your moſt ſweete Holineſſe hath uttered many things in your letters concerning Peters chaire, ſaying, that he yet ſitteth in it in his ſucceſſours: I truly doe acknowledge my ſelfe to be unworthy, not onely to bee in the number of thoſe that ſit as Rulers, but of them that ſtand to be ruled. But I therefore willingly accept whatſoever you ſay, becauſe he hath ſpoken to me of Peters chaire, that ſitteth in Peters chaire; and although it no way pleaſeth or delighteth me to be ſpecially honoured, yet I greatly rejoyced, becauſe what you attributed to me, you gave to your ſelves. For who knoweth not, that the holy Church is firmly eſtabliſhed in the ſoundneſſe of the Prince of the Apoſtles? whoſe firmeneſſe his name doth ſhew: for he is named Peter of Petra a Rock, to whom the voyce of Verity ſaith, I will give to thee the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, and thou being converted, confirme thy brethren: and againe, Simon Ioanna, Loveſt thou me? feede my ſheepe. Wherefore though there were many Apoſtles, yet in reſpect of the chieftie he had, the chaire of Peter chiefe of the Apoſtles grew to be in greater authority than the reſt, which is the chaire of one Apoſtle in three places. For he exalted the See, in which he was pleaſed to reſt, and to end this preſent life; he beautified that See, wherein he left the Evangelist his Diſciple: and he firmly eſtabliſhed that See, in which he ſate ſeven yeares, though with purpoſe in the end to leave it, and to depart from it. Whereas therefore there is the See of one, and that but one, wherein three Biſhops by Gods appointment doe ſit to rule, whatſoever good I heare of you, I account it mine owne; and what you perſwade your ſelves of me, think that you alſo are worthy of the ſame. If this Epistle prove that the Pope cannot erre, it proveth likewise that the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* are free from errour. For all theſe ſucceede that great Apoſtle Saint Peter (to whom Chriſt ſaid, *To thee will I give the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven; and, thou being turned, confirme thy brethren: And againe, Loveſt thou me? feed my ſheepe*) as well as the Pope. All theſe ſit in Peters chaire: Peters chaire is in *Alexandria*, and at *Antioch*, as well as at *Rome*; and whatſoever they that are Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* attribute to the Biſhop of *Rome*, they may lawfully aſſume to themſelves, ſeeing they are worthy of the ſame, as *Gregory* in this place telleth us.*

Exod. 28. 30.

Deut. 17. 9.

Wherefore, ſeeing not onely Fathers and Councels, but even Popes alſo (in whoſe defence he writeth) faile him, the Cardinall ſieth for helpe to the Priests of *Aarons* order, and goeth about to prove, that the Pope cannot erre, becauſe the high Prielt had in his Breſt-plate ^p*Urim* and *Thummim*, light and perfection, or doctrine and truth, as hee will have the *Hebrew* word translated, importing (as hee ſuppoſeth) that hee could not erre in the underſtanding of the Law of God. Whereupon (as hee thinketh) God commanded all thoſe that any way doubted of the meaning of his Law, to goe up to the high Prielt, and to ſeeke to bee ſatiſfied by him, ſaying, *They ſhall judge true judgement unto thee.* *Lyra* in his Annotations upon this place, reporteth, that there was a certaine Gloſſe of the *Hebrewes*, that if the High Prielt ſhould tell them, that their right hand were their left, or their left their right, they were to hold it good and right. The like opinion it ſeemeth the *Romanists* have of the Pope. But *Lyra* in that place condemneth the folly of thoſe *Jewes* that ſo thought, becauſe the ſentence of no man of what authority ſoever hee bee, is to be admitted,

admitted, if it containe a manifest untruth and error: which he saith is evident out of the very text it selfe, in that it is said, *They shall judge unto thee true judgements, and thou shalt doe whatsoever they shall say unto thee, that are over the place that the Lord hath chosen, and whatsoever they shall teach thee according to his lawes.* Whereby it appeareth, that if they speake that which is untrue, or manifestly depart from the Law, they are not to be heard. The Author of the ordinary Glossie agreeth with *Lyra*, saying, *Note that the Lord requireth thee to doe, whatsoever the Priests doe teach thee according to the Law, because otherwise thou art not to obey them, unlesse they teach thee according to the Law.* Whereupon Christ saith, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit upon Moses chaire, who yet (as the Author of the Interlineall Glossie noteth) are not generally without exception to be hearkned unto, but then onely, when they utter and deliver pertinentia ad Cathedram; that is, such things as befit him to utter, that sitteth in Moses chaire.* So that to conclude this point, neither the *Urim* and *Thummim* in *Aarons* Brest-plate, nor the mandate of Almighty God to goe up to the sonnes of *Aaron* to seeke judgement and justice, prove, that they could not erre; and therefore the Pope is still in as bad case as ever he was.

Wherefore, finding no helpe in the Tribe of *Levi*, nor in the house of *Aaron*, they betake themselves to experience, and are in good hope to prove out of the experience of former times, that the Pope cannot erre. First, because (as they say) whatsoever the Pope condemned at any time as hereticall, was ever holden to bee so by the whole Church; and many heresies were never condemned any otherwise, but by his judgement onely. Secondly, because never any Pope was an Heretick, whereas all other principall Sees and Churches, have had Bishops, not onely erring, but teaching and professing heresie. The instances that *Bellarmino* giveth of heresies and hereticks condemned by the Pope, and rejected for such by the Church, onely because hee condemned them, are the *Pelagians*, *Priscillianists*, *Jovinian*, and *Vigilantius*, and their heresies. It is hard (I see) for a *Blackamoore* to change his skinne; for a Leopard to put away his spots, or for a man, that hath long acquainted himselfe with false and unfaithfull dealing, to learne to deale sincerely and truly. For touching the hereticks mentioned by the Cardinall, all the world knoweth they were condemned in Synodes by many Bishops, and not by the private censure of the Bishop of *Rome* alone. Nay, it is most certaine, that others shewed more care and diligence in suppressing some of these hereticks and their errors, than ever the *Roman* Bishop did, which I will make to appeare in the particulars, beginning with the *Pelagians*. *Pelagius* the Founder of these Hereticks, was borne in great *Britaine*, and becoming a Monke in the East parts of the world, after hee had sparfed his errors in other places abroad, returned home into his owne Countrey, and infected it almost wholly with his heresie. Hereupon the *Britaines* sought helpe and direction of the *French* Bishops, because Learning at that time flourished more among them, than it did among the *Britaines*; who willing to reach forth their helping hands to their neighbours and brethren in this time of their neede, sent unto them *Germanus* and *Lupus*, Bishops and brethren, defenders of the Catholick faith, who cleared the Ile from the *Pelagian* heresie, and confirmed it in the faith, both by the word of truth, and signes and miracles. Besides this condemnation of *Pelagius* by the *French* and *Britaines*, there were sundry Councels holden to condemne both him and his wicked heresies, in *Palestina*, at *Carthage*, at *Milevise*, and at *Arausicum*: and it is most certaine, that the Church of God, and all posterities are more bound to Saint *Augustine* for clearing the points of doctrine questioned by the *Pelagians*, than to any Bishop of *Rome* whatsoever. So that it is most untrue, that the *Pelagians* were condemned onely by the Bishop of *Rome*, for other were as forward in that businesse as he; yea the *Africans* were more forward than the *Romans*, and drew them into the fellowship of the same worke with themselves. The like may be said of the *Priscillianists*; for it is more than evident out of the Councell of *Bracar*, that they were not condemned by the Bishop of *Rome* alone, but by many Synodes: for it is there reported, that *Leo* did write by *Turibius* notary of the See Apostolick, to the Synode of *Galitia*, at what time the

August. de
heresib. Beda
de ratione tem-
porum. Alfonf.
à Castro con-
traher lib.
2. pag. 159.

See Epist 9.
inter Epist.
Augustini.

Initio actio-
rum Concl.
Bracar. 1.

heresie of the *Priscillianistes* began to spreade in those parts; and that by his prescription and appointment, they of *Tarracon*, of *Carthage*, of *Portugall*, and *Batica*, met in Councell, and composing a rule of faith against the heresie of the *Priscillianistes*, containing certaine chiefe heads of Christian doctrine, directed the same patterne of right beliefe to the Bishop of *Bracar*, that then was: which heads of Christian doctrine were recited in the first Councell of *Bracar*, and the heresie of the *Priscillianistes* thereupon more distinctly and particularly condemned, than ever before. In all which proceedings, we may see that the Pope doth nothing of himselfe alone, but being Patriarch of the West, and hearing of a dangerous heresie spreading in some Churches subject to him, hee causeth the Bishops under him to meete in Councels, and to condemne the same. Which (as I thinke) will not prove, that the Pope alone condemned Heresies, or that some heresies were rejected onely, because the Pope condemned them; or that the Pope cannot erre, which is the thing in question. Touching *Jovinian* and *Vigilantius*, their errors are so uncertainly reported, some attributing to them one thing, and some another, and some condemning them for things, for which they were not to be condemned, and that it is hard to say, by what lawfull authority, or by whom they were condemned: but that in their errors justly disliked, they were condemned onely by the Bishops of *Rome*, and therefore taken to bee hereticks by the whole universall Church, our Adversaries will never be able to prove. That the errors attributed unto them are uncertainly reported, it appeareth, in that *Austine* chargeth *Jovinian* with two dangerous and wicked assertions, touching the deni-
all of the perpetuall virginity of the blessed Virgin the mother of our Lord: and the parity of sins: whereof *Hierome* (who yet was not like to have spared him) maketh no mention. And that they were in some things unjustly condemned, it is evident; first, in that *Hierome* blameth *Jovinian* for saying, that married persons, virgins, and widowes, if they differ not in other workes of vertue, and therein excell one another, are of equall merit; which the best learned both of the Fathers & Schoole-men doe approve, as I have^b else-where shewed at large. Secondly, in that^c he so bitterly inveigheth against *Vigilantius* for disliking the pernoctations in the Cemiteries and places of Saints buriall, used in ancient times; which a^d Councell for the same reasons that moved *Vigilantius* to dislike them, tooke wholly away, and forbade them to be used any more, and the *Roman* Churches have long since disused. But that the Popes peremptory condemning of an error in matter of faith, was not taken in ancient times to be a sufficient demonstration, that they were hereticks that defended such errors after his condemning of the same, it is evident, in that^e *Austine* saith, that the Churches might doubt till touching the matter of rebaptization, because in the times of *Stephen* who condemned it, and *Cyprian* who urged it, there was no generall Councell to end the controversie betweene them: and in that, after the peremptory forbidding and condemning of rebaptization by *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, *Cyprian* and his colleagues still persisted in the practice of it, and in urging the necessity of it: and yet were never branded with the marke and note of heresie, but ever were and still are reputed Catholics. ^f *Bellarmino*, to avoyde the force of this argument, feareth not to say, contrary to his owne knowledge, that *Stephen* and his adherents never determined the question of rebaptization. But that hee did (and that in most peremptory sort and manner) it is more cleare and evident, than that the Sunne shineth at noone. For ^g *Firmilianus* a famous learned Bishop chargeth him, that hee caused great dissensions throughout all the Churches of the world, that hee grievously sinned: in that hee divided himselfe from so many flocks of Christs sheepe: that hee was a schismatick: that hee had forsaken the communion of Ecclesiasticall unity: willing him not to deceive himselfe, but to bee well assured, that in thinking hee could put all other from the communion, hee had put himselfe out of the communion of all: that hee brake the bonds of unity with many Bishops in all parts of the world, as well in the East, as in the South with the *Africanes*, not admitting such as came from them unto him into his presence, or to any speech with him: and further commanding the brethren, that none of them should receive them to house. So that he, not
only

^a Aug. de ha-
res. cap. 82.

^b Hier. contra
Jovinian l. 1.

^c Booke 3. chap.
30.

^d Hieron. cont.
Vigilantium.

^e Concil. Eli-
bertin. Canon.
34:35.

^f Aug. lib. 1. de
Baptismo c. 18.

^g De Pontif. l.
4. cap. 7.

^h Firmilian. ad
Cyprian. inter
Epistolas Cy-
prian ep. 75.

only denied the peace of the Church, and the communion of Christians unto them, but the entring under the rooffe of any mans house, that would be ruled by him; and that thus hee held the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, rejecting them as damnable miscreants that dissented from him; and calling blessed *Cyprian*, a false Christ, a false Apostle, and a deceitfull labourer or workman. And *Dionysius*, a famous and worthy Bishop reporteth, that he wrote concerning *Hellenus* and *Firmilianus*, and all the Bishops in *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and all the bordering Countries, that hee would not communicate with them for the same cause of rebaptization: which yet (as he saith) was agreed on in many very great Synodes of Bishops. If this be not sufficient to prove, that *Stephen* determined the question of rebaptization, I know not what can be. For first, he commanded, that none should be rebaptized when they returned from the societies and prophane conventicles of hereticks, but that they should be admitted with the only imposition of hands. Secondly, he delivered his owne opinion, that rebaptization was unlawfull, confidently, as having so learned of his elders, and not in doubting manner. And thirdly, hee rejected all them from his communion, that thought and practised otherwise than he did, as it appeareth by the testimonies of *Firmilianus* and *Dionysius*; so that it is strange, that *Bellarmino* should be able so to harden his fore-head, as not to blush when he saith, that *Stephen* did not define any thing touching the question of rebaptization; that he did not make it a matter of faith, and necessary to be beleevd of all: and that he did not excommunicate those that were otherwise minded, but onely threatned them that he would so doe. It is true indeede, that *Cyprian*, howsoever hee definitively delivered in a Councell of Bishops, what he was perswaded men were to beleve and practice touching rebaptization: and protested against *Stephen*, as a proud, ignorant, and unadvised man: yet did not urge this his decree so, as to reject from his communion all that should dislike it; but left every Bishop to his owne judgement, as being to give an account to God onely. But how the Jesuites can defend against all the former proofes, that *Stephens* proceedings were like to those of *Cyprian*, and that he also left every man to his owne judgement, and rejected no man from his communion, for dissenting from him, I cannot see. By that which hath beene said, it appeareth, that the Ancients did not thinke every thing to be heresie that the *Roman* Bishops defined to be so: and that therefore they did not think him free from danger of erring. Neither need we to marvel (saith *Bellarmino*) if in former times men had not learned this lesson, seeing to this day they are not judged to be Hereticks that thinke the Pope may erre. Yet so kind is he to *Cyprian*, that (whereas *Austine* excuseth him in his errour, and thinketh his sinne was veniall) he pronounceth he sinned mortally, and so without particular repentance (whereof there is little likelihood) perished everlastingly, notwithstanding his martyrdom. The reason of this difference of the censures of *Austine* and *Bellarmino* is, because *Austine* looked onely or principally to his errour, but *Bellarmino* to his contempt of the Bishop of *Romes* Decrees and determinations.

C H A P. 43.

Of such Popes as are charged with heresie, and how the Romanists seeke to cleare them from that imputation.

HAVING examined our Adversaries proofes of the infallibility of the Popes judgement, taken from the acceptation of his judgement as right and good by all the world, whensoever hee defined any thing: let us come to the other prooffe of the same, taken from the felicity of the *Roman* See in former times. *Ruffinus* saith, that before his time no heresie had ever taken beginning in the *Roman* Church, but our Adversaries proceede farther, and feare not to pronounce after sixteene hundred yeares, that no Heretick did ever sit in the See of *Rome*: which their proud bragge will bee found much more vaine than true, and many unanswerable instances will be brought of wicked hereticks possessing

possessing that chaire. *Tertullian* in his booke against *Praxeas* speaketh of a Bishop of *Rome*, but nameth him not, that admitted and allowed the Prophecies of *Montanus* and his two Prophetesses, *Prisca* and *Maximilla*, and held communion with the *Montanists* till hee was dissuaded by *Praxeas*. Who (as hee saith) caused the Prophecies of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses to be banished, and brought in heresie, who banished their *Paraclete*, and crucified the Father. But because *Tertullian* was a *Montanist*, and wrote partially in things that concerned them (though *Rhenanus* say, the Bishop of *Rome* did *Montanize*) yet for my part (no other history reporting any such thing of any *Roman* Bishop) I will not upon *Tertullians* bare word, charge any of them with any such heresie.

c Annotat. in
Tert. contra
Praxeam.

d In vita Mar-
cellini.
e In Marcel-
lino.

f Annal Ann.
303. num. 99.

g Annot. in
acta conc. Si-
nuesiani.

h De Pontif.
lib 4. cap. 9.

i Athanas. in e-
pist. ad solitar.
vitam agentes.
k Hieron. in
Chronico, & in
Catalog. Scrip.
Eccles. in For-
tuniano.
l Hil. in lib. ad-
vers. Constant.
m Zozom. lib.
4. cap. 14.

n In Chronic.

o Ubi supra.

But (howsoever wee thinke of *Tertullians* report) we finde in the Councell of *Sinnessa*, in the *Pontificall*, in the Epistle of *Nicholas* the first, to *Michael* the Empe-
rour, in *Platina* and others, that *Marcellinus* did sacrifice unto idols, and so at least
in outward action shewed himselfe an infidell; which is a higher degree of impiety
than heresie. If it be said, he committed that execrable act of idolatry, not out of any
mis-perwasion of his minde, but feare of death, it will be replied, that if the passion
of feare be able to worke so ill effects in Popes, as the utter abnegation of Christia-
nity, and the professing of themselves to bee Pagan Infidels, by publick outward acts
of idolatry, there is little reason to be given, but that some other sinister and vile affe-
ction may carry them as farre to make profession of heresie, a thing not so ill as Paga-
nisme. Wherefore *Baronius*, to prevent the worst, and to make all sure, inclineth
to deny, that ever *Marcellinus* committed any such act of idolatry, and discrediteth
the report of the Councell of *Sinnessa*, in which he is said to have beene condemned.
Wherein he doth as much disadvantage the *Roman* cause another way, in depriving
his friends of so good an authority as the resolution of that sacred Synode, that *Prima*
sedes à nemine judicatur, that is, that the first See is judged of none; as hee advan-
tageth it in the clearing of *Marcellinus*; and therefore he is rightly blamed by *Bin-*
nins for his inconsiderate rashnesse in this behalfe.

But that wee may be assured, that Popes may be Hereticks as well as Infidels, wee
have the confession of as good a man as *Baronius*, acknowledging the same. For *Bel-*
larmine saith, that *Liberius* (howsoever for a long time he continued constant in the
profession of the true faith, so that for the same his constancie he was banished, and
another by the *Arrian* faction put into his place) yet in the end weary of banishment,
hee was brought to subscribe to heresie, and was in his outward courses an heretick
whatsoever his heart was, whereof God onely is the searcher; so that justly as an he-
retick hee was condemned, and pronounced to be no Pope any longer by his owne
Clergie. This he proveth out of the testimonies of *Athanasius* and *Hierome*, who say
expressely, that being weary of his continuance in banishment, he was at last brought
to subscribe to heresie: And *Hilary* (who speaking to *Constantius* the wicked *Arrian*
Emperour) hath these words: *Afterwards thou diddest turne the course of thy warre*
against Rome, whence thou tookest the Bishop, O wretched Emperour! I can hardly say,
whether thy impiety were greater in sending him into banishment, or in sending him home
again. Thereby insinuating, that he restored him upon very ill conditions. And that
hee was not restored, but by some kinde of consenting with the *Arrians*, it is most
cleare, in that *Zozomen* reporteth, that the *Arrian* Bishops assembled at *Sirmium*,
sent their letter to *Felix*, then Bishop of *Rome*, and the Clergie there, kindly to receive
Liberius, and that both *Felix* and hee might sit as Bishops, and governe the *Roman*
Church together: which they would never have done, if they had not found him
tractable and yeelding; yet could not these two Bishops endure one the other long,
notwithstanding these letters. And therefore *Hierome* saith, that *Liberius* impatient
of any longer continuance in banishment, subscribed to hereticall pravity, and so retur-
ned to *Rome* as a conquerour, and cast out *Felix* who had possessed himselfe of the E-
piscopall chaire, and put divers other of the Clergie also out of the Church; and *Bel-*
larmine himselfe confesseth, hee hath seene in the *Vatican* Library, manuscript E-
pistles of *Liberius*, some written to the Emperour, and some to the Easterne Bishops,
wherein

wherein he signifieth plainly enough, that in the end hee was content to yeeld to the will of the Emperour. And besides, if the *Romanists* doe not acknowledge that *Liberius* was a convicted Heretick, (there being no other cause but heresie for which (as they thinke) a Pope may lawfully be judged and deposed) they must put *Felix*, who was Pope while *Liberius* yet lived out of the number of Popes, whom yet their Church doth worship as a Pope Saint, and a Martyr. So that wee see, *Liberius* was justly judged and condemned as an Heretick; and that, seeing a Pope, in that he becommeth an Heretick, ceaseth to be Pope, hee lost all the priviledges that belong to *Peters* successours, and so might decree for heresie: yea, I thinke there is no reasonable man but will confesse, that his subscribing to heresie that is the head of the Church, is a decreeing for heresie. Now that he subscribed to heresie, wee have the expresse testimony of Saint *Hierome*.^p After the banishment of *Liberius* by the meanes of *Acacius*, Bishop of *Casarea* in *Palestina*, who was a great man with *Constantinus* the Emperour, *Felix*, a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, was chosen Bishop, and appointed to succcede him. This *Felix*, (as *Theodoret* testifieth) was a Catholick, and held the profession of faith agreed on at *Nice*, but communicated freely with the *Arrians*. Whereupon hee was so much disliked by those that were Catholicks, that none of them would once enter into the house of prayer while hee was within. For that, though he were not in perswasion and vocall profession a full *Arrian*, yet by communicating with them, and being ordained by them, he consented to their wicked and hereticall courses. Neither doth it appeare by any history of credit, that ever he refused to communicate with the *Arrian* hereticks, during the time hee quietly possessed and enjoyed the Bishoprick of *Rome*. But the contrary is more than probable, because when *Liberius* subscribed, and was thereupon sent home with letters of commendation from the *Arrian* Bishops assembled at *Sirmium*, they carefully provided for *Felix* his continuance in the Episcopall office still, and desired, that the violences and outrages committed in the time of his ordination (when the people for the love they bare to *Liberius* were in an uprore, and some of them were slaine) might bee forgotten, and that both of them might sit and governe the Church together, as Bishops of the place; which favour the *Arrian* Bishops would never have shewed to *Felix*, if he had disclaimed their communion. So that it is more than probable, that hee never forsooke the communion of the *Arrian* Hereticks. For *Liberius* returning as a Conquerour, so soone as he came to *Rome*, cast him out of the Church, and shortly after hee dyed; and therefore I cannot see what reason the *Romanists* have, to put this good man into the Kalender of their Pope Saints, whose entrance into the Episcopall chaire was not onely schismaticall (there being a Catholick Bishop yet alive, and suffering banishment for the Catholick faith) but violent and bloody also (for he got the place by the meanes of bloody Hereticks, making himselfe guilty of all the finnes of those Hereticks with whom he communicated) and of whose relinquishing and abandoning the communion and fellowship of the *Arrians*, there is no mention found in any Authour of credit, but in the Authour of the *Pontificall* onely, who hath as many lyes as words in his narration concerning *Felix*. For first, hee saith, hee sate but one yeare, three moneths, and three dayes, whereas it is reported by *Theodoret*, that *Liberius* had beene more than two yeares in banishment before suite was made to the Emperour for his returne; all which time *Felix* was Pope. Secondly, he saith, *Felix* declared and published *Constantinus* the sonne of *Constantine* to be an Heretick, and that *Constantinus* was rebaptized, or the second time baptized by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, neare unto *Nicomedia*; which thing is most false, as *Binnius* in his Annotations telleth us, because both *Athanasius* and *Socrates* doe affirme, hee was baptized by *Enzoins* an *Arrian*, when hee was ready to die. And *Hilarius* after the time of this supposed baptism inveigheth against him, for that not being baptized, hee presumed to prescribe to the Church a forme of faith. Thirdly, hee saith, *Felix* built a certaine Church, while hee was a Presbyter, whereas it is certaine, that of a Deacon hee was made a Bishop, and never lived in the degree of a Presbyter. And fourthly, touching the death of *Felix* he is very uncertaine and doubtfull,

^p Hieron. in Catalog. Scrip. Ecclesiast. in Acacio. ^q Theodoret. hist. Eccles. l. 2. cap. 17.

^r Sozom. l. 4. ¹⁴

In Felice.

^s Theodoret. ubi supra:

^u Binnius an. not in vitam. Felicis. ^x Athanas. lib. de Synodis. ^y Socrates lib. 2. cap. ult. ^z Hilar. lib. de Synodo.

and

^a De Pont. l. 4.
cap. 9.
^b Annot. in
vit. Felicis.

^c Ruffin. Eccl.
hist. l. 1. c. 22.

^d Hier. contra
Luciferianos,
Cypr. l. 2. ep. 1.

^e In vita Ana-
stasi 2.

^f Dist. 19. cap.
Anast.

^g In Breviario
cap. 22.

and others speake nothing of his martyrdome at all. Hereupon (as both ^a Bellarmine, and ^b Binnius report) in the time of Gregory the thirteenth, in the year of our Lord 1582. where certaine learned men in Rome were deputed to correct the *Martyrologe*, they were doubtfull whether they should put his name into the new *Martyrologe* or not. seeing both his entrance into his Bishoprick was violent, bloody, and schismaticall, and his end uncertaine, and they inclined to leave it out; which they had done, if a certaine marble chest had not beene found in the Church of *Cosmas and Damianus*, the 28 of July, the day before his wonted and accustomed feast, with this inscription in old characters: *Heere lyeth the body of Felix the Pope and Martyr. who condemned Constantius the Heretick.* Whereby wee see how little reason the Roman Church hath to worship this Saint, and to admire the providence of God, in preserving this See Apostolick from heresie; in that, as they would beare us in hand, *Felix* after he heard of the subscription of *Liberius*, who thereby ceased to be Pope, condemned the *Arrians*, was admitted by the Catholicks, and became a true Bishop, suffering death upon the returne of *Liberius*; as if the very See did change the mindes of all that sit in it, and make them good, how bad soever they were before; whereas *Felix* being in his entrance a schismatick in communion, if not in profession an heretick, and in his ordination which was voyde, no Bishop, and no history of credit reporting either his condemning *Arrianisme*, or his admission to be a Bishop after the deposition of *Liberius* by the Catholicks, or what his end was; it appeareth that hereticks and schismaticks may possesse the chaire of *Peter*. and be worshipped for Pope Saints after their death. But whatsoever became of *Felix*, they say, *Liberius* after the death of *Felix* became a Catholick, and got the love of the Catholicks; and so by their acceptation of him, became a true Bishop againe, and in that state dyed. Thus doe our Adversaries seeme to carry this matter very fairely as if all were safe and well, whereas indeede they are in a very great strait, for either *Liberius* was an heretick before his returne home, and justly deposed for heresie, or else *Felix* was never true Bishop, and then their Church hath worshipped a schismatick as a Pope Saint for the space of a thousand yeares: if hee were an heretick, and justly deposed (as to justifie *Felix*, they must be forced to confesse) he could never be restored to the Episcopall office and dignity againe. For the ^c Canon of the Church is, that no Catholick becoming an heretick, and being condemned by the Church for such a one, shall ever be received to Ecclesiasticall honour againe: so that hee could not dye true Pope, as our Adversaries dreame hee did. Let them shew us how they can cleare themselves from sundry absurd contradictions in this point, and we will rest satisfied. For wee doe not deny, but that hee might repent of his subscribing to heresie, and dye a Catholick, though some of the testimonies that *Bellarmino* bringeth, will scarce prove it.

The next Pope that we finde to have beene touched with any suspicion of heresie, is *Anastasius* the second, whom the Author of the *Pontificall* taxeth. First, for that he communicated with *Photius*, a Deacon of the Church of *Thessalonica*, that had communicated with *Achacius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, without the counsell of the Bishops and Presbyters of the Catholick Church; which his inconsiderate action, made many of the Presbyters and Clergie refuse to communicate with him. Secondly, for that hee sought to restore *Achacius*, whom *Felix* and *Gelasius* his predecessours had condemned: for which fact hee was suddenly stricken of God, in such sort that hee dyed. To these ^d *Gratian* addeth another taxation, reprehending him for that hee allowed the baptisme and ordination of such as were baptized and ordained by *Achacius* after he was become an heretick. But because the baptisme and ordination of hereticks is holden good, and it appeareth by the Epistle of *Anastasius* to *Anastasius* the Emperour, that *Achacius* was dead before he was Bishop, and that he desired to have the name of *Achacius* razed out of the Dipticks of the Church, after his death: I will passe by this censure of the Authour of the *Pontificall*, and *Gratian* as doubtfull, and leaving *Anastasius*, come to *Vigilius*; who (as ^e *Liberatus* reporteth) to get the Pope-dome like a notable dissembling hypocrite, pretended at Rome to be a Catholick, but

in his letters to *Theodora* the Empresse, who was an heretick, condemned the Catholick faith: and promised, that if *Sylverius* might be thrust out, and he put into his place, he would restore *Anthemius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, rejected by *Agapetus* for heresie. Which being brought to passe by *Theodora* the Empresse, and *Sylverius* unjustly banished, he sate for a while as an Anti-pope and an heretick. But when as *Sylverius* was dead, he professed himselfe a Catholick, and refused to performe that he had promised to *Theodora*. Whether this man being an heretick in his outward profession at his entrance, and by such profession getting the Popedome unjustly, schismatically, and as an Anti-pope, could ever after be true Pope, let our Adversaries give us answer, when they have advisedly thought of it.

The next Pope that is charged with heresie, is *Honorius* the first, whom the Christian world, and not a few particular men onely condemned as a *Monothelite*. For in the sixth generall Councell, his Epistles to *Sergius* the heretick are publickly read and condemned, and he accused as an heretick. The seventh generall Councell likewise doth anathematize *Honorius*, *Sergius*, *Syrus*, and the other *Monothelites*. In the eighth generall Councell, called about the matter of difference between *Ignatius* and *Photius*, the acts of the Councell of the West under *Adrian* the second, are read and allowed; wherein *Adrian* professeth, that none of the inferiour Sees may judge the greater, and specially *Rome*, unlesse it be in case of heresie; in which case they of the East did anathematize and accurse *Honorius*: which yet (he saith) they would not have adventured to doe, if the *Roman* Church had not gone before them in such condemnation of her owne Bishop. Pope *Leo* the second in his Epistle to *Constantine* the Emperour, which we find in the end of the sixth generall Councell, accurseth the same *Honorius* as an heretick and a wicked one, that defiled and polluted the Apostolick chaire with heresie. With *Leo* consenteth *Tharafius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Theodorus* Bishop of *Hierusalem*; *Epiphanius* in his disputation with *Gregory*, in the sixth Action of the seventh generall Councell: *Pfellus*, *Beda* and the Author of the *Pontificall*. These authorities may seeme very sufficient to prove, that *Honorius* was an heretick: yet so well are our Adversaries affected to him, that they will rather discredit them all, than suffer him to be spotted and disgraced: and therefore some of them say, that the sixth generall Councell is corrupted; and likewise the Epistle of *Leo* the second, in the end of it: and that the Fathers in the 7th Councell were deceived by the 6th, as likewise Pope *Adrian* with the whole *Roman* Synode, and the other Authors, that concur with them in the condemnation of *Honorius*. Others thinke, that indeede the 6th Councell condemned *Honorius*, but upon false information, and so erred in a matter of fact. Which conceit is no way probable. For that the Fathers of the Councell proceeded not rashly, but caused the Epistles of *Honorius* written to the heads of the faction of the *Monothelites* (for which he was suspected) to be openly read and examined. But (say they) first, these Epistles haply were counterfeit: 2^d If they were not counterfeit, there is nothing in them contrary to the truth. Neither of these answers is sufficient. For first, that the Epistles were not counterfeit, it appeareth by *Maximus*. who answereth a place brought out of them, and sheweth the meaning of it, as from the Secretary that wrote it, then living. 2^d, If these Epistles had bin counterfeit, the Legates of *Agatho* present there, would have taken exception to them, and not have consented to the condemnation of one of his predecessors upon counterfeit evidence. Neither is the second answer better than the first: for that the Fathers assembled in a generall Councell, should not be able to understand the Epistles of *Honorius*, and judge whether they were hereticall or not, as well as the Jesuites now living, is very strange. But let us suppose the Jesuites to have more wit than all those worthy Bishops and Fathers that were assembled in the sixth Councell, and let us see by taking a view of the Epistles themselves, whether they may be cleared from the error they have bin charged with, or not. It is not to be denied, but that *Honorius* in these his Epistles confesseth, that the nature of God in Christ, worketh the things that are divine: and the nature of man, the things that are humane, without division, confusion, or conversion of one of them into another: and that the differences of these natures remaine inviolable. But in that he

Actione 13.

Actione 7.

Actione 7.

In Synod. 7.

Actione 3.

In Epistola

Synodica quæ

habetur in ea-

dem 7. Synod.

Actione 3.

In Synod. 7.

Actione 6.

In Carm. de

7. Synodis.

De 6. artic.

in vita Con-

stantini 4.

In vita Leo-

nis.

Actione 13.

Disp. Maximi

cum Pyrho in

2. Tom. Conc.

apud Binnium.

Actione 12.

Synod. 6. &

act. 13.

he denieth that there are two actions in Christ, the one of *Deity*, and the other of *Humanity*; in that he saith, it is absurd to thinke, that where there are more natures than one, there must be more actions than one: and alloweth of *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who were *Monothelites*, rather than of *Sophronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, a right worthy and learned Bishop (who defended the truth against them both, and whose learned Epistle to *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, we finde in the sixth generall Councell:) it cannot be avoyded but that he erred in matter of faith, in such sort, as by consequence it overthroweth that distinction of the two natures of God and Man in Christ, which he seemed to acknowledge. Neither can it be cleared from suspition of hereticall and bad meaning, that he maketh it but a curiosity of Philosophers to acknowledge a two-fold action in Christ, and denieth that the Fathers ever defined any such thing; whereas Pope *Martin* the first in the Synode of *Rome*, saith, It is cleare by the determination of the Fathers, that the two natures of Christ remaine unconfounded in the union, and undivided, as also his two wills, and the two distinct actions, and naturall properties of them. *Maximus* in his disputation with *Pyrrhus*, found in the second Tome of the Councils, cleareth one sentence of *Honorius*, wherein he seemeth to acknowledge but one will in Christ; affirming out of the testimony of him that wrote that Epistle for *Honorius*, that he meant it of one will of the humane nature of Christ; thereby shewing, that there was no such contrariety of desires found in him as in us. But what is that to the other things that are objected to him? Two objections our Adversaries have against them who thinke that *Honorius* was condemned for heresie. The first is, that the sixth generall Councell could not condemne him, without being contrary to it selfe, in allowing the Epistle of *Agatho*, wherein he saith; that the faith never failed in *Peters* chaire, and that his predecessors did alwayes confirme their brethren. The second, that some Writers speaking of the *Monothelites*, and naming divers of them, omit him; that *Maximus* in his Dialogue against *Pyrrhus*, *Theophanes Isaurus* in his History, cited by *Onuphrius*, and *Emmanuel Chalica* in his booke in the defence of the *Latines* against the *Greekes*, affirme, he was ever a Catholick; and some other, as *Beda*, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius*, *Blondus*, *Nauclerus*, *Sabellicus*, and *Platina*, doe speake of him as of a Catholick Bishop. The first of these objections I have answered^e else-where, shewing, that some of *Agathoes* predecessors might for some short space faile to doe their duty, in confirming their brethren, and swarve from the truth; and yet that be true he saith in that Epistle, that in the See it selfe the faith never failed: and that his predecessors fell not either so many, or in such sort, but that the Bishops of that Church did ever reach forth their helping hands to other, either in the beginning of each heresie, or before it was utterly extinct and suppressed; as it fell out in this, both in respect of Pope *Martin* and others before, and of himselfe now. To the second we say, that it doth not seeme to be strongly proved, that *Honorius* was no heretick, by the silence of some few. That *Maximus* doth not cleare *Honorius* generally, but one sentence of *Honorius* only. That *Theophanes Isaurus* doth not goe about to cleare *Honorius* from heresie, but saith only, that the Canons of the sixth Councell were not made by the same Fathers that were at first assembled, but by others. So speaking nothing of *Honorius*, who was condemned in the Councell, and not in the Canons; and that the rest, to wit, *Chalica*, and some few other living long after the time of *Honorius*, are no sufficient prooffe against that cloud of witnesses, which we produced in the beginning. And therefore there is yet nothing brought to reprove the testimony of our witnesses, or to make good that hee was alwayes a Catholick, which is the thing to be proved.

With *Honorius* we may joyne *Gregory* the third, who in his Epistle to *Bonifacius*, giveth leave to a man, whose wife falleth into some such infirmity, as maketh her unfit to company with him, to marry another, so that he give her maintenance. And that he speaketh not of any impediment before marriage not knowne, which maketh the contract voyde from the beginning, but of such infirmities as fall out afterwards, it is evident. First, in that he saith: *If any mans wife shall be taken with such infirmity, &c.* Secondly, in that hee provideth: *That the husband shall provide for her maintenance;*

^a Actione 11.

^x Concilior.
Tomo 2.

^y Actione 4.

^e 2 Tom con-
cil. apud Bin-
nium.

^a In vita Ho-
norii apud
Platinam.

^b Chap. 42.

^c Decret. part.

² causa 32. qu.

⁷ Canon. pro-
posuisti.

renance; which in case of a voyde contract from the beginning, is no way reasonable. Thirdly, in that he saith: *He shall thus provide for her, seeing infirmity, and not wickednesse driveth him from her.* Fourthly, in that he saith: *It were better hee should con- saine; seeing in case of abuse by unknowne defect and impediment, making the contract voyde from the beginning, there is no more cause why a man so abused should con- taine and refraine from marriage, than any other.* Now to permit marriage by reason of any defect or infirmity ensuing after the first marriage, I thinke our Adversaries will not deny to bee erroneous, seeing the contrary is defined in the *Councell of Trent.* dS: ff. 24. c. 2. Neither doth it excuse this error of *Gregory*, that *Bellarmino* alleadgeth out of *An- e Lib. 1. de ser- gantine*, who maketh some doubt whether the wife with her husbands consent, yeel- mone Dom. in ding to the wicked desires of him in whose hands he is, to save his life, be excusable monte, c. 29. from sinne; seeing he doth but upon a particular accident propose a disputable ques- tion; and the other resolveth and giveth warrant for the practice of an unlawfull thing, and that as a Pope in his directions to *Bonifacius*, having newly converted cer- taine barbarous people to the faith of Christ.

Wherefore let us proceede to see whether there be any moe Popes that may justly be charged with error or heresie. Wee read in the *Stories of the Church*, that f *Sigebert.* in *Chronico anni* one *Formosus*, Bishop of *Portina*, being hardly thought of, and suspected by *John* the 900. & seq. Pope, left his Bishoprick, and fled for feare of him; that being called back by *John*, and Platina in *Ste- phan. & Sergio.* refusing to returne, he was anathematized by him; and that at last comming into *France* to satisfie the Pope, hee was degraded, and put into a Lay habite, and made to sweare never to enter into *Rome* any more, nor ever to communicate but as a Lay man: yet afterwards by *Martinus*, *Johns* successour, he was restored to his Bishoprick, absol- ved from his oath, came to *Rome*, and in the end obtained to be Pope, contrary to the mindes of many of the *Romans*, who desired rather to have had one *Sergius* a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, but prevailed not. Whereupon there grew great question with much scandall, some affirming that his consecration and the consecration of such as he ordained, was voyde: others, that whatsoever were thought of *Formosus*, yet for the dignity of his Bishoply office, and the faith of those hee ordained, their ordinati- ons were to be holden for good, especially seeing he was absolved from his perjury by *Martinus* the Pope. The next Pope (save one) that succeeded *Formosus*, was *Stephen*, who fate but foure moneths, yet was not idle, but though he had beene ordained Bi- shop of *Anagnia* by him, persecuted him with deadly hate, and pronounced the ordi- nations of all such as he had ordained to be voyde. After him succeeded *Romanus*, and after *Romanus*, *Theodorus*, who being contrarily minded to *Stephen*, reconciled those whom *Stephen* had degraded, but presumed not to consecrate or ordaine them againe. After *Theodorus*, followed *John*, who, to confirme the ordinations of *Formosus*, pro- nounced voyde by *Stephen*, called a Councell of 72 Bishops, the Archbishops of *France*, and the King being present: and in the sight of them all, caused the Acts of the Synode which *Stephen* held for condemnation of *Formosus*, to be burned. After *John* succee- ded *Benedictus*, and after him *Sergius* the Deacon, that missed the Popedom when *Formosus* got it. This *Sergius* in revenge of his former repulse, forced the *Romans* with threats and terrours, to account the ordinations of *Formosus* voyde, and (which is not to be spoken) drew him out of his grave after he had rested in it a good space; put upon him the Papall vestures, set him in *Peters* chaire, commanded him to be behea- ded, and then cutting off three of his fingers, caused him to be cast into *Tiber*, degra- ding all that he had ordained. Here we see Popes clearly convinced of heresie, and de- fining and decreeing for heresie. For seeing *Formosus* was sometime undoubtedly a true Bishop, it was an error in faith to say, that his ordinations were voyde. This is so cleare, that *Bellarmino* denieth it not, but saith only, that neither *Stephen*, nor *Sergius* g De Pont. lib. published any decree, that their ordinations were voyde, whom *Formosus* had ordai- 4. c. 12. ned, and that they were to be re-ordained; but did onely so re-ordaine, *de facto*, in their fury, and distempered passions: wherein he is clearly refuted by *Sigebert*, who h Anno 901. saith expressly, that they decreed *omnes ordinationes ejus irritas esse debere*: that is, That all his ordinations were to be taken and reputed for voyde.

i De heret. lib.
1. cap. 4.

4 In Decretal.
cap. laudabilem
de conversione
Infidelium.

1 Cap. Quanto
de divorciis.

24. can.
5.

Alfonfus à
Castro. contra
heret. l. 1. c. 2.

Cap. exiit de
verb. signif. in
Sexto.

Ockam operis
96. dierum, c. 2.

9 In extrava-
gant. ad Con-
ditorem Ca-
nonum.

To *Stephen* and *Sergius* we may adde *Celestinus* the third, who (as *Alfonfus à Castro* truly affirmeth) cannot by any meanes be excused from heresie, in that he taught, that the bond of marriage is so dissolved by heresie, that he whose wife falleth into heresie, may lawfully leave her and take another. This decree of *Celestinus* is not now to be found in the Decretals, but it was in the ancient; and *Alfonfus* professeth, hee read it there himselfe. Now that it is hereticall in the judgement of our Adversaries, it is evident, in that *Innocentius* the third teacheth the contrary, and the Council of *Trent* defineth otherwise. Neither doth *Bellarmines* answer, that he did not passe any Decree, but onely deliver his owne private opinion, helpe the matter; For *Gratian* maketh the Decretals equall in authority with the Canons of Councils, and our Adversaries are wont to prove the Popes power by his Decretals, as if all they were subject to him, and bound to obey him to whom he writeth them.

The next Pope that is charged with heresie, is *Nicholas* the fourth, who defineth, that Christ taught both by word and example most perfect poverty, consisting in the abandoning of all propriety in things, and right or claime to them, either in particular, or in respect of the whole Colledge and company of men living together, and that such poverty is pleasing to God, and meritorious. For the better understanding of this matter wee must distinguish the use of things, and the propriety in them, or right and claime to them. The propriety in things, and the right and claime to them, is two-fold; either absolute, when men may judicially challenge a thing as their owne, and use it how, and in what sort they will, so that it be not prohibited by the Law of God and Nature, or restrained and limited; as Clergy-men may challenge the possessions and lands belonging to them, and judicially recover them if they bee with-holden from them; yet may they not so freely dispose of them, as Lay-men may of theirs. The use of things is two-fold: For there is *Usus juris*, and *usus facti*: *Usus facti* is when one hath the use of a thing, but so, that he hath no right to use it, warrantable by any positive or humane law; and if any one will deprive him of it, he cannot by law hinder him. *Usus juris*, is the right one hath to use a thing, leaving the claime of the possession of the substance of it to the owner thereof. This kinde of use is likewise two-fold: *nudus*, and *usus-fructus*. The former is when one hath right to use a thing, but so limited and restrained, that he may neither sell, let, nor give the same right. The later, when he may. The *Franciscan* Friers imagining the heighth of Christian perfection to consist in extreame poverty, by their vow of poverty abandon, not only in particular, as doe other Religious, but in generall, even in respect of their whole company and society, all interest, right, and claime to lands, livings, and possessions, or to the use of any such things, leaving nothing to themselves, but the bare use of such things as by free gift, begging, or labour, come to their hands, without all right to use them pleadable and justifiable by any course of humane law. So that if any one will take the bread out of their hands, before it come to their mouths, or the clothes from them, wherewith they hide their nakednesse, they may not complaine of him for so doing, nor prosecute any suit against him for it. This kinde of poverty Pope *Nicholas* affirmeth Christ taught both by word and example, and willeth the *Franciscanes*, according to their rule, strictly to observe the same. And for their safety and security taketh order, that all moveables given to them for use, shall in respect of right belong to the Church of *Rome*, as likewise their Oratories, & Cemiteries. But their dwellings not so, unless the giver expresse an absolute gift (which yet must not be to the Fryers, but to the Church) and the Church expressly accept the same. For otherwise the owner may at his pleasure take them away againe. Further hee ordereth, that such things as are given to them, and they have the use of, they may either of themselves change them for such other things as they need or desire, or cause the Governour and disposer of them appointed by the Pope, to sell them, and with the money to buy such things as they neede, and let them have the use of them, as bookes and the like; for with money they themselves may not meddle. Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth, following *Nicholas*, and finding by experience, that these Friers did but abuse the world with their faire shewes of perfection, condemned their hypocrisie, and would be no patron of it, as his predecessour was. First, therefore

therefore hee shewed, that perfection consisteth essentially in charity, which *Paul* nameth the bond of perfection, and that the abandoning of propriety in things maketh nothing to perfection, farther than it excludeth the care that is wont to be found in men, in getting, keeping, and disposing of them, weakning the act of divine love: so that if there be as much carefulnesse in men after the disclaiming of propriety in things, as before, their seeming poverty maketh nothing to Christian perfection. Now hee saith, that after the ordination of his predecessour, these Friars were no lesse carefull in getting and keeping things both by begging, judicall suing, and the like meanes, than any other mendicants that have some things as their owne in common. And that therefore howsoever they pleased themselves, their observation was of no more perfection, than theirs that had something of their owne in common. Secondly, he shewed, that these mendicants having the use of such things as are given to them, and the Church of *Rome* the propriety (in name and title, but not in deed, being onely to secure them in the use thereof, and to make no benefit) that it is but a single right the Church hath, and that they are in trueth and indeede no poorer than they that have things of their owne; seeing they may change the use of one thing for another, or at least cause the Procurator, designed by the Church of *Rome*, to change things into money, and buy for them such as they rather desire to have, making use of all things that come to their hands at their pleasure, as much as they that have them of their owne. Thirdly, hee pronounced, that to thinke that Christ and his Apostles had nothing of their owne in speciall or common, and that they had no right to use such things as they had, to sell them, give them, or with them to buy other, is contrary to the Gospel, condemneth Christ and his Apostles of injustice, and overthroweth the whole Scripture. Yet Pope *Nicholas* defined, that Christ and his Apostles had nothing of their owne, either in speciall or common, and that the having of a common bagge no way contrarieth this conceit, seeing that was but by a kinde of dispensation in the person of the weake and imperfect; and to shew, that he disliketh not them that come short of his perfection. Thus we see Pope *Nicholas* erred in a matter of faith, patronized hypocrites in their fained shewes of counterfeit perfection, and was disliked and contraried by his owne successour *Iohn* the two and twentieth for the same; by reason whereof there grew a maine difference betweene Pope *Iohn* and the *Franciscan* Friars, he charging them with heresie, and persecuting them from place to place: and they likewise disclaiming him as a damnable heretick, and no Pope. The principall men on the Friars part were *Michael Casenas*, and *Occam* the great Schoole-man, who hath written much against Pope *Iohn*, touching this argument.

Neither is Pope *Iohn* (though in this point of Christian perfection hee were of a sounder and better judgement than his predecessor) any happier than he. For he is likewise charged with error in matter of faith (and that not unjustly) by the same Friars, that he so much hated & persecuted. For (as *Occam* testifieth in his *Dialogues*) he taught, that the soules of the just shall not see God till the generall Resurrection: and that not faintly, or doubtingly, but in such passionate and violent manner, as not to endure those that thought otherwise. *Gerson* likewise in his Sermon upon Easter day, before the French King and his Nobles, saith, That the thiefe on the crosse in that very houre that Christ spake unto him, was made happy, and saw God face to face, according to the promise of Christ made unto him, [This day shalt thou bee with mee in Paradise;] and that thereby the doctrine of *Iohn* the two and twentieth is proved false, that was condemned by the Divines of Paris with the sound of trumpets, before King Philip, uncle to the King before whom then he spake; the King rather beleeving the Divines of Paris, than the Court of Rome. *Bellarmino*, to derive the hate of this matter from the Pope to others, would willingly fasten this error on *Calvine*, and to that purpose alleadgeth two places out of him; but neither of them proveth any such thing. For in the first, hee speaketh not of any stay of the Saints departed without, in outward Courts, out of heaven till the Resurrection (as the Cardinall strangely misunderstandeth him) but sheweth by a most apt comparison, that as in the time of *Moses* Law, the High Priest onely entred into the Holiest of all, to make an

Ecc

attonement

Vide literas
Michael. Cas-
sen. in fine Di-
alog Occam.
Occam, in o-
pere 90. dic-
tum, & alibi.
2 partis tract.
1. in initio.

Part. 4. ope-
rum ejus. With
Gerson agreeeth
Adrian 6. in q.
de Confirmat.
circa finem.

De Pontif.
lib. 4. cap. 14.

Instit. lib. 3.
c. 20. & 24.

attonement, and all the people stayed without; so none but Christ goeth into the presence of God, to make peace, and to worke the great worke of reconciliation, and that all the sonnes of men are to expect without, till hee bring them assurance of favour and acceptation. And in the second place where hee saith, that the dead are joyned with us that live in the unity of the same faith, his meaning is not, that faith, opposite to sight, is found in the Saints after death, as it is in us, but that they have a cleare view, and present enjoying of those things which we beleeye. Neither is there any thing found in *Calvin* that may any way excuse the error of Pope *John*. Thus then (I hope) it doth appeare by that which hath bene said, that Popes are subject to error, that they may become Hereticks, and define for heresie, and that therefore the second supposed priviledge of the *Roman* Bishop, which is infallibility of judgement, is found to have no prooffe at all. Wherefore let us proceede to the third, which is his power to dispose of the kingdomes of the World, and to over-rule the Princes and Potentates thereof.

C H A P. 44.

Of the Popes unjust claime of temporall dominion over the whole world.

^d August. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, & alii cit. a Bellarm.

^b Bellar. & alii.

^e Waldensis, Gerson, Hart, and many other cited in the examination of Blackwel.

^d De Pont. l. 5. c. 23. & 4.

^e 1 Cor. 5. 12.

^f Dan. 2. 37.

^g Mat. 22. 21.

^h Rom. 13. 5.

Touching the right and interest of Popes in intermeddling with secular affaires, and disposing of the Kingdomes of the world, there are three opinions among the *Romanists*: The ^a first is, that the Pope is soveraigne Lord of all the world, or at least of all the Christian world; and that the Princes of the Earth are but his Vicegerents and Lieutenants. The ^b second, that the Pope is not soveraigne Lord of the world, nor of any part thereof: and that therefore hee may not at his pleasure intermeddle with the affaires of Princes, but onely in case of some defect found in them, as when they faile to doe their duty, or seeke to hinder the common good, especially of the Church. The ^c third, that hee may not at all intermeddle with the disposition of earthly kingdomes, or restraine, or depose Princes, how much soever they abuse their authority.

The first of these three opinions had anciently, and hath presently great patrons and followers. Yet ^d Bellarmine very confidently and learnedly refuteth the same. First, shewing that the Pope is not soveraigne Lord of the whole world. Secondly, that hee is not Lord of the Christian world. And thirdly, that he is Lord of no part of the world. That he is not Lord of the whole world, he proveth, because not of those Provinces that are possessed by Infidels, which hee demonstrateth. First, because Christ committed none but only his sheepe to *Peter*; and therefore gave him no authority over Infidels which are not his sheepe; whereunto *S. Paul* agreeth, professing, that *he hath nothing to doe to judge them that are without*. Secondly, because dominion and the right of Princes is not founded in grace or faith, but in free will and reason, and hath not sprung from the written Law of *Moses*, or *Christ*, but from the Law of Nations and Nature. Which is most cleare, in that God both in the Old and New Testament approveth the Kingdomes of the Gentiles and Infidels, as appeareth by that of *Daniel* to *Nebuchadnezzar*: *O King, thou art King of Kings, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a kingdome, power, and strength, and glory, and in all places where the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowles of the heaven hath been given into thine hand, and hath made thee a ruler over them all*. And that of *Christ*, *Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars*. With whom the Apostle agreeth, requiring the Christians of his time, not only to pay tribute to Heathen Kings, but also *to obey them for conscience sake*; which men were not bound to, if they had no authority & right to command. Neither can it be said, that heathen Princes are the Popes Lieutenants, and therefore to be obeyed for his sake, though not for their owne, seeing the Pope would have no such Lieutenants, if it lay in him to place them, or displace them. Lastly hee proveth, that the Pope hath no such soveraigne right of commanding over

over all, as is pretended, seeing it had beene vaine for Christ to give him a right to that, whereof he should never get the possession. And having thus proved, that Infidels were truly and rightly Lords of the Countries subject to them before the coming of Christ, that hee found no nullitie in their titles, nor ever seized their kingdomes and dominions into his owne hands, as some fondly imagine that he did, hee proceedeth to prove, that Princes when they become Christians, lose not the right that they formerly had to their kingdomes, but get a new right to the kingdome of heaven. For that otherwise Christs grace should destroy nature, and his benefits bee prejudiciall to such as are made partakers of them. Whereas Christ came not to destroy and overthrow things well settled before, but to perfect them: nor to hurt any, but to doe good to all. For confirmation whereof, he alleadgeth part of the Hymne of *Sedulius*, which the whole Church doth sing. *Hostis Herodes impie, Christum venire quid times? Non eripit mortalia, qui regna dat caelestia*; that is, O impious enemie *Herod*, why dost thou feare Christs coming? He will not deprive thee of thy transitory kingdome upon earth, that gives an eternall kingdome in heaven. Whence it followeth, that Christ imposed no such hard condition on those Kings that were to become Christians, as to leave their Crownes and dignities.

And so he commeth to his second proposition, that the Pope is not temporall Lord of the Christian world, which he confirmeth: First, because if the Pope were Sovereigne Lord of all the Christian world, Bishops should be temporall Lords of their Cities, and the places adjoyning subject to them. Which neither they will grant, that contend for the Sovereignty of the Pope; nor can stand with that of Saint *Ambrose*, who saith, *If the Emperour aske tribute, we deny it him not. The Church lands doe pay tribute. And againe, Tribute is Caesars, it is not denied him, but the Church is Gods; and may not be yeelded to Caesar.* And that of *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, who (as we reade in *Atbanasius*) telleth the Emperour, that God hath given him the Empire, but that he hath committed to Bishops those things that pertaine to the Church. Secondly, out of the confession of Popes, Pope *Leo* confessing, that *Martianus* the Emperour, was appointed to the Empire by God, and that God was the authour of his Empire: And *Gelasius* writing to *Anastasius* the Emperour, and acknowledging, that there are two things by which principally the world is guided, to wit, the sacred authority of Bishops, and the regall power of Princes, with whom *Gregorie* agreeth, when he saith, *Power over all is given from heaven to the piety of my Lord.*

Ambros. in Oratione de tradend. Basil.

In epist. ad solitariam vitam agenes. / Leo epist. ad Marian. 38. & 43.

Ep. ad Anastas. quæ habetur. Dist. 96. c. duo sunt.

Greg. lib. 2. epist. 61. ad Mauritium.

And from hence hee inferreth his third proposition, that the Pope is temporall Lord of no part of the world, in the right of *Peters* successour, and Christs Vicar. For, if there were no nullity in the titles of infidell Kings and Princes, nor no necessity implied in their conversion, of relinquishing their right when they become Christians, but that both Infidels and Christians, notwithstanding any act of Christ, continued in the full possession of Princely power and right, it could not be that Christ should invest *Peter*, or his successours with any kinde of authority, seeing he could give them none, but such as he should take from others:

Nay, hee proceedeth farther, and sheweth, that Christ himselfe, while hee was on the earth, was no temporall Lord or King, and therefore much lesse gave any temporall dominion or kingdome to his Apostles. That hee was no temporall King, hee proveth, because the right to bee a King or Lord in such sort as men are Kings or Lords, is either by inheritance, election, conquest, or speciall donation and gift of Almighty God. Now that Christ according to the flesh, was a King by right of inheritance, hee saith, it cannot be proved, because, though hee came of the kingly family, yet it is uncertaine whether he were the next in blood to *David* or not. And besides, the kingdome was taken away from *Dauids* house, because Christ was borne; and God had foretold, that of the House of *Ieconiah*, of which Christ came (as we may reade in the first of Saint *Matthew*) there should never be any temporall King such as *David*, and the rest that succeeded him were; saying, *Write this man barren, a man that shall not prosper in his dayes; for there shall bee no man of his seede to sit upon the throne of David, and to have power any more in Judah.* And whereas it might be objected,

o Vers. 12.

plerem. 22. 30.

- that the Angel prophesied, that ^a the Lord God should give unto Christ, the seat of David his Father, the Cardinall answereth out of Hierome, upon the place of Hieremie; and Ambrose upon Luke, that the words of Almighty God which we reade in Hieremie, are to be understood of a temporall kingdome, and the words of the Angel of a spirituall and eternall kingdome. That Christ was not a temporall King by right of election; he proveth by that of Christ himselfe, when he saith, ^b O man, who hast made mee a judge, or a divider among you. And by that of Saint John, where hee saith, that ^c When Christ knew they meant to come and take him, and make him a King, hee fled againe himselfe alone into a mountaine. So that he neither was chosen, nor would have accepted of any such choyce. That by right of conquest and victory hee was not a temporall King, it appeareth, in that his warre was not with mortall Kings, to deprive them of their Kingdomes, but with the Prince of darknesse; according to that of the Apostle: ^d To this purpose did the Sonne of God appeare, that hee might dissolve the workes of the Devill. And that againe, ^e Now is the Prince of this world cast out. And that of Saint Paul, who speaking of Christ, saith, That spoyleing principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in himselfe. So that his warfare was not, by carnall weapons to get himselfe an earthly kingdome, but by spirituall weapons, mighty through God, to get a spirituall kingdome, that he might reigne in the hearts of men, by faith and grace, where Sathan reigned before by infidelity, disobedience, and sinne. Lastly, that hee was no temporall King by any speciall gift of God his Father, it is evident out of his owne words, when hee saith, ^f My kingdome is not hence: For as the Fathers note upon these words, Christ meant by so saying, to put Pilate out of doubt, that hee affected no temporall kingdome. And therefore the sense of his words must needs be this, I am a King, but not in such sort as Caesar and Herod: My kingdome is not of this world: that is, The supports of it are not things of this world, it doth not consist in honour, riches, and power of this world. This thing the Cardinall farther proveth to be true, because hee came to minister, and not to be ministred unto; to be judged, and not to judge: and by his whole course of conversation, shewed the same, never taking upon him to doe any kingly act. For, whereas he cast out the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, it rather pertained to the Priests office, than the Kings, according to that which we reade in the old Testament, that the ^g Priest drave the King himselfe out of the Temple, when disorderly he presumed to doe things not pertaining to him: and yet hee did it not by any Priestly or Kingly authority, but after the manner of Prophets, by a kinde of divine zeale, like that wherewith ^h Phinehees was moved to kill the adulterer and adulteresse, and ⁱ Elias to slay the Prophets of Baal. This most true opinion of the Cardinall, that Christ was no temporall King, is farther confirmed, in that such a kinde of kingdome had not beene necessary. Nay, it had beene an hinderance to the worke hee had in hand, which was to perswade to the contempt of glory, honour, riches, pleasures, and all such other earthly things, wherewith the Kings of the earth abound: and by suffering death, to overcome him that had the power of death; and to reconcile the world unto God. And besides, in that all the places where any mention is made of the kingdome of Christ, are necessarily understood of a spirituall and eternall kingdome. So in the Psalme, ^j I am appointed of him a King, to preach his commandment. And againe, in the booke of Daniel: ^k In their dayes shall God raise up a kingdome, which shall not be destroyed for ever: and of his kingdome there shall be no end. Whereas the kingdomes of men continue but for a time; and therefore if Christ had beene a King in such sort while hee was upon the earth, as men are, he had ceased to be so, when hee left the earth. And then it could not have beene true, that of his kingdome there should be none end. Nay seeing the kingdome of the Iewes was possessed by the Romans, at, or immediately after the time of the departure of Christ out of the world and afterwards by the Saracens, and Turkes: how could that of Daniel have beene fulfilled, that his kingdome shall not be given to another people, if his kingdome had beene like the kingdomes of men? So it is true, that Christ came into the world to be a King, and that God gave him the seate of David his Father. But his kingdome

domie was diuine, spirituall, eternall, and proper unto him, in that he was the Sonne of God, and in that he was God and Man. But a temporall Kingdome, such as the sonnes of men have, hee had not. And hereupon Saint *Augustine* bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort, '*Audite Iudæi & Gentes, audi circumcisiõ, audi præputium, audite* f Aug. in 29. *omnia regna terrena, non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc mundo, &c.* that is, *Ioannis*. Heare O *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, heare circumcisiõ, and uncircumcisiõ, heare all yee kingdomes of the earth, I hinder not your dominion and rule in this world, because my kingdome is not of this world. Feare not therefore with that most vaine and causelesse feare, wherewith *Herod* feared, and slew so many innocent babes, being cruell, rather out of feare than anger, and so forward: shewing that the Kingdome of Christ is meere ly spirituall, and such as no way prejudiceth the kingdomes of men. Which the *Glosse* confirmeth, noting that Christ, while hee was yet to live longer in this world, when the multitudes came to make him a King, refused it: but that when hee was ready to suffer, he no way reproved, but willingly accepted the hymnes of them, that received him in triumphant manner, and welcommed him to *Hierusalem*, honouring him as a King; because hee was a King, not having a temporall and earthly kingdome, but an heavenly. Whereunto *Leo* agreeth, shewing, that *Herod*, when hee heard a Prince was borne to the *Jewes*, feared a successour; but that his feare was vaine and causelesse, saying, '*O caca stulta emulationis impietas, qua perturbandum putas* b Leo Serm. de Epiphania. *divinum tuo furore consilium! Dominus mundi temporale non quarit regnum qui præstat æternum:* that is, O blinde impiety of foolish emulation, which thinketh to trouble and hinder the Councels of God by thy furie. The Lord of the World, who giveth an eternall Kingdome, came not into the World to seeke a temporall kingdome. And *Fulgentius* accordeth with him, saying, *The gold which the Sages offered to Christ, shewed him to bee a King, but not such a King as will have his Image and superscription in the coyne, but such an one as seeketh his image in the sonnes of men.* Whence it followeth, he was no temporall or mundane King; seeing they have their images and superscriptions in their coyne, that are Kings after the manner of the World. This assertion may be proved by many unanswerable reasons. The first is this, Christ standing before *Pilate*, and being asked by him if hee were a King, answered, '*That his kingdome was not of this world.* Therefore he was no temporall or mundane King. This consequence some deny, affirming, that Christ intended not in his answer to *Pilate*, to deny his kingdome to be a temporall, earthly, and mundane kingdome, but that he meant onely to let him know that he had received his kingdome of God, and that the World neither gave it him, nor chose him to it. And therefore he said, *Regnum meum non est hinc*, and not *Regnum meum non est hic*, that is, My kingdome is not hence, and not, My kingdome is not here. This was the evasion of Pope *John* the two and twentieth (as *Ockam* testifieth) but he refuteth the same by most cleare circumstances of Scripture, and evidence of reason, shewing, that Christ being accused unto *Pilate* as an enemy to *Cæsar*, in that hee made himselfe a King, so cleared himselfe, that *Pilate* pronounced that he found nothing against him; which hee could not, nor hee would not have done if he had confessed his kingdome to bee a mundane kingdome, though hee had derived the right and title of it from Heaven. For *Cæsar* would not have endured any claime of such a kingdome, though fetched from heaven. Neither durst *Pilate* have pronounced him guiltlesse that had made such a claime, and therefore Christ, when he said, his Kingdome was not of this World, meant not only to deny the receiving of it from the World, but also the dependance of it upon any thing in the World; the supports of it not being things earthly, but heavenly and diuine, it no way consisting in riches, honour, power, and worldly greatnesse, as doe the kingdomes of men, but in the power of God. Which thing is aptly exprest by Christ himselfe, when he saith, '*If my Kingdome were of this world, my Souldiers would fight for mee.* m Job. 18. 36. The second reason is this: Hee that is no iudge of secular quarrels, nor divider of inheritance, is no King; for these things belong to the office of a King. But Christ was no Iudge of such quarrels, and differences; therefore hee was no King. That hee was no Iudge of secular quarrels, nor divider of inheritances, it is evident by his

n Luk 12. 14.
o Ambros. in
eum locum.

p Math 20. 25

q Math 22. 21.

r Jerem. 23. 5.
etc.

s Esay 9. 6.

t Luk. 19. 43.

u To which pur-
pose see Wal-
dens. Doctr. 1.
2. art. 3. cap.
76, & 77.

owne deniall thereof. Which Saint Ambrose excellently expresth, saying; *Bene terrena declinat, qui propter divina descenderat; nec Judex dignatur esse litium, & arbiter facultatum, vivorum habens mortuorum judicium, & arbitrium meritorum*: that is, He doth well decline things earthly, who descended and came downe from things divine. Neither doth he vouchsafe to be a judge of quarrels, and an arbitratour to determine the differences of men about their possessions, who is appointed to be judge of the quick and dead, and to whom it pertaineth to discern betweene the well and ill doings of men. And againe; *Merito refutatur ille frater, qui dispensatorem celestium gestiebat terrenis occupare*: that is, That brother is worthily rejected, and hath the repulse, who sought to busie him whom God hath appointed the disposer of things heavenly, with things that are earthly. The third is, because Christ refused to be a King when it was offered him, and told his Disciples, that *The Kings of the nations have dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority. But that it should not be so with them, but that whosoever would be great among them, must be their minister*. The fourth; hee that is a King and will never meddle with the things that belong to a King, is justly to be charged either with wickednesse, or negligence. But Christ never medled with any thing pertaining to the office of a temporall King in this world; therefore either he was no such King, or he may be charged with malice or negligence. But neither of these two later may be admitted; therefore hee was no such King. The fifth; there cannot be two Kings of one kingdome, unlesse either they hold the same joyntly, or the one acknowledge to hold the same, as of and from the other. But Caesar and Christ, neither held the kingdome of *Judea* joyntly, neither did Caesar hold it as from Christ, nor Christ as from Caesar. Therefore either Caesar was no true King, or Christ was no secular King of that kingdome. But that Caesar was a true King, it appeareth by the testimony of Christ himselfe, saying; *Give, or rather render to Caesar the things that are Caesars*. Now Caesar claimed tribute as Lord of the Countrey, and therefore hee was truly Lord and King of it. That Caesar held not of, or from Christ as man, it is evident; and much more, that Christ, who wholly refused to be a King, did never acknowledge to hold any kingdome from mortall man. The sixth, that was the kingdome of Christ whereof the Prophets prophesied; but they prophesied not of any earthly kingdome; therefore Christs kingdome was not earthly. That they prophesied not of any earthly kingdome, it is evident, in that the kingdome they prophesied of, was to be confirmed and restored by him: but the earthly kingdome of *Judea* was not confirmed by the comming of Christ, but upon the refusall of him utterly overthrowne; therefore it was not that the Prophets prophesied of. That the kingdome they prophesied of, was to bee confirmed, restored and bettered; the words of the Prophets are prooffe sufficient: *Behold the day cometh (saith the Lord) and I will raise up unto David a righteous branch, and a King shall reigne, and hee shall be wise, and shall doe judgement and justice in the earth. In those dayes Judah shall bee saved, and Israel shall dwell boldly. And this is the name that they shall call him by: The Lord our righteousness*. And againe, *A little childe is borne unto us, and the principality or rule is on his shoulders. His name shall bee called wonderfull the mighty God, Father of the world to come, the Prince of peace, the increase of his government and peace shall have no end. Hee shall sit upon the throne of David and upon his kingdome to order, and to stablish it with judgement and with justice from henceforth even for ever*. Now that the kingdome of *Judea* was not established, but utterly overthrowne immediatly after Christs departure hence, upon and for the refusall of him, the words of Christ foretelling it, and the event of things answering unto his prediction, are prooffe sufficient. *The day shall come upon thee (saith Christ to Hierusalem, the chiefe Citie of that kingdome) that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee and hold thee in straight on every side, they shall cast thee to the earth, and thy children that are in thee, and shall not leave a stone upon a stone, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation*.

Thus wee see it strongly proved, that Christ himselfe was no temporall or earthly King, and therefore much lesse Peter or the Pope, that pretendeth to be Christs Vicar, and

and *Peters* successour. Notwithstanding, they that are otherwise minded, endeavour to prove, that Christ was a temporall King, and that hee left a kingly power to *Peter* and his successours. First, out of Scripture strangely wrested. Secondly, out of the testimonies of Popes; (for better authorities they have none.) The principall text of Scripture which they alleadge, is in the Gospel of Saint *Matthew*, where our Saviour saith, *All power is given me in heaven and in earth.* But *Bellarmino* telleth them, and the best Divines agree with him, that that place is not to be understood of a temporall power, such as earthly Kings have, but either of a spirituall, whereby Christ so reigned in earth, in the hearts of men by faith, as he doth in heaven in the presence of his glory among the Angels; or a divine power over all creatures, not communicable to mortall men. The former of these interpretations the Authour of the Interlineall Glosse followeth, the later *Lyra* upon this place: his words are; *Licet Christus, quantum ad divinitatem ab aeterno haberet hanc potestatem, & in quantum homo, ab instanti conceptionis, haberet potestatem in caelo, & in terra, autoritative, tamen executive non habuit ante resurrectionem suam, sed voluit esse passibilitati subiectus propter nostram redemptionem*; that is, Although Christ, in that he was God, had this power from all eternity, and in that hee was man, had power both in heaven and in earth, from the first moment of his conception in respect of authority, yet in respect of the execution and performance of the acts of it, hee had it not before his resurrection, but was pleased to be subject to passibility for our redemption. Let us come therefore from the Scripture to the testimonies of later Popes; for Fathers, ancient Councils, or ancient Bishops of *Rome*, they have none to speake for them. The first Pope that they alleadge, is Pope *Nicholas*, in a certaine Epistle of his, where he saith (as they tell us) that Christ committed and gave unto blessed *Peter*, the Key-bearer of eternall life, the rights both of the earthly and heavenly Empire. To this authority first wee answer, that Pope *Nicholas* hath no such words in any Epistle; howsoever *Gratian*, who citeth them as the words of *Nicholas*, mistooke the matter. Secondly, that supposing the words to be the words of *Nicholas*, his meaning may be, that the spirituall power of binding and loosing, which Christ left to *Peter*, is not onely of force in earth, but in heaven also, that being bound in heaven that is bound on earth, and they being repulsed from the throne of grace in heaven, and excluded from Gods favours, that are rejected from the holy Altars, and put from the Sacraments of the Church. Whereupon *Chrysostome* saith, that the power of the Church directeth and commandeth the very Tribunall of heaven, and addeth, that heaven taketh authority of judging from the earth: For that the Judge sitteth on earth, and the Lord followeth the sentence of his servants, according to that of Christ, *Whatsoever you shall binde on earth, shall bee bound in heaven.* Others expound the supposed words of Pope *Nicholas* of the spirituall power of *Peter* over the good and bad in the visible Church, the good being named the kingdome of heaven, and the bad an earthly kingdome or company. But howsoever it is most certaine, that Pope *Nicholas* in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour, hath the cleane contrary to that which some would charge him with. For there hee sheweth, that howsoever before Christ, some were both Kings and Priests, as was *Melchisedeck*, and as likewise some other among the *Pagans* were, yet after Christ none were so. Neither did the Emperour take unto him the rights of the chiefe Priesthood, nor the chiefe Priest the name of the Emperour. *Sed Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus, sic actibus propriis & dignitatibus distinctis, officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, ut & Christiani Imperatores pro aeterna vita Pontificibus indigerent, & Pontifices pro cursu temporalium tantummodo rerum Imperialibus legibus uterentur*; that is, But the Mediatur of God and men, the man Christ, did so distinguish and sever the duties and offices of either of these kindes of power by their proper actions, & distinct dignities, that both Christian Emperours should stand in neede of Bishops, for the attaining of eternall life; and that Bishops should use the Lawes of Emperours, for the course of temporall things onely: that so both the spirituall action and employment might be free from carnall turmoyles, and that he who goeth on warfare unto God, might not at all be entangled

x *Mat.* 28. 18.
y *De Pontif.*
l. 5. cap. 5.

z *Epist. Nichol.*
laicitat. a *Gratian.* Dist. 22.
cap. omnes.

a *Homil. 5. de*
verb. *Esaie*,
Vidi Domi-
num.
b *Mat.* 16. 19.

entangled with secular businesses: and that on the other side, hee might not seeme to be set over the things that are divine, whom the businesses of this world should possesse: that both the modestie of each of these orders and degrees might be preserved; and that also, no one having both these kindes of power should be lifted up too high. The next authority is that of *Bonifacius* the eighth, who hath these words (speaking of the Church, which is one, and whereof he supposeth the Bishop of Rome to be the head:)

e Bonifac. 8. in
extravagant.
unam Sanctam
de majoritate
& obedientia.

d Duaren. de
Sac. Eccl. Mi-
nist. & Benef.
l. 7. c. 10.

e In 22. Lucz.

We are instructed by the Evangelicall sayings, that in this Church, and in the power of it there are two swords, to wit, a spirituall, and a temporall. For when the Apostles said, Behold heere are two swords, to wit, in the Church (because they were the Apostles that spake) the Lord did not answer that it was too much, but that it was enough; and therefore surely, whosoever denieth the temporall sword to bee in the power of Peter, seemeth not well to consider the word of the Lord commanding him to sheathe his sword. The answer unto this authority is easie. For, Bonifacius (as d Duarenus noteth) was a vaine, busie, turbulent, arrogant, and proud man, presuming above that which was fit, and challenging that which no way pertained unto him; and therefore wee may justly reject both him and his sayings. But for the words of our Saviour it is evident, that they prove no such thing as this Pope would inforce out of them. Some (saith e Maldonatus) from these words would prove, that the Church hath two swords, the one spirituall, the other temporall; which, whether it have or have not, cannot bee proved out of this place, where other swords are meant than either of Civill or Ecclesiasticall authority. Our Saviour telleth his Disciples, the times approaching will bee such, as that a man had neede for his owne defence, to sell his coate to buy a sword. Whereupon the Disciples, supposing they should use materiall swords in their owne defence, answer, that they have two swords: To whom Christ replieth, that it is enough, not confirming their erring opinion, but answering them Ironically, as Theophylact and Euthymius thinke. Or otherwise letting them understand, that though the times would bee such, as that many swords would not suffice to defend them, yet that these two were enough, because hee meant to use none at all, but to suffer all that the malice of his enemies could doe unto him. This Maldonatus delivereth to be the literall sense of Christs words, and sheweth a mysticall sense of them also out of Beda, much more apt than that of Bonifacius: Duo gladii (saith Beda) sufficiunt ad testimonium sponte passi Salvatoris. Unus, qui & Apostolis audaciam pro Domino certandi; & evulsâ ictu ejus auriculâ, Domino etiam morituro pietatem, virtutemque doceret inesse medicandi. Alter, qui nequaquam vaginâ exemptus, ostenderet eos nec totum quod potuere, pro ejus defensione facere permisos: that is, Two swords are sufficient to give testimony unto our Saviour, that hee suffered willingly: the one of which might shew, that the Apostles wanted no courage to fight for their Master: and by the care that was cut off by the stroke thereof, and healed againe by the Lord, that he wanted neither piety to compassionate the miserable, nor vertue and power to make him whole that was hurt, though now he were ready to dye. And the other, which never was drawne out of the sheath, might shew, that they were not permitted to doe all that they could have done in his defence. It is not

f Lib. 4. de con-
fid. ad Eugen.

g Cap. Licet de
foro compe-
tent.

h Clem. in lib.
2. Tit. 11. de
Sententia & re
judicatâ.

to be denied, but that S. Bernard mystically expounding the words of Christ, saith; the Church hath two swords of authority; but he thinketh it hath them in very different sort: for it hath the use of the one, and the benefit of the other; the one is to bee drawne by it, the other for it. So that this is all that he saith, that the sword of civill authority is to be used by the Souldiers hand, at the command of the Emperour, by the direction, and at the suite of the Church. From *Bonifacius* they passe to i *Innocentius* the third, who in the vacancie of the Empire, willed those that were wronged in their rightfull causes, to have recourse either to some Bishop, or to himselfe: And *Clemens* the fifth, who professeth to intermeddle with certaine secular businesses and affaires, and to determine certaine civill causes upon three severall grounds. Whereof the first is, his greatnesse, making him superiour to the Emperour. The second, his being in stead of the Emperour, in the vacancie of the Empire. And the third, the fulnesse of power, which Christ the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords gave unto Peter, and

and in him to his successours. Whatsoever wee thinke of the former of these two Popes, who seemed to ground his intermeddling in civill affaires upon some law of the Empire, and concession of civill Princes, accordingly as we reade of *Theodosius*, that he permitted any Lay-men having civill differences among themselves, to referre the same to Ecclesiasticall Iudges if they listed. (Which concession proceeding *ex pietate*, not *ex debito*, that is, out of piety, and not out of any right or necessity that it must be so, is long since growne out of use; the state of Church-men being much changed from that it was, when he granted them that priviledge, as *Duarenus* sheweth.) Yet Pope *Clemens* can by no meanes bee excused from hereticall impiety, affirming that which is most untrue, as may appeare by the manifold reasons brought before to prove the contrary; nor from Antichristian pride, in seeking to tread underneath his feete, the crownes and dignities of Kings and Princes, and to lift himselfe up above all that is called God.

Decreti part. 2. causa 11. Quest. 1. cap. Quicunque.

De Sac. Eccl. Ministr. & benef. lib. 1. c. 1.

C H A P. 45.

Of the Popes unjust claime to intermeddle with the affaires of Princes and their States, if not as soveraigne Lord over all, yet at least in ordine ad spiritualia, and in case of Princes failing to doe their duties.

THat Christ was no earthly King, that hee left no Kingly power to *Peter*, and that the Pope hath no meere temporall power, in that he is Christs Vicar, or *Peters* successour, it is most evident out of the former discourse, and the Cardinall Iesuite confesseth so much; and yet he thinketh the Pope hath a supreme power to dispose of all temporall States and things, *in ordine ad bonum spirituale*, that is, in a kinde of reference to the procuring and setting forward of the spirituall good. But this fancie is most easily refuted by unanswerable reasons, presupposing his former concession.

Bel. de Pont. Rom. l. 5. c. 6.

For first, no man can take away, limit, or restraine any power, or the exercise of it, but hee in whom it is in eminent sort, and from whom it was received. But the civill power that is in Princes, is not in the Pope, neither did it proceed and come originally from him; therefore it cannot be restrained, limited, or taken away by him. The major proposition is evident: the assumption is proved, because civill power is in heathen infidels, who no way hold of the Pope. Secondly, because it is agreed by all Divines of worth and learning, that the civill power in the first originall of it, is immediately from God: or if not immediately by his owne delivery thereof, yet by no other mediation than that of the Law of Nature and Nations: *The Emperours know* (saith *Tertullian*) *who gave them the Empire, they know that it was even the same God, who gave unto them to be men, and to have humane soules. They well perceive, that hee onely is God, in whose onely power they are: a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes, & super omnes Deos*: that is, After whom they are in order the second, but among all other the first before, and above all Gods. And againe, *Inde est Imperator, unde & homo antequam Imperator; inde potestas illi, unde & spiritus*: that is, From thence is the chiefe Ruler and Emperour, whence he was a man before he was an Emperour; from thence hath he his power, from whence hee received the spirit of life. The Author of the answer to the reports of a great and worthy Iudge among us, who hath lately written in the defence of the Popes over-spreading greatnesse, seemeth in part to agree with *Tertullian*, and telleth us, that civill power is received from God, not immediately by his owne delivery thereof, but mediately rather by the mediation of the Law of Nature and Nations. For, by the Law of Nature God hath ordained, that there should be politick government, which the Law of Nations assuming, hath transferred that government to one, or more, according to the divers formes thereof. And *Ockam* proveth at large, that Imperiall power is not from the Pope, and that it is hereticall to say, that all lawfull civill power is from the Pope.

Tert. in Apol. adversus Gent. cap. 30.

Ans. to the reports of Sir Ed. Cooke, chap. 2. pag. 26.

Dialog. lib. 1. tractat. 2. part. 3. cap. 12.

Our second reason is this: Absolute and soveraigne civill Princes while they were infidels,

• Aug. de Bono
Conjugali,
cap. 14.

infidels had true dominion, rule, and authority, holding it as immediately from God, not depending on any Ruler of the Church, as hath bin shewed before. But when they become Christians, they still remaine in the same fulnesse of authority, in as ample and independent sort as before, because the benefit of Christ tendeth to no mans hurt, and grace overthroweth not nature: therefore still they remaine independent and subject to none in the same power, and in the exercise of it. If they shall say, they are subject to none while they use their authority well, but that if they abuse it, they lose the independent absolutenesse thereof. their saying will be found to be hereticall. For if upon abuse of independent authority, they that have it, lose and forfeit it *ipso facto*, then authority and abuse of authority, or at least extreame abuse of it, cannot stand together; which is contrary to that of Saint *Augustine*, where he saith: *Nec tyrannica factionis perversitas laudabilis erit, si regia clementia tyrannus subditos tractet, nec vituperabilis ordo regia potestatis, si Rex crudelitate tyrannica se viat: aliud est namque injusta potestate juste velle uti; & aliud est justa potestate injuste velle uti*: that is, Neither shall the perversnesse of tyrannicall usurpation ever be praise worthy, though the Tyrant use his subjects with all Kingly clemencie, nor the order of Kingly power ever be subject to just reprehension, though a King grow fierce and cruell like a tyrant: for it is one thing to use an unlawfull power lawfully, and another thing to use a lawfull power unrighteously and unjustly.

f De Pont. lib.

3. cap. 7.

g Ecclus. 10. 7.

h 1 King. 12. 30

i Socrates lib.

3. cap. 19.

The third reason may bee this: If God did give to the Pope authority to depose Princes, erring and abusing their authority, hee would give them the meanes to execute that their authority reacheth unto, to wit. civill greatnesse, armies of Souldiers, walled Cities, Towres, and strong holds both for defence and offence, and all other things necessary for the putting downe of wicked Kings. But the Pope as Christs Vicar hath none of these, neither was hee at any time as a temporall Prince, the greatest Monarch of the world, and so able to repress the insolencies of all hereticall, pagan, and wicked Kings, hindering the peaceable proceeding of the Gospel of Christ: therefore he hath no such authority. For to say, that God giveth authority, and not the meanes whereby it may execute and performe that which pertaineth to it, is impious. The onely meanes the Pope hath to depose Princes, are two; but neither of them within the compasse of his power to dispose of. The first, is the raising of subjects against their Prince. The second, is the raising of neighbour Princes. The former of these meanes is very defective, seeing (as *Bellarmino* rightly observeth out of *Ecclesiasticus*) *Such as the Ruler of a Citie is, such are they that dwell in it*: And therefore if the King bee an heretick, the most part of his people will be so too, and rather assill him for the maintenance of his heresie, than resist against him for the suppressing of it. Which thing (as hee saith) experience teacheth: for, when *Jeroboam* became an Idolater, the greatest part of the kingdome worshipped Idols. When *Constantine* reigned, Christian Religion flourished: when *Constantine* reigned, *Arrianisme* prevailed, and overflowed all: when *Julian* swayed the Scepter, the greatest part returned to Paganisme. So that *Iovian* being chosen after his death, refused to bee Emperour, protesting, that being a Christian, hee neither could, nor would bee Emperour over Infidels. Whereupon they all professed, that howsoever they had dissembled before, yet they were still in heart Christians, and now would shew it againe. So that wee see, the first meanes for the suppressing of erring Princes, is no meanes, or a very uncertaine one. And a second is worse than the first: for I never read in any Divine, of what Religion soever, that one King is bound to make warre upon another, upon the Popes command, for the suppressing of heresie. And therefore the Pope may breathe out excommunications till he be breathlesse, but can goe no farther by any meanes that God hath given him.

Fourthly, thus wee reason. Either the power of the Pope is meere Ecclesiasticall and spirituall, or it is not. If it bee not, then hath hee civill authority from Christ which they deny. If it be, then can it inflict no punishments, but meere spirituall, and Ecclesiasticall. For of what nature each power is, of the same are the punishments it inflicteth. The temporall power inflicteth onely temporall, outward, and corporall punishment.

punishments, as losse of goods, imprisonment, banishment, or death. The spirituall only spirituall, as suspension, excommunication, and the like. Now I suppose the losse of a kingdome, with all the riches and honour of it; and captivity, banishment, or death, upon resistance against the sentence of deposition, is a temporall and externall punishment of the worst nature and highest degree that may be.

Lastly, if soveraigne Kings may bee put from their kingdomes upon abuse of their authority, either they forfeit and lose the right of them *ipso facto*, and are deprived by Almighty God; and then the Pope can but declare what God hath already done, as any man else may upon perfect understanding of the case: or else other neighbour Kings, or their owne subjects are to depose them, and the Pope is onely to put them in minde of their duty, and as a spirituall Pastour, to urge them to the performance of it: and then he deposeth them not, but they. Or lastly, the power of assuming their authority to himselfe, upon their abuse thereof, pertaineth unto him; and then in civill authority he is the greatest and over all; which yet these men deny. For he that is to judge of Princes actions: and upon dislike, to limit, restraine, or wholly take their power from them, is supream in that kinde of authority. And if hee may take civill authority from other, and give it to whom he pleaseth, there is no question but he may give it unto himselfe, and so hath power upon all defects of Princes, to take into his owne hand that which formerly pertained to them, and to doe the acts that were to be performed by them.

Now as these reasons strongly prove, that the Pope cannot depose Princes *in ordine ad spiritualia*, so the weaknesse of the reasons brought to prove it, will much more confirme the same. Their first reason is taken from the perfection and excellencie of the Ecclesiasticall or spirituall power, which they say is greater and farre more excellent than that which is civill. Whereunto we answer with *Waldensis*, that though the spirituall power be simply more perfect and excellent than the civill, yet either of these in the performance of things pertaining to them, is greater than the other, and each of them independent of the other. *Ambrose* was greater than *Theodosius* in respect of the administration of divine things, and might either admit him to, or reject him from the Sacraments. But *Theodosius* in respect of all temporall things was greater than hee, and might command him, send him into banishment, or take away all that he had. The Sunne is more excellent than the Moone, and the influence thereof more powerfull; yet is there a kinde of influence upon the waters, wherein the Moone is more excellent than the Sunne. In like sort, the power which is spirituall may doe greater things than that which is temporall, and yet the temporall may doe those things the spirituall cannot doe. And therefore it will not follow, that the Ecclesiasticall state, and the principall Ministers of the Church may take unto themselves the authority of Kings, or take upon them to doe the things that pertaine to Kingly offices, because they are greater in dignity, and have a greater power; unlesse they had a greater dignity and power in the same kinde. Now they who most amplifie the greatnesse of Ecclesiasticall power, preferring it before the other which is civill, never make the greatnesse of it to consist, in that in civill affaires it may doe more than that; but in that it hath a more noble object, and more wonderfull effects. We also (saith *Nazianzen*) have power and authority, and that farre more ample and excellent than that of civill Princes, inasmuch as it is fit the flesh should yeeld to the spirit, and things earthly to things heavenly. Priesthood (saith *Chrysostome*) is a Princedome, more honourable and greater than a Kingdome; tell not me of the Purple, Diademe, Scepter, or golden apparell of Kings, for these are but shadowes, and more vaine than flowres at the spring time. If you will see the difference betweene them, and how much the King is inferiour to the Priest, consider the manner of the power delivered to them both, and you shall see the Priests Tribunall much higher than that of the King, who hath received only the administration of earthly things. But the Priests Tribunall is placed in heaven, and he hath authority to pronounce sentence in heavenly affaires. And againe, Earthly Princes have power to binde but our bodies only, but the bands which Priests can lay upon us, doe touch the soule it selfe, and reach even unto the heavens, so farre forth, as that whatsoever Priests shall determine here

Doctrin. 6d.
l. 2, art. 3. c. 78.

(*Nazianz.* c.
rat. ad Giv
trepidantes.
m Chrys. hom.
s. de verb. E.
saiz, Vidi Do
minum.

Hom. 4.

• Petrus Ble-
sen. ep. 146.

• Lib. 2. de Sa-
crament. part.
2. cap. 4.

• Doct. Fid. lib.
2. art. 3. c. 78.

here beneath, that God doth ratifie above in heaven, and confirme the sentence of his ser-
vants upon earth. When King Richard the first returning from the holy Land, was ta-
ken and held as a prisoner by Duke Leopold of Austria, and the Emperour Henry the
sixth; Queene Elenor his Mother seeking all meanes to procure his deliverance, among
other things, wrote a letter to the Bishop of Rome, intreating him to interpose his
authority. The words of her letter are these, expressing the passion and earnest desire of
her heart. *This only remaineth (O Father) that you draw forth the sword of Peter against
malefactors; which sword, God hath appointed to be over Nations and Kingdomes. The
Crosse of Christ doth excell the Eagles that are in Cæsars Banners, the spirituall sword of
Peter is of more power, than was the temporall sword of Constantine the Emperour, and
the See Apostolick is more potent than any Imperiall power or authority: and I would
aske whether your power be of God, or of men? did not the God of Gods speake to you in
Peter the Apostle, saying; Whatsoever you shall binde upon earth shall be bound in hea-
ven, and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven? and why then doe
you so negligently, or rather cruelly delay for a long time, to loose my sonne? or why dare
you not doe it? perhaps you will say, that the power given you by God of binding and
loosing, is for soules, and not for bodies: Let it be so, truly it is sufficient for us, if you
will binde the soules of those that hold my sonnes body bound in prison. By all these say-
ings of them that most admired the excellencie of Priesthood, it appeareth, that the
excellencie thereof above Princely power, is in respect of the object thereof, which is
more noble; and the effects thereof, which are more wonderfull; and not in respect
of greater power, authority, and right to dispose of temporall affaires and businesses,
either simply, or upon any abuse or negligence of civill Princes. So that from hence it
cannot be inferred, that the chiefe Minilters of the Church may depose the Princes
of the world. Hugo de Sancto Victore saith, There are two kindes of power, the
one terrene, the head whereof is the King: the other spirituall, the head whereof
is the Pope. To the Kings power those things pertaineth that are terrene; to the Popes,
those that are spirituall: and looke how much the spirituall life is better than the
earthly, so much doth the spirituall power excell the earthly in honour and dignity;
for the spirituall power doth constitute the terrene power, that it may be, and judgeth
it, whether it proceede aright, or not. But it selfe was first instituted of God, and
when it goeth aside, can bee judged of none but of God onely. From hence (as Wal-
denfis sheweth) some men tooke an occasion of error, affirming, that the roote of
terrene power, doth so farre forth depend upon the Pope, that by commission from
him, the execution of things pertaining thereunto, is derived unto the Prince; and that
when the Prince goeth aside, or faileth to doe his duty, the chiefe Bishop may manage
the civill affaires; because, he saith, the spirituall power doth institute the civill power,
that it may be. But these men presume too farre, and in so doing offend, because the
terrene power of Kings is not reduced into any other originally, as having authority
over Kings, but unto Christ onely: and yet notwithstanding, as the Priest joyneth
the man and his wife in marriage, and blesseth them, that they may be man and wife,
and joyfull parents of happy children; and judgeth afterwards, whether they performe
the duties of marriage or not. So the chiefe Priest setteth the Crowne upon the head
of the Emperour, annoynteth him with holy oyle, taketh an oath of him for the de-
fence of the Christian faith and Religion, putteth upon him the royall robes, and there-
by investeth him with royall power, and putteth him in possession of his Imperiall state
and dignity. But it is not to be imagined (saith Waldenfis) that the Imperiall power is
from the power of the Church, or dependeth of it, though certaine solemnities be used
by Bishops in the inauguration of Kings and Emperours; neither may the chiefe Mini-
sters of the Church any more challenge the disposing or managing of civill affaires, up-
on any defect or failing of civill Princes, than they may, the administration and dis-
pensation of holy things, upon the defect or failing of the Ecclesiasticall Ministers.
Yet in case of necessity, either of these two States may and ought to helpe and suc-
cour the other; not (as he saith) *ut utens potestate, sed fraternitatis accessu*: that is,
Not as having authority, or by vertue thereof presuming to doe any thing; but*

as one brother maketh haste to helpe another in danger, reaching forth the hand to stay him that is standing, and to raise him that is fallen. Both the brethren, (saith *Waldensis*) both *Simeon* and *Levi*, Priesthood and Knighthood; Bishoply power, and that which is Princely, must rise up together for the rescuing of *Dinah* their sister, out of the hands of him that seeketh to dishonour her: *Vi charitatis et si non autoritatis*: that is, By force of charity, though not of authority. So that according to his opinion, the chiefe Ministers of the Church invest the Princes of the world with their royall authority, according to the saying of *Hugo*; but give them not their authority: they may judge of the actions of Princes, but they may not *prajudicare*, they may not prejudice Princes. They may in the time of neede come to the succour, and in the time of danger reach forth the helping hand to the civill State, shaken by the negligence or malice of civill Princes: but it must be by way of charity, not of authority; as likewise the civill State may, and ought to be assistant to the Ecclesiasticall in like danger, defect, or failing of the Ecclesiasticall Ministers.

Ubi supra:

The next argument that our Adversaries bring, is taken from a comparison between the soule and body, expressing the difference betweene the civill and Ecclesiasticall State, found (as they say) in *Gregory Nazianzen*. But that we may the better understand the force of this argument, we must observe, that in the comparison which they bring, they make the Ecclesiasticall State and spirituall power, like the spirit, and divine faculties thereof: and the civill State like the flesh, with the senses, and sensitive appetite thereof. And as in Angels there is spirit without flesh, in bruite beasts flesh and sense without spirit; and in man both these conjoynd: so they will have us grant, that there is sometimes Ecclesiasticall power without civill, as in the Apostles times, and long after; sometimes civill without Ecclesiasticall, as among the Heathen; and sometimes these two conjoynd together. And as when the spirit and flesh meete in one, the spirit hath the command; and though it suffer the flesh to doe all those things which it desireth unlesse they be contrary to the intendments, designes, and ends of it: yet when it findeth them to be contrary, it may, and doth command the fleshly part to surcease from her owne actions; yea it maketh it to fast, watch, and doe and suffer many grievous and afflictive things, even to the weakning of it selfe. So in like manner, they would inferre, that the Ecclesiasticall State being like to the spirit and soule, and the civill to the body of flesh, the Church hath power to restraine, and bridle civill Princes, if they hinder the spirituall good thereof, not onely by censures Ecclesiasticall, but outward inforcement also. This is the great and grand argument our Adversaries bring to prove, that Popes may depose Princes: wherein first wee may observe their folly, in that they bring similitudes, which serve onely for illustration, and not for probation, for the maine confirmation of one of the principall points of their faith: which whosoever denieth, sinneth in as high a degree as *Marcellinus* that sacrificed unto Idols: and *Peter*, that denied his Master. Secondly, we see how much Princes are beholding unto them that compare them to bruite beasts, and at the best, to the brutish part that is in men, common to them with bruite beasts. If they say, *Nazianzen* so compareth them, they are like themselves, and speake untruely: for he compareth not Princes and Priests to spirit and flesh, but going about to shew the difference of the objects of their power maketh the spirit to be the object of the one of them, & the flesh of the other. Not as if Princes were to take no care of the welfare of the soules of their subjects, as well as of their bodies, but because the immediate procuring of the soules good, is by preaching, & ministration of the Sacraments, & Discipline, which the Prince is to procure, and to see well performed, but not to administer these things himselfe: as also because the coactive power the Prince hath, extendeth only to the body, and not to the soule, as the Ecclesiasticall power of binding and loosing doth. Thirdly, we may observe, that if this similitude should prove any thing, it would prove, that the civill State among Christians hath no power to doe any act whatsoever, but by the command or permission of the Ecclesiasticall. For so it is betweene the spirit and the body, and sensitive faculties that shew themselves in it. The Philosophers note, that there is a double regiment in man: the one politicall or civill, the other despoticall; the

In Orat. ad
Populum timo-
re percussum &
Imp. irascen-
tem.

Bell. in Epist.
ad Blackwel-
lum.

one like the authority of Princes over their Subjects that are free-men, the other like the authority of Lords over their bondmen and slaves. The former is of reason in respect of sensitive appetite, which by perswasion it may induce to surcease to desire that which it discerneth to be hurtfull, but cannot force it so to doe: the other of reason and the will, in respect of the loco-motive facultie; and this absolute, so that it reason cannot winne a desisting from desire in the inferiour powers that shew themselves in the body, yet the will may command the loco-motive faculty, and either cause all outward action to cease, how earnestly soever sensitive desire carry unto it, or to be performed how much soever it resist against it: as it may command and force the drinking of a bitter portion, which the appetite cannot bee wonne unto, and the rejecting and putting from us those things that are most desired. Neither can the appetite and sensitive faculties performe any of their actions without the consent of the will and reason: For if the will command, the eyes are closed up and see nothing, the eares are stopped and heare nothing, how much soever the appetite desire to see and heare. Neither only have the soules higher powers this command over the inferiour faculties, in respect of things that may further and hinder their owne good and perfection, as they may command to watch or fast, for the prevention and mortification of sin; but they may also at their pleasure hinder the whole course of the actions of the outward man, withdraw all needfull things from the body, and deprive it even of life it selfe, though there be no cause at all so to doe. So that if the comparison of the civill and Ecclesiasticall State to the soule and body doe hold, from thence may it be inferred, that the Church hath power to command in all things pertaining to the common-wealth, and that the civill Magistrates have none at all. For the lower faculties neither have, nor ought to have any command further than they are permitted by the superiour; neither can they doe any thing contrary to the liking of the superiour, though never so just and reasonable. And so wee see how silly a thing it is to reason from these similitudes, and that they that so doe, build upon the sands, so that all the frame of their building commeth to the ground.

The third reason brought by our Adversaries, is this: Every common-wealth must be perfect in it selfe, and able to defend it selfe from all injuries that any other may offer unto it, and if it can no other way free it selfe, it must have power to depose the Prince, and change the government. Therefore the Church must be able to defend it selfe against all injuries of wicked Kings, whether Infidels, Hereticks, or Apostataes; and if otherwise it cannot defend it selfe from their violences and wrongs, it must have power to depose them. This consequence, I thinke, will never be found good in the judgement of any indifferent Reader. For the kingdomes and common-wealths of the world, the good, prosperity, and happinesse whereof is outward, must have outward meanes to repress the insolencies of all such as seeke to impeach or hinder the same; but the Church being a society, the happinesse and good whereof is not outward, but inward, consisting in the graces of God, and the hope of a better life in the world to come, may be perfect in it selfe, though it want meanes to repress outward violences and insolencies. The Apostle himselfe, who was a chiefe commander in it, professing that the " weapons of his warfare were not carnall, but mighty through God, for the casting down of proud thoughts; but not for the overthrow of Cities and Townes, or the subduing of the Princes of the world. So that the perfection of this society or common-wealth standing in the inward graces of the spirit, and the expectation of future happinesse, she may attaine her own end, enjoy her own good, and flourish in the midst of all pressures, more than in any state of outward prosperity; and so undoubtedly she doth. For as the gold is more pure, the more it is tried in the fire; as the cammomill smelleth the sweeter, the more it is troden on; as the palme tree spreadeth the further, the more it is pressed down; as the Arke of Noe rose the higher, the more the floods did swell: so Gods Church did then most grow, increase, and prosper, when the persecutions was hottest. And therefore S. Aust. saith (speaking of the primitive Christians) *Includebantur, ligabantur, torquebantur, trucidabantur, & multiplicabantur*; that is, They were shut up in prisons and dungeons, they were bound in fetters and chains,

u 2 Cor. 10. 4.

Aug. de Civ.
Dei, lib. cap.

chains, they were tortured and racked, yea, they were slaine with the sword, and yet
 they increased and multiplied. And *S. Bernard* distinguishing three severall times of
 the Church, in all which shee complained of bitterness, the first under persecuting
 heathen Emperours; the second, in the conflicts with hereticks; and the third, when she
 had rest from both these, saith, the state of the Church was worst in her peace, and
 bringeth her in complaining, and saying; *Amarissima amaritudo mea in pace mea*; that
 is, My bitterness is most bitter in the dayes of my peace. For now *omnes amici, omnes
 inimici, omnes domestici, nulli pacifici; servi Christi seruiunt Antichristo*: that is, All
 are friends, and all are enemies, all are of my household, but none are at peace with me;
 the servants of Christ serve Antichrist. So that it followeth not, that if the Church
 must have meanes to attaine her owne end, and enjoy her owne wished good, that she
 must have power sufficient to procure her outward peace, and repress the insolencies
 of outward enemies. And yet besides, this reason chargeth Christ with want of care of
 his Church, who left it without meanes to defend it selfe against outward violence,
 for the space of 300 yeares together, during the time of the heathen Emperours; and
 afterwards also under the reigne of Apostataes and hereticks. For *Bellarmino* saith,
 that the primitive Christians did not depose *Nero, Dioclesian, Julian the Apostata, Valen-*
tiens the Arrian, and other like, because they wanted temporall forces;
 The next reason is more strange than this: For first, forgetting what they are to
 prove, in stead of proving that the Pope may depose Princes, they endeavour to prove,
 that the people may depose Princes when they fall into heresie, and that the Pope is to
 judge of heresie. Secondly, they conclude, that Christian people may not endure
 their King if hee fall into heresie, because they may not chuse a King that is an Infidell
 or heretick. That they might not chuse an heretick (which no man denieth) they
 prove, because the *Jewes* might chuse none to be their King that was not of their
 brethren, lest he should draw them to idolatry. But the consequence they goe not a-
 bout to prove, which we deny, and they will never be able to confirme. For there is no
 question but people are bound to bee subject to such a King, as in conscience they
 might not chuse, if they were free, and to make choyce. When *Moses* was counselled
 by *Iethro*, to chuse Elders and Rulers to assit him, hee told him what manner of men
 they should be, to wit, men fearing God, dealing truly, having covetousnesse, and none
 but such ought electors having freedome of choyce, to chuse: and yet I thinke, though
 a King be covetous, he is not presently to be deposed. And therefore *Bellarmino* (like
 an honest man) confuteth his owne argument, and saith, that Infidels that had domi-
 nion over people before they became Christians, are to be tollerated by Christians, if
 they seeke not to draw them to idolatry, whom yet I thinke Christians might not
 chuse to reigne over them if they were free. Besides this, if *Bellarmino* say true,
 that Subjects sinne as much in tollerating Kings that are Infidels, Apostataes, or Here-
 ticks; as in chusing such to rule over them when they were free, all the primitive
 Christians that tollerated *Nero, Dioclesian, Julian the Apostata, Constantius Valens*, and
 other Hereticks sinned damnably in so doing. Neither will *Bellarmino* answer that
 they are to bee excused, though they did not depose them, because they wanted
 strength, avoid the same. For it is evident by *Tertullian*, that they wanted not strength
 if they had thought it lawfull. *If wee should goe about to avenge our selves* (saith *Ter-*
tullian) *wee should not want meanes. For behold, we are more in number, and greater*
in strength than any other nation and people of the world. We are strangers unto you, and
yet behold, wee have filled all places pertaining unto you, your Cities, your Isles, your
Villages, your Townes, your Conncel-houses, your Castles, and strong Forts, your Pa-
laces, your Senates, and your Market-places: onely your Idoll Temples we have left free
unto you. What warre should not wee be able to take in hand? or what attempt should
seeme hard unto us? though wee were too weak who so willingly are slaine, if it were
not more lawfull to bee killed, than to kill in our profession. Nay, though wee should
never arme our selves, nor lift up our hands against you, but onely depart away, and
withdraw our selves into some remote parts of the world, how should wee confound
and amaze you? How could you endure so great a losse? How would your Cities be left
desolate,

Serm. 33. in
Cantica.De Pont. lib.
5. cap. 7.

Deut. 12. 15.

Exod. 18. 21.

Ubi supra:

In Apologia
adversus Gen-
tes. cap. 37.

e Ibid. cap. 30.

f Citat. à Gratiano Decret. 2. part. causa 11. qu. 3. c. 54.

g Citat. ibidem cap 98

h Eccles. 10. 20

i 1 Cor. 6.

desolate, and none found to dwell in them? So that it was not want of strength that held the primitive Christians in subjection to their heathen and persecuting Emperours, but the perswasion they had, that it was their duty so to be subject, perswading themselves they had their power from heaven: and therefore, *Illuc suspicientes* (saith *Tertullian*) *manibus expansis, quia innocuis, capite nudo quia non crubescimus; denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus precantes sumus omnes semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, Senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, & quacunq; hominis & Caesaris sunt vota: that is, Looking up thither, with hands lifted up and spread out, because innocent, with bare heads, because we are not ashamed, and without a remembrancer, because our prayers proceed from the desires that lodge within in our brest, wee all pray alwayes for all Emperours and Rulers, desiring God to grant unto them a long life, a secure reigne, a safe house, valiant armies, a faithfull Senate, good people, a quiet world; and all the good things that the heart either of a private man, or of *Cesar* can desire. O silly erring Christians, durst you pay for the prosperity of them, whom you should have persecuted with fire and sword, and utterly have destroyed? But it is not to bee marvelled at, if you thus erred: for you were Christians, and had no Iesuites among you, from whom these mysteries of deposing Princes might have beene learned; so that we may hope that ignorance did excuse you, and that yee are not gone to hell for this neglecting of your duty. But some man perhaps will say, *Tertullian* might be deceived in this point. Let us heare therefore, whether others were of his mind or not. *Julianus Imperator* (saith *Ambrose*) *quamvis esset Apostata, habuit tamen sub se Christianos milites, quibus cum dicebat, producite aciem, pro defensione Reipublica obediebant ei. Cum autem diceret eis, producite arma in Christianos; tunc cognoscebant Imperatorem Caeli; that is, Julian the Emperour, though he were an Apostata, yet had under him Christian Souldiers, who when hee said unto them, bring forth your armies for the defence of the common-wealth, willingly obeyed him. But when he said unto them, bring forth your forces, and fight against the Christians, tooke knowledge of the Emperour in heaven, and not of him. And S. *Augustine* saith to the same purpose, that *Julian* the Emperour was an Infidel, an Apostata, a wicked man, and an Idolater, and yet there were Christian Souldiers that served this unbelieving Emperour; when they came to the cause of Christ, they acknowledged none other Emperor but him only, whose throne is in heaven. When hee required them to worship Idols, or to burne incense, they preferred God before him. When he said, bring forth you armies, & go against such a nation, they presently obeyed him: so did they wisely distinguish between the eternall & temporall Lord, and yet they were subject to the temporall Lord for the eternall Lords sake. Neither was this the private conceit of these men alone, but all other the worthy Fathers, and Bishops of the Church were of the same mind, and perswaded themselves, that they owed all dutie to Kings and Emperours, though they were hereticks or infidels. And therefore *Athanasius* (when some charged him, that hee had spoken evill of *Constantius* the *Arrian* heretick to *Canstance* his brother, and sought to make variance between them) in his Apologie to *Constantius*, calleth God to witnesse against his own soule, that he had never done any such thing; and telleth the Emperor, he was not mad, nor had not forgotten the saying of the wise man: *Curse not the King in thy secret thought, and speake not evill of the rich and mighty in the retired places of thy chamber: For the fowles of heaven will carry forth thy voyce, and that that hath wings will make report of thy words.***

The fifth reason that they bring to prove that Christians may depose mis-believing Emperours and Kings, if they have meanes so to do, is, because the Apostle willett the *Corinthians* that were become Christians, to appoint new Judges of their controversies about temporall affaires & busineses, that they might not be forced to bring their pleas before heathen Magistrates that were their enemies, to the scorne of their profession: which is so silly a reason, that I cannot perswade my selfe they propose it in earnest, but only for fashions sake to helpe to make up a number: For they know right well, these Judges the Apostle speaketh of, were but only Arbitrators chosen by the agreement of the

the parties, and not absolute Rulers over them, with abrogation of the Magistracie of those heathen Rulers, to whom they were subject, and therefore notwithstanding any thing the Apostle writeth, there were ³ three cases wherein the faithfull and beleeving *Corinthians* might lawfully come before the Heathen Iudges. The first, if the Infidels in the controversies they had with them about secular things, drew them thither. The second, if a beleever being contentious, drew them to those tribunals, refusing to have things determined otherwise. The third, if the beleever had none other meanes to recover his right, which hee was bound in conscience to recover and preserve, for in such a case he might become a plaintife before Heathen Magistrates.

But (saith ¹ *Bellarmino*) the beleeving husband, whose wife being an Infidell, will not dwell with him without continuall blaspheming of God the Creator, and solliciting him to Infidelitie and Apostacie, is freed from his wife: and likewise the beleeving wife from her unbeleeving husband, so continuing to blaspheme Christ, and to sollicite her to Idolatrie; therefore by like reason the beleeving people are freed from the yoke of an unbeleeving King, seeking to draw them to Infidelity. This argument drawne from comparison, faileth many wayes: For first, according to ^m *Bellarmino's* opinion, the beleeving party is free from the other remaining in Infidelitie, though the Infidell doe neither depart, nor sollicite, or perswade to Idolatrie, if there be not a present conversion: so that the beleever may dismis his wife which hee married in infidelity, if shee continue an Infidell, though shee neither depart from him, nor seeke to winne him to infidelitie. But touching a King who is an unbeleever, hee thinketh (though *Thomas* be of another opinion) that the people converting to Christianity, cannot shake off his yoke, unlesse he seeke to draw them back to infidelity; and therefore all that is not lawfull to the people, in respect of an unbeleeving King, that is lawfull to the husband, in respect of his unbeleeving wife; or to the wife, in respect of her unbeleeving husband. Secondly, this comparison, if it prove any thing, mainly overthroweth the opinion of *Bellarmino*: For if the husband and the wife were Christians when they were married, and afterwards one of them fall into heresie, apostasie, atheisme, or whatsoever else, and seeke never so violently to draw the right beleever to the same evils; yet the bond of marriage remaineth inviolable, and is not, nor may not be dissolved: and therefore if this comparison hold, a Christian King falling into heresie, apostasie, or atheisme, and seeking to draw his people to the same, doth not lose the right of dominion he hath over them. Thirdly, in *Bellarmino's* opinion, it is not refusall to dwell together, nor sollicitation to idolatry that could make a separation, if the band of matrimony contracted betweene Infidels were simply firme and indissoluble, as that of Christians is. But heathen Princes have as good interest in their Kingdomes (which are not founded upon grace or faith, but upon the light of reason, the freedome of will, and the Law of Nature and Nations) as beleevers: therefore their solliciting to infidelity and idolatrie, cannot make their titles to their kingdomes void. Lastly, malicious desertion, or refusall to dwell with the beleever, unlesse he some way at least by silence, consent to the blasphemies of the Infidell, is directly contrary to the nature, essence, end, and intendment of marriage, and therefore dissolveth marriage: but the abuse of sacred authority to the promoting of impiety, and suppressing of true Religion, is not contrary to the nature and essence of authority, but to the right use of it; and therefore it doth not make voyde the title of Magistrates, seeing it is certaine, that lawfull authority may stand with most horrible abuse of the same.

Wherefore, let us proceede to their seventh prooffe. When Princes (say they) come to the Church, and are admitted to the Communion of the faithfull people of God, they are not admitted but upon promise and agreement, that if they forsake the faith, or hinder the good of Gods people, they will be content, and it shall be lawfull for the Governours of the Church to take their authority from them; therefore when Princes become Hereticks or Apostataes, it is lawfull by their owne agreement and consent for the Governours of the Church, to depose them. The antecedent of this Argument, I thinke, will never be made good. For, what Prince in his admission to be a Christian, did ever thus condition with the Church, either expressly, or by

Ockam 2.
quæst. super
potest. & dig-
nit. Papali.
quæst. 1. c. 11.

De Pont. l. 5.
cap. 7.

De matrim.
Sacram. lib. 1.
controv. 4.
cap. 12.

2^a 2^a q. 10.
art. 10.

necessary implication? examples of any such stipulation, I am perswaded they can bring us none. It is true indeede, that the very vow of a Christian made in Baptisme, implieth in it a resolution and promise, rather to depart with any thing, and lose all, than to forfeit the inheritance he is entitled unto, to dishonour God, or any way to hinder the good of his Church: but this vow and promise is made to God, and not to the Church; and therefore God may take from Christian Kings their kingdomes, when they become Hereticks, and seeke to mis-lead the people, as forfeited upon their owne agreements; but the Church hath nothing to doe with them, more than the great *Turke*, upon any such forfeiture made unto Almighty God. It is true, that all Infidels, and wicked ones, have forfeited their kingdomes to God; but yet in the title of mundane iustice, they have right to them still, and may not be dispossessed of them by mortall men, unlesse they be specially authorized by Almighty God, as the *Israelites* were to cast out the *Canaanites*. And this was the meaning of *Wickliffe*, when he affirmed, that a Prince being in state of mortall sinne, ceaseth to bee a Prince any longer, namely in respect of any title hee can plead to God, if hee be pleased to take the advantage of the forfeiture; but in respect of men, he hath a good title still in the course of mundane iustice. So that whosoever shall lift up his hand against him, offered him wrong. The Church therefore may proceede no farther than to admonish Princes, when they offend, and for grievous and scandalous faults, to deny unto them the benefit of her Communion.

The last prooffe they bring for deposing Princes, when they become Hereticks, is taken from the office of a Pastor, to whom it pertaineth to drive away wolves, to re-
straine and keepe the Rammes, and great leaders of the flocks, from hurting those sheepe that are more weake. This reason as it is the last, so it is the worst of all. For each Pastour must doe these things according to the nature and quality of his pastoral office; and therefore a spirituall Pastour must performe them by spirituall and Ecclesiasticall censures, driving away the wolves from his flocks, by suspension, excommunication, and anathema, and restraining the Rammes from hurting the rest, by the same meanes, so binding them with bands that exceede all the bands of restraint, used by the secular powers.

C H A P. 46.

Of examples of Church-men deposing Princes, brought by the Romanists.

HAVING examined the reasons brought to prove that the chiefe Governours of the Church may depose Princes erring from the faith, and hindering the course of Religion; let us see what examples our Adversaries produce of the practice of deposing them. The first is the example of *Samuel*^a appointing *Saul* to bee a King, and afterwards^b deposing him for his disobedience. But in this example they are grossely deceived: For first, *Samuel* was neither high Priest, nor Priest at all, not being of the posterity of *Aaron*. Secondly, *Samuel* did not appoint *Saul* to be King, as being of higher authority, but as obeying and executing the mandate of God, as the meanest man in *Israel* might have done: as we read in the second of the *Kings*, of 'one of the sonnes of the Prophets, who at the commandment of *Elizeus* annoynted *Jehu* King over *Israel*, yet was neither *Elizeus*, nor hee, greater in dignity than Kings. Thirdly, wee doe not read in the sacred History, that *Samuel* deposed *Saul*, but that God deposed him, and that *Samuel* was the messenger sent from God to let him know it. *Because* (saith *Samuel*) *thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, the Lord hath cast thee away, that thou shalt not reigne.* And againe, *The Lord hath cut away the Kingdome of Israel from thee this day.* Yea so farre was *Samuel* from deposing *Saul*, that he mourned for him, till God blamed him, saying: *How long dost thou mourne for Saul? whereas I have cast him away, that hee should not reigne over Israel.*

^a 1 Sam. 9.

^b 1 Sam. 15. 23

^c 2 Kings 9. 1.

^d 1 Sam. 16. 1.

The

The next example is that of *Hieremy* the Prophet, to whom the Lord said, *"I have set thee over nations and people, to pluck up, and to roote out, and to destroy, and throw downe, to build and plant."* Whence they inferre, that the chiefe Priest is over the kingdomes of the world, and may give them to whom he will. But first we must observe, that *Hieremy* was not the high Priest, but one of an inferiour ranke; and that therefore if we will conclude any thing from hence touching the power of disposing kingdomes by Priests, every Priest must have this power. Secondly, wee must know that *Hieremie* was set over the Kingdome of *Judah*, and other Kingdomes, not to rule them, but prophetically to denounce unto them, and foreshew the things that afterwards should fall out. Whereupon *Lyra* interpreteth the words of Almighty God in this sort. *Constitui te super Gentes, & super regna, ut evellas, id est, evellendo denuncies, transferendos inde habitatores; & destruas, quantum ad occidendos; & disperdas, quantum ad fugientes per diversas vias; & dissipes, quantum ad morientes in fuga vel captivitate; & edifies, & plantes, id est, denuncies Iudeos readificandos, & plantandos in terra sua, &c.* that is, I have set thee over Nations, and kingdomes, that thou mightest pluck up, that is, that thou mightest denounce and foreshew, that the inhabitants being plucked up out of their places, shall bee carried into another place; that thou mightest destroy, that is, denounce the destruction of such as shall bee slaine; that thou mightest scatter, that is, denounce and foreshew the dispersion of such as shall flie divers wayes; that thou mightest overthrow, that is, declare and foreshew the overthrow of them that shall die in flight, or in captivity; that thou mightest build and plant, that is, foreshew, that the *Iemes* shall be builded and planted againe in their owne land; which was fulfilled in the time of *Cyrus*, who gave liberty to the people to returne into their owne countrey, and to reedifie the Temple; and in the time of *Artaxerxes*, who gave leave to *Nehemiah* to reedifie the Citie of *Hierusalem*, as we may reade in the bookes of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. The Authour of the Interlineall Glosse interpreteth the words in this: that the Prophet was appointed by Almighty God, over Kingdomes and people, to pluck up vices and sinnes, to destroy the kingdome of the Devill, and to build the Church of God. Saint *Hierome* likewise interpreteth the words in the same sort: *Considerandum est (saith he) quod quatuor tristibus, duo lata succedunt. Neque enim edificari poterant bona, nisi destructa essent mala; nec plantari optima, nisi eradicaarentur pessima, &c.* that is, Wee must consider, that two joyfull and happy things succcede foure grievous and sorrowfull things. For, neither could good things bee builded, if evill things were not first destroyed; nor the best things be planted, if the worst things were not first pluckt up by the rootes. For every plant which our heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be plucked up by the rootes. And every building which hath not a foundation upon the Rock, but is builded upon the sand, is digged downe and destroyed by the word of God; and *Jesus* shall consume it by the spirit of his mouth, and destroy it by the comming of his presence; that is, hee shall destroy for ever all sacrilegious and perverse doctrine, and that also which is lifted up against the knowledge of God, and the confidence that men have in their owne wisdom hee shall scatter, destroy, and cast downe; that in stead of these things, the things that favour of humility may be builded; and the things which agree with Ecclesiasticall veritie may be builded and planted in the place of the former things, which were destroyed, and pluckt up. Here is pulling up of all false doctrine, and throwing downe whatsoever is lifted up against the knowledge of God, that those things that favour of humility, and are agreeable to Ecclesiasticall verity, may be builded and planted. And thus to pluck up and to plant, to cast downe, and to build up, pertaineth to *Hieremies* office and calling; but for deposing of Kings, and transferring kingdomes, no ancient Writer could ever finde any thing in this place.

The third example that they produce, is that of *Uzziah*, who after much prosperitie in all that hee tooke in hand, and many glorious victories obtained, not contenting himselfe with the honour of a King, but presuming to come into the Temple to offer incense, and intruding upon the Priests office also, was by them resisted, and told it would be displeasing to Almighty God, that hee did. But he waxing angry, would not

c Jerem. 1. 10.

f Lyra in hunc locum.

g Hieronym. in eundem locum

h 2 Chron. 26.

not desist, till being stricken with leprosie, and the very earth trembling and quaking for horreur of so vile a fact, he was by the Priests, and the remorse of his owne conscience forced to goe hastily out of the Temple. This leprosie departed not from him till his dying day, and therefore he was by vertue of Gods law constrained to depart from the societie of men, and to dwell apart; and *Jotham* his sonne ruled over the Kings House, and judged the people of the land. How this place will prove, that the deposing of Kings belongeth to Priests, I know not, for surely *Uzziah* was not deposed, but being forced to live in an house apart by himselfe, and in that respect unfit for the government, his sonne supplied his place in judging the people of the land: but he continued King still; and if he had beene cleansed from his leprosie before his death, no doubt, might, and would have resumed his kingly dignity, and the publick administration of justice. Whereupon wee shall finde that *Jotham* is said to have reigned no more but 16 yeares, because after his fathers death in his owne right hee reigned no more. Though otherwise we finde mention of things that fell out in the 20 yeare of his reigne. So including the time of his ruling for his father in his right. So that here was nothing done by the Priests, but that which pertained to their priestly office, which was to keepe the holy places, and attend the Altars, and to judge of the plague of leprosie. But for deposing the King, they medled not.

12 King. 15. 33

12 King 15. 30

12 Chron. 21,

22, & 23.

The fourth example is of *Iehoiada* the high Priest, deposing *Athaliah*, and setting up *Joash*, as they tell us. The storie is this: *Iehosaphat* dieth, and *Iehoram* his sonne succeedeth him. This *Iehoram* marrieth *Athaliah* the daughter of *Ahab*, the sonne of *Omri*; and hee walked not in the wayes of *Iehosaphat* and *Asa* Kings of *Judah*, but of wicked *Ahab*, whose daughter hee married. Whereupon God stirred up the spirit of the *Philistines*, and *Arabians*, and they came, and tooke away all the substance that was found in his house, and his wives and sons, so that none was left him, but *Iehoahaz* or *Ahaziah* his youngest sonne. After this, *Jehoram* dieth, and *Ahaziah* reigneth in his stead, who followed the counsell of *Athaliah*, and did wickedly in the sight of the Lord. This *Ahaziah* going to *Iehoram* the sonne of *Ahab*, and being found with him when *Iehu* came to execute judgement against the House of *Ahab*, was there slaine by *Iehu*. After his death *Athaliah* his mother destroyed all the Kings seede of the House of *Judah*, and usurped the kingdome: But *Iehoshebeath* the wife of *Iehoiada* the Priest, sister to *Ahaziah*, stole away *Joash* the Kings sonne, from among the Kings sonnes, that he should not be slaine; and hee was hid in the house of God six yeares, all which time *Athaliah* reigned. But in the seventh yeare *Iehoiada* waxed bold, tooke the Captaines of hundreds in covenant with him, and went about in *Judah*, and gathered the Levites out of all the Cities of *Judah*, and the chiefe Fathers of *Israel*; and they came to *Ierusalem*; and all the congregation made a covenant with the King, and said, The Kings sonne must reigne, as the Lord hath said of the sonnes of *David*. Hereupon the King is proclaimed, *Athaliah* is slaine, the House of *Baal* destroyed, and the Altars and idols that were in it broken downe. In all this narration there is nothing that maketh for the chiefe Priests power of deposing lawfull Kings, if they become hereticks: For first, *Athaliah* was an usurper and no lawfull Queene. Secondly, here was nothing done by *Iehoiada* alone, but by him, and the Captaines of hundreths, and the chiefe Fathers of *Israel*, that entred into covenant with him. Thirdly, there is great difference betweene the high Priest in the time of the Law, and in the time of Christ. For, before the coming of Christ, the high Priest even in the managing of the weightiest civill affaires, and in judgement of life and death, sate in the Councell of State, as the second person next unto the King by Gods owne appointment. Whereas our Adversaries dare not claime any such thing for the Pope. And therefore it is not to bee marvailed at, if the high Priest, being the second person in the kingdome of *Judah*, by Gods owne appointment, and the Uncle and Protector of the young King, whom his wife had saved from destruction, bee the first mover for the bringing of him to his right; and when things are resolved on by common consent, take on him not only to command and direct the Priests and Levites, but the Captaines and Souldiers also, for the establishing of their King, and the suppressing of a bloody

a bloody tyrant and usurper. For all this might be done by *Iehoiada*, as a chiefe man in that State, and yet the Pope be so farre from obtaining that he claimeth (which is to depose lawfull Kings for abusing their authority) that he may not presume to doe all that the high Priests lawfully did, and might doe; as not having so great preëminence from Christ, in respect of matters of civill State in any Kingdome of the world, as the high Priest had by Gods owne appointment in the kingdome of *Judah* and *Israel*. In the old Law (saith *Occam*) the high Priest medled in matters of war, in the judgment of life and death, and the losse of members, and vengeance of blood; and it becomed him well so to do: But the Priests of the new Law may not meddle with things of this nature. Wherefore from the power and dominion which the high Priest of the old Law had, it cannot be concluded, that the Pope hath any power in temporall matters.

De potest. & dignitate Papæ. li. qu. 1. c. 10.

The fifth example is of *Ambrose*, repelling *Theodosius* the Emperour from the communion of the Church, after the bloody and horrible murther, that was committed at *Thessalonica* by his commandement. The story is this, "The Coach-man of *Botherica*, the Captaine of the Souldiers in that Towne, for some fault was committed to prison. Now when the solemne horse-race and sporting fight of horse-men approached, the people of *Thessalonica* desired to have him set at liberty, as one of whom there would bee great use in those ensuing solemne sports: which being denied, the Citie was in an uprore, and *Botherica*, and certaine other of the Magistrates were stoned to death, and most despitefully used. *Theodosius* the Emperour hearing of this outrage, was exceedingly moved, and commanded a certaine number to be put to the sword, without all judicall forme of proceeding, or putting difference betweene offenders, and such as were innocent; so that seven thousand perished by the sword: and among them many strangers (that were come into the Citie upon divers occasions, that had no part in the outrage, for which *Theodosius* was so sore displeased) were most cruelly and unjustly flaine. Saint *Ambrose* understanding of this violent and unjust proceeding of the Emperour, the next time hee came to *Millaine*, and was coming to the Church, after his wonted manner, met him at the doore, and staid him from entring, with this speech: *Thou seemest not to know, O Emperour, what horrible and bloody murtherers have beene committed by thee; neither dost thou bethinke thy selfe now thy rage is past, to what extremities thy furie carried thee: perhaps the glory of thine imperiall power will not let thee take notice of any fault, and thy greatnesse repelleth all check of reason controlling thee: but thou shouldest know the frailty of mans nature, and that the dust was that beginning whence wee are taken, and and to which wee must returne. Let not therefore the glory of thy purple robes make thee forget the weakenesse of that body of flesh that is covered with them: Thy Subjects, O Emperour, are in nature like thee, and in service thy fellowes; for there is one Lord and commander over all, the maker of all things. Wherefore, with what eyes wilt thou behold his Temple, or with what feete wilt thou tread on the sacred pavement thereof? wilt thou lift up to him those hands, from which the blood yet droppeth? wilt thou receive with them the sacred body of the Lord? or wilt thou presume to put to thy mouth the cup replenished with the precious blood of Christ, which hast shed so much innocent blood by the word of thy mouth, uttering the passion of thy furious minde? Depart therefore, adde not this iniquity to the rest, and decline not those bands, which God above approveth.* With these speeches the Emperour was much moved: and, knowing the distinct duties, both of Emperours and Bishops (for that hee had beene trained up in the knowledge of heavenly doctrine) returned to the Court with teares and sighes. A long time after (for eight moneths were first past) the solemne Feast of the Nativity of Christ approached, and all prepared themselves to solemnize the same with triumphant joy. But the Emperour sate in the Court, lamenting and pouring out rivers of teares: which when *Ruffinus*, Master of the Pallace perceived, hee came unto him, and asked the cause of his weeping: to whom (weeping more bitterly than before) he said, *O Ruffinus, thou makest but a sport of these things, for thou art touched with no sense of these evils, wherewith I am afflicted, but the consideration of my calamity maketh me sigh and lament: for that, whereas the doores of Gods Temple are*

Sozomen. li. 7. c. 24. Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 16. & 17.

open

open to slaves and beggars, and they goe freely into the same to make prayers unto their Lord, they are shut against me, and, which is yet worse, the gates of heaven are shut against me also; for I cannot forget the words of our Lord, who saith, Whosoever yee shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven. To whom Ruffinus replied, I will runne, if it please thee, O Emperour, to the Bishop, and intreate him to unloose these bands, wherewith hee hath bound thee. No (saith the Emperour) it is to no purpose so to doe, for he will not be intreated. I know his sentence is right and just, and that he will not transgresse the Law of God, for any respect of Imperiall power. Yet when Ruffinus was earnest, and promised confidently to pacifie Ambrose, hee bade him goe with speede, and himselfe followed after in hope of reconciliation, trusting upon the promises of Ruffinus. But when Ambrose saw Ruffinus, hee said unto him: O Ruffinus, thou doest imitate the impudencie of shamelesse dogges; for having beene the adviser and counsellor to so vile murders, thou hast hardened thy forehead; and having cast away all shame, blushest not, after the committing of so great and horrible outrages, against men made after the image of God. And when he was importunate with him, and told him, the Emperour was comming, full of fierie zeale, he brake forth into these words: I tell thee Ruffinus, I will not suffer him to passe the thresholds of Gods house; and if of an Emperour he become a Tyrant, I will joyfully suffer death. Whereupon Ruffinus caused one to runne to the Emperour, and to desire him to stay within the Court. But the Emperour being on the way when the messenger met him, resolved to come forward, and to endure the reproofe of the Bishop. So when he came to the sacred railles, but entred not into the Temple; and comming to the Bishop, besought him to unloose him from the bands wherewith he was bound. The Bishop, somewhat offended with his comming, told him, the manner of his comming was Tyrant-like, and that being madde against God, he trampled under his feete the Lawes of God. Not so (said the Emperour) I presse not hither in despite of order, neither doe I unjustly strive to enter into the house of God. But I beseech thee to unloose me, to remember the mercifull disposition of our common Lord, and not to shut the doore against mee, that hee would have opened to all that repent. What repentance therefore (saith the Bishop) hast thou shewed, after so grievous an offence? what medicines hast thou applied to cure thy wounds? It pertaineth to thee (saith the Emperour) to prepare the medicines, that should heale mee, and to cure my wounds, and to mee to use, that thou prescribest. Then (said Ambrose) seeing thou makest thy displeasure judge, and it is not reason that giveth sentence when thou sittest upon the throne to doe right, but thy furious proceedings; make a law, that when sentence of death and confiscation of goods shall bee passed, there may passe thirty dayes before the execution of the same, that so, if within that space it be found unjust, it may bee reversed; or otherwise it may proceede. This law the Emperour most willingly consented to make, and thereupon Ambrose unloosed from his bands; and he entred into the Temple, and prayed unto God, not standing, nor kneeling, but prostrate upon the earth, and passionately uttering these words of David: *My soule cleaveth to the pavement, Lord quicken mee according to thy word.* Here wee see an excellent patterne of a good Bishop, and a good Emperour; and it is hard to say, whether Ambrose were more to bee commended for his zeale, magnanimous resolution and constancie, or the Emperour for his willing and submissive obedience. But of deposing Princes here is nothing, Ambrose being so farre from any thought of lifting up his hand against the Emperour, that he resolved to subject himselfe unto him, even to the suffering of martyrdom, if neede should require. But (saith Bellarmine) Ambrose exercised civill authority, in that hee tooke notice of this murder of the Emperour, being a criminall cause, and forced him to make a civill law, for the preventing of furious and bloody proceedings in judgement. This surely is a weake collection: for the Church hath power, by vertue of her Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction to take notice of such horrible crimes as murder, and to punish them with spirituall punishments. Neither was the inducing of Theodosius to make a civill law for the preventing of such like evils, as hee was now censured for, before hee would reconcile him to the Church, an act of civill authority: But such testimonies

as this is, they that have no better must be forced to use.

That which followeth of ² *Gregories* confirming the priviledges granted to the Abbey of Saint *Medardus*, in such sort, that whatsoever Kings, Judges, or secular persons should goe about to violate them, should be deprived of their honour, proveth not the thing in question. For it is evident, that the confirmation of these priviledges was passed, not by Saint *Gregorie* alone, but by a whole Councell, and more specially by *Theodoricus* the King, and *Brunichildis* the Queene, who might binde their successors, and other inferiour secular Rulers under paine of deprivation, though neither *Gregory* of himselfe, nor yet a Councell of Bishops, could doe any such thing by their authority alone.

Wherefore let us proceede to the next example. ¹ *Gregorie* the second (saith *Bellar-* mine) excommunicated the Emperour *Leo* the third, who was an enemy to Images: he forbade any tribute to be paid him out of *Italie*, and consequently deprived him of part of his Empire. Surely if *Gregorie* the second of himselfe alone had had such power, as to forbid all *Italie*, upon his dislike, to pay any more tribute to the Emperour, there were some good shew of prooffe in this allegation. But if we examine the stories, wee shall finde the case to have beene farre otherwise than *Bellarmino* would beare us in hand it was. For first, *Gregory* did not excommunicate *Leo* of himselfe, but called a Synode to doe it. Secondly, hee did not forbid the paying of tribute out of *Italie* to the Emperour: but the circumstances of the History are these. *Leo* seeking to winne the Bishop of *Rome*, and the people of *Italie* to the casting down of Images in the West, as hee had done in the East, *Gregory* the Bishop did not onely refuse to obey him, but admonished all other to take heede they did no such thing for feare of any Edict of the Emperour. By which exhortation the people of *Italie* already misconceited of the Emperours government, were so animated, that they were likely to have proceeded to the election of a new Emperour: and *Nauclerus* sheweth, that the decrees of the Bishop of *Rome*, dissuading the people of the West from obeying the Emperour, in casting downe of Images, were of so great authority, that the people and souldiers of *Ravenna* first, and then of *Venice*, began to make shew of rebellion against the Emperour, and his Exarche or Lievtenant, and to inforce the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other people of *Italy*, to disclaime the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and to chuse another in *Italie*. And that this rebellion proceeded so farre, that every Citie putting downe the Magistrates of the Exarch, set up Magistrates of their owne, whom they named Dukes; but that the Bishop of *Rome* at that time pacified them, and by his perswasions stayed them from chusing any new Emperour, in hope that he would amend. So that we see, the Bishop of *Rome* with his Bishops, by their authority did nothing but stay the people from obeying the Emperours unlawfull Decrees, as they judged them, but no way went about to depose the Emperour, or to deprive him of any thing that of right pertained to him. But the people of *Italy* moved against the Emperour, proceeded further than the Bishop of *Rome* would have had them to have done. For they put downe the Magistrates appointed by the Emperour, and set up other of their owne; and would have forced the Bishop of *Rome*, and the other people of *Italie*, who yet consented not unto them, to disclaime the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and to chuse another in *Italie*. And there, if at that time they forbore to pay any more tribute, (as ¹ *Zonaras* saith they did) it was not because the Pope forbade them so to doe (as having supream power in civill things) but being averse from the Emperour, as for other dislikes, so by the Popes perswasions, they stayed the tribute of themselves, as of themselves they put downe the Magistrates of the Emperour, without the liking of the Bishop of *Rome*. That which ² *Otho Frisingensis* hath, that the Pope having often admonished the Emperour, and found him incorrigible, perswaded the people of *Italie* to depart from the Empire, seemeth to bee contrary to the reports of ³ the Authour of the great Chronicle, ⁴ *Nauclerus*, ⁵ *Rhegino*, and other; but yet maketh the Pope only a perswader, and the people of *Italie* the doers of that was done. And in like sort it must be understood that *Zonaras* saith, the Bishop of *Rome* stayed the paying of tribute to the

In fine epi l.
Gr. g.

Zonaras in
vita Leonis I.
sauro.

Nauder. in
Chron. vol. 2.
Gener. 25. pag.
654.

Ubi supra.

Lib. 5. cap. 18
Chronici.

Lib. Chron.

ab initio mun-
di cum figuris
& imaginibus
in 6. ætate
mundi.

Ubi supra.

Chron. lib. 1.

2 Chronic.
anni 731.

the Emperour, namely, that his dislike of the Emperours courses, together with their owne distaste of his actions, did so avert the minds of the *Italians* from the Emperour, that they refused to pay him tribute; that being attributed to him, as done by him, which his perswasions (though tending to another purpose) did worke without his liking, and against his will. And in the same sense it is, that *Sigebert* saith, *Gregory* charged the Emperour with error, blamed him for it, and turned away the people of *Rome*, and the tribute of the West from him.

Gregor 7. li.
8. epist. 11.

The third instance of Popes intermeddling in the disposition of the kingdomes of the world, is that of *Zacharias* the Pope, of whom *Gregorie* the seventh, in his Epistles writeth thus: "Another Roman Bishop also, to wit, *Zacharias*, deposed the French King from his kingdome, not so much for any fault done by him, as for that he was unfit to sway so great power; and put *Pipine*, the Father of *Charles* the great, afterwards Emperour, into his place, freeing and absolving all the French men from their oath of fealtie. Which words of *Gregory* are found likewise in the ^b Decrees. To this allegation

Part. 2. Causa
13. cap. 6.

Dialog. lib. 1.
tract. 2. 3. part.
cap. 18.

Gloss. super
cap. allegat.

^c *Occam* answereth, that *Zacharias* did not depose *Childerick* the French King (as *Gregory* the seventh untruly reporteth) but onely gave allowance of the Peeres depofing of him. And to that purpose alleadgeth the Glosse upon the decrees, which saith,

Gloss. extra.
de foro compe-

renti. cap. Si
quis Clericus.

Cent. 8. c. 10.
De Pontif.

15. c. 8.

Lib. Chron.
Ætate 6. in
Pipino.

^d *Dicitur deposuisse quia deponentibus consensit*: that is, The Pope is said to have depofed the King, because he gave consent to those that did depose him, and allowed their act. But hee noteth also, that there are others, that doe not so excuse the Pope, but doe thinke he put his sickle into another mans harvest, and tooke upon him to doe that he had no authority to doe; which other Popes likewise have not feared to doe, in prejudice of the right of the Laity, as they shew out of another ^e Glosse. So that the ^f Century Writers are not alone in the reprehension of this fact of *Zacharias*, (as

Cent. 8. c. 10.
De Pontif.
15. c. 8.

Lib. Chron.
Ætate 6. in
Pipino.

^g *Bellarmino* untruly avoucheth) notwithstanding I rather follow the judgement of the Authour of the Glosse, and thinke, that he did but give his opinion, what might be done, and approve the act when it was done. For confirmation whereof, I will lay downe the circumstances of the narration touching the proceedings in this matter, as

Lib. Chron.
Ætate 6. in
Pipino.

Chron. anno
750.

I finde them reported by ancient Writers. First, all ^h Historians agree, that the Kings of *France* in those times, giving themselves to idlenesse and pleasures, wholly neglected the government: that they were seene but onely once in the yeare of their Subjects: and that the Governour of the Kings house ruled all. Neither did things stand thus for a short space, but ⁱ *Sigebert* saith, they continued so 88 yeares. In this office of a Prefect or Governour, *Pipine* succeeded his ancestors, but exceeded them in the greatnesse of worthy exploits; neither did any thing hinder the course of his great and honourable actions, but that he was forced to suffer and endure a King almost witlesse and madde with divers senselesse fooleries. Wherefore, they who write the histories of *France* re-

Chron. anno
750.

Nauelet.
Chronol. vol.
2. Gener. 26.

port, that the Nobles and people of that Nation duely weighing the vertue of *Pipine*, & the witlesse follies of *Childerick* the King, consulted *Zachary* then Bishop of *Rome*, and desired him to tell them, whether he thought so foolish and unworthy a King were any longer to be endured; or *Pipine* to be defrauded of royall dignity which hee deserved, and was right worthy of. Who when they had received answer from the Pope,

that he was to be esteemed the King, who knew best how to performe Kingly duties: the French by the publick and common advice and counsell of the whole Nation, pro-

claimed *Pipine* King, and shored the head of *Childerick*, and made him a Clerke. ^k *Na-*

clerius saith, the French men anciently had their Kings descended of an ancient stock, who of *Meroveus* the sonne of King *Clodius* the second, were called *Merovingians*: the race of which Kings continued till *Childerick*, and in him ended. For long before,

they were of no esteeme or authority, neither had they any thing, but the vaine and empty title of Kings, for the riches and power of the kingdome were in the hands of the Prefects of the Pallace, who were called the chiefe of the Kings house, and swayed the whole kingdome, who at that time were the successors of *Charles Martel*, and were named Dukes. Neither was there any other thing permitted to the King, but that

contenting himselfe with the bare name of a King, having long haire and a long beard, he should sit upon the throne, and have some shew of a Ruler, and heare Embassadors

comming

comming from all parts, and give such answers unto them (as out of his own power) which hee was taught and commanded to give. He had nothing to live on, but such a stipend and allowance, as the Prefect was pleased to allow unto him. He possessed nothing but one little Village: once onely in the yeare, he was seene of his Subjects in a publick and solemne assembly, and having saluted them all, returned againe into his private course of life, leaving the government of all to the Prefect. *Pipine* therefore, who then supplied that place, as succeeding his anceltours in the same, considering the sloath and idlenesse of these Kings, who neglecting the common wealth, did hide themselves in their owne private houses: and that both the Nobles and people tooke notice as well of his vertues, as of the senselesse follies of *Childerick*, consulted with the Pope (as wee heard before:) upon whose answer (that hee was to be reputed King: that could best doe the duty of a King) the *French* by a publick decree of the whole nation, chose *Pipine* to be King, which thing *Zachary* approved. *Otho Frisingensis* saith, that the *French* sent messengers to *Rome*, *sciscitandi gratia*, to aske the Popes advice, and to be resolved by him; upon whose answer, and by whose authority (warranting them it was lawfull so to doe) *Bonifacius* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the other Princes of the kingdome met together, and chose *Pipine* King. And *Rhegino* saith, *Pipine* was chosen King according to the manner and custome of the *French*, and being annoynted by the hands of *Bonifacius* Archbishop of *Mentz*, was by the *French* lifted up into the royall throne, and *Childerick* who was but in title onely a King, was shorne, and thrust into a Monasterie. With these agreeth *Sigebertus*, and the rest. Wherefore, to conclude this point, touching the deposition of *Childerick*, we must observe: First, that he was not deposed for heresie, or any way going about to hinder the course of religion; and that therefore the Pope could not depose him, unlesse Princes be subject to such censures for defects of nature, and negligence in doing their duties. Secondly, that hee and his predecessours for almost an hundred yeares, were put from all government, and were but in name onely Kings, others having the authority, and that with the allowance of the whole State. So that it is the lesse to be marvailed, if the Pope, being consulted with as a Divine, answered, it was fit rather that hee should have the name, title, and inauguration of a King, that was to doe the duty, than he that was to be but a shadow onely. Yet doe I not say, that hee spake like a good Divine. Thirdly, that in those times the University of *Paris* was not yet founded: and the kingdome had few learned men; and that therefore they sought to forrainers. For otherwise we know that afterwards the Kings and Princes of *France* rather beleevd the Divines of *Paris* than the Court of *Rome*, in greater matters than this. Fourthly, that the Bishop of *Rome* as Patriarch of the West, was the chiefe Bishop in these parts of the world, and therefore not unfitly consulted in a matter of such consequence as this was.

Wherefore let us now proceed to the fourth instance. which is that of the translation of the West Empire, from the Emperours of *Constantinople* to *Charles* the Great, which our Adversaries say, was done by Pope *Leo* the third. But surely whosoever shall looke into the course of Histories shall finde, that this instance maketh rather against them, than for them. For it is most certain, that the Pope by his Papall power did not translate the Empire. The *Romans*, saith *Sigebert*, (who long before in their hearts were fallen away from the Emperour of *Constantinople*, now taking the opportunity of the occasion offered, while a woman having put out the eyes of *Constantine* the Emperour her sonne, tooke upon her to rule over them) with one consent proclaimed *Charles* the King their Emperour, and by the hands of *Leo* the Pope, set the Crown upon his head, and gave him the title of *Cesar* and *Augustus*. With *Sigebertus* the Author of the great Chronicle agreeth: His words are these: In the time of the solemnities of the Masse celebrated upon *Christmas* day in *S. Peters* Church, *Leo* the Pope, by the decree of the people of *Rome*, & at their intreaty crowned *Charles* proclaimed Emperour of the *Romans*, and set such a Diademe upon his head, as the ancient Emperours were wont to weare; and then the people, which was present in great number with joyfull acclamation cried out thrice: *Carolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno & pacifico Imperatori, vita & victoria*. So that we see, it was the decree of the *Romans* that made

*Chron. lib. 5
cap. 21. & 22.*

Lib. 2.

Loco citato.

*Gerson in
Serm. de pas-
chate part. 4.
operum ejus.*

*Sigebert. an-
no 801.*

*Etate 6. in
Leoue.*

Anno 800.

Chronog. vol.
gener. 27.

Charles Emperour, and that they used *Leo* for the performance of the solemne rites of his Coronation and unction. With *Sigebert* and the Author of the great Chronicle, we may joyne *Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis*: His words are, *Carolus à Romanis Augustus est appellatus*: that is, The Romans proclaimed *Charles Augustus*: And *Naucerus* saith, *Pontifex populi Romani consensu, Carolum Romanorum Imperatorem declarat*, &c. that is, The high Bishop, with the consent of the people of *Rome*, proclaimeth *Charles* Emperor of the *Romans*, and crowneth him with a Diademe. The people with a joyfull shout, crying out thrice, *Carolo Augusto, à Deo coronato, magno & pacifico Imperatori, vita & victoria*. But to cleare this point, and to make it evident to all the world, that howsoever the Pope and Clergie might concur in this act, with the people & Nobles of *Italy*, as having part and interest in matters of State as well as other, yet the Pope by his Papall power did not translate the Empire; three things are to be observed: The first, that in the time of *Gregory the 2^d*, there was a great rebellion in *Italy* against the Emperor of *Constantinople*, and a desire to chuse a new Emperor, and that they of *Ravenna* and *Venice* proceeded so farre in it, that they would have forced the Bishop of *Rome*, and others to concur with them: whereby it appeareth, that the act of translation was not proper to the Bishop of *Rome*, but proceeded from the concurring desires of the *Italians*, and was their acts, rather than this. The second, that *Charles* was a mighty, potent, and great Prince, having under him all *France*, *Spaine*, and a great part of *Germany*, with many other countries; and by his sword had subjected to him, the *Lombards*, and was Lord of the greatest part of *Italy*, before either the people proclaimed him, or the Pope crowned him Emperor. So that howsoever the *Italians* by *Leo* the B. proclaimed, crowned, and accounted him Emperor; yet it was his right of inheritance, and his sword that had possessed him of the thing, before ever they gave him the title of the West Empire. The third, that whether the *Italians* had right to chuse an Emperor or not, it mattereth nothing seeing they rebelled against their Emperor, and thought, that in case of such necessity they might so doe; and that therefore the objection of *Bellarmino* against our position, is too weake, when he saith, the people had no power to chuse the Emperor. For, howsoever anciently the Emperours were chosen by the Souldiers, or came to it by inheritance, yet the people at this time *de facto* tooke upon them to chuse, without curious disputing the question of right.

Great. Chro.
in Carolo.Great. Chro.
in Gregory 5.
Nauc. vol. 2.
Generat. 28. &
sequentibus.

The fifth instance of the Popes intermedling in the disposition of the kingdomes of the world, is that of *Gregory the 5th*, who (as *Bellarmino* saith) approved the forme of chusing the Emperor by the seven Princes of *Germany*, and ordained, that the Emperor should ever after be chosen by them. For the clearing of which point, we must observe, that the Empire of the West, being translated from *Constantinople* into *France*, in the person of *Charles* the great, he died, and *Ludovicus* his sonne succeeded him. *Lotharius* succeeded *Ludovicus*, and *Ludovicus* his sonne succeeded him. *Carolus Calvus* his Uncle succeeded *Ludovicus*; *Carolus Crassus* his Brother *Ludovicus* son, succeeded him. This *Carolus Crassus* for his unfitnesse, was put from the Empire, and *Arnulphus* his nephew, sonne of *Carlomaine* was chosen in his place; who was the last of the race of *Charles* the great, that was crowned Emperor, whom *Ludovicus* his sonne succeeded, but was never crowned; in whom dying without children, the race of *Charles* did wholly cease. After whom *Otho* the Duke of *Saxony* was greatly desired; but refusing to be Emperor in respect of his old age, the *French*, by his advice chose *Conradus*; and *Conradus* when he died, named *Henry* the sonne of *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*, who reigned in *East-France*: But upon the death of *Ludovicus* the third, the *Lombards* possessed themselves of the Empire in *Italy*, eight of them successively holding it for the space of 50 yeares, till *Otho* the sonne of *Matilda* (daughter of *Theodoricus* King of the *Saxons*) and *Henry* the King, who succeeding his Father, and being very famous for the things he had done in *France* and *Germany*, was desired by *Agapetus* the Pope, and many Nobles of *Italy*, now weary of the tyrannie of the *Lombards*, to come and releeve them; which he did, and entring *Italy* with 50000 armed men, put *Berengarius* the *Lombard* from the Empire, and *Albertus* from the kingdome of all *Italy*, and was crowned Emperor in *Rome* by *John* the twelfth, who died Emperor, &
Otho

Otho the second his sonne succeeded him, and *Otho* the third his sonne succeeded him. This third *Otho* (as "*Nauclerus* saith) having no heires male, by the advice, and with the consent of the Princes of *Germany*, made a Decree, that after the death of the Emperour, an election of the new Emperour to succede should for ever be made in the Citie of *Franckford*, and appointed electors three Archbishops, of *Mentz* for *Germany*, of *Coleyn* for *Italy*, and of *Trevers* for *France*: and with these, foure other secular Princes, to wit, the *Palatine* of *Rhene*, who by office should bee the Emperours Pantler; the Duke of *Saxony*, who should be his Marshall; the Marquess of *Branderburge*, who was to be his Chamberlaine; and the King of *Boheme*, who was to be chiefe Butler. This ordinance greatly displeased the *Romans*, yet notwithstanding *Gregory* the fifth then Pope, who was a *German* borne, and of the Emperours House, seeing how hardly *Otho* the Emperour came to the Empire, though it were his inheritance, called a Synode; and with the consent of the Princes of *Germany*, confirmed the ordinance of the Emperour, and decreed, that these 7 electors, should for ever have power to chuse the Emperour in the name of all; who being chosen, should be called *Cesar* and King of *Romans*; and after his coronation by the Pope, be named *Augustus* and Emperour. *Cardinall Cusanus* saith, the Emperour *Otho*, with the consent of the Nobles, Primates, and both the states of the Clergie and people, ordained electors in the time of *Gregory* the 5. who was a *German*, and decreed, that they should have power for ever to chuse the Emperour in stead of all. It is not therefore to be granted (saith hee) that the Princes electors have their power of chusing the Emperour from the Pope, so that without his consent they should not have it, or that he might take it from them if he would. Who therefore gave the people of *Rome* power to chuse the Emperour, but the Law of God, and Nature? whence the Electors, appointed by the common consent of all the *Germans*, and other subject to the Empire in the time of *Henry* the second, have their power originally from the common consent of them all, who by natures right had power to constitute them an Emperour; and not from the Bishop of *Rome*, who hath no power to give to any Province of the world, a King or Emperour, without the consent thereof. But the consent of *Gregorie* the 5. who as Bishop of *Rome*, in his degree and place, had interest to give voyce in the chusing of the Emperour, concurred with the resolution of the Princes and people.

The sixth instance is of *Gregory* the 7. deposing *Henry* the 4. who (indeed) was the first Pope that ever tooke upon him to depose Emperour or King. Wherefore, for the better understanding of the whole course of the proceedings of this Pope, we must observe, that in the time of *Henry* the 3. about the yeare of our Lord 1040. there was an horrible confusion of Gods Church and people in the Citie of *Rome*, three severall pretenders invading the chaire of *Peter*, and challenging the name of his successours; and (which more increased the misery) the revenues of the Church were divided among these three, and severall Patriarchicall places assigned to them; one of them sitting at *S. Peters*, another at *S. Mary* the greater, and the third named *Benedict*, in the Palace of *Lateral*; and all of them lived very lewdly and wickedly (as *Otho* saith, the *Romans* reported unto him being in *Rome*.) A certaine religious Presbyter named *Gratian*, considering this miserable state of the Church, and taking pittie on his distressed mother, moved with the zeale of piety, went to the three pretenders, and perswaded them for mony to leave the holy seate of *Peter*; assigning to *Benedict*, as being of greater esteeme among them, the revenues of *England* for his maintenance, and as a recompence of his voluntary relinquishing the claime to the Popedom. The Citizens of *Rome*, admiring the happy atchievement of this Presbyter, chose him to be Pope, as being the deliverer of the Church from so great a schisme; and changing his name, called him *Gregory* the 7. But when *Henry* the King heard of it, he passed into *Italy*. *Gratian* understanding of his comming, met him at *Sutrium*, and to pacifie his wrath, offered him a precious Diademe. The King at the first honourably received him; but afterwards calling a Councell of Bishops, induced him to give over the Popedom, as having by Symonie obtained it at the first; and with the consent of the *Roman* Church placed *Suidgerus* Bishop of *Babenberge* in the Papall chaire, who was

named *Clemens*. This *Clemens* died, and *Papio* Patriarch of *Aquileia* succeeded him, and was named *Damasus*. *Damasus* died, and *Bruno* Bishop of the *Tallians* succeeded him, and was named *Leo*. This man being of a noble race in *France*, was appointed Pope by the authority of the Emperour, and having put on the Papall purple Robe, journeyed through *France*, till hee came to *Cluniack*, where one *Hildebrand* was Priour. This *Hildebrand*, moved with zeale, came to *Leo*, and told him, hee did ill to assume the Papall office by vertue of the Emperours nomination being a Lay-man, but that if he would be advised by him, he would direct him into a course, whereby hee might, without offending the Emperour, preserve the liberty of the Church, in choosing her chiefe Bishop. This advice *Leo* hearkned unto, and putting off his purple Robe, put on the weede of a pilgrime, and so going to *Rome* with this *Hildebrand* in his company, by his advice and counsell, found the meanes to get himselfe chosen Pope by the Clergie and people of *Rome*. *Leo* died, and *Gebehardus* afterwards named *Viktor*, succeeded him, and *Stephen* him: about whose time *Henry* the third died, and *Henry* the fourth his sonne succeeded; and after *Stephen*, *Benedict*, and *Nicholas*, *Alexander* gat the Papall See, against whom great exception was taken, for that contrary to the custome, he was chosen without the Emperours consent, and with the liking of the young Emperour and his Mother (as some report). Another was set up by the Bishops of *Lombardy*, affirming, that no man might be chosen or designed to the Popedom without the Emperours allowance. And besides, *Anno* Archbishop of *Calerne* went to *Rome*, to expostulate the matter with *Alexander* and the Cardinals adhering to him, and to know of him, how he durst, contrary to custome, and the law prescribed and imposed anciently upon the Popes, assume the Popedom without the consent of the Emperour; alleadging many things to shew the unlawfulness of this fact, and beginning at *Charles* the Great, hee named many Emperours who had either chosen or confirmed Popes, and made good their election. But being ready to goe forward, and to adde more proofes unto that which he had said, *Hildebrand* the Arch-deacon (the whole company of Cardinals beckeining unto him so to doe) stood up, and answered in this sort: Archbishop *Anno*, the Kings and Emperours of *Rome* never had any authority, right, or commanding power in the choyce of the Pope: and if at any time any thing were done violently or disorderly, it was afterwards corrected, and set right againe by the censure of the Fathers. After the death of *Alexander*, this *Hildebrand*, who thus ever disposed himselfe against the Emperours claimes, was by the *Romans* chosen Pope, without the Emperours consent. Which the Bishops of *France* understanding, knowing well of how violent, severe, and intractable a disposition hee was, unwilling to have him possesse so high a place in the Church, told the Emperour, that if he did not in time prevent the matter, and voyd his election, greater evils and perils would beset him, than he could at first thinke of. Whereupon hee sent Embassadors to *Rome*, to know the cause why the *Romans*, contrary to the ancient custome, had chosen a Pope without his consent. And if they gave not satisfaction, to put *Hildebrand* from the Papall dignity which he had unjustly gotten. The Embassadors coming to *Rome*, were kindly and courteously entertained, and when they had delivered their message, *Hildebrand* (like a vile dissembling hypocrite) contrary to his owne practice, and that which he had perswaded other unto, answered, that hee never sought this honour, but that it was put upon him; and that yet he would not accept of it, till by a certaine Embassadour, he was assured, that not only the Emperour, but the Princes of *Germany* consented to his election. Which answer when the Emperour received, he was fully satisfied, and with all readiness, by his Royall consent confirmed his election and commanded that hee should be ordained. Thus wee see, how to serve his owne turne, he could now acknowledge the Emperours interest, and refuse to be ordained before hee had obtained his confirmation, which yet before in the case of *Alexander* hee disclaimed: though some say, hee never yielded so much to the Emperour, but ever held out against him, disclaiming his intermeddling, & that a most horrible schisme ensued thereupon. How soever, he was no longer Pope, but he began to molest the Emperour, challenging him for Symonie in conferring Ecclesiasticall dignities, and requiring

Naucles. Vol.

Genes. 36.

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Otho Fris-

gens. lib 6. cap.

34. & 35.

requiring him to come to some Synodall answer; which when he refused to doe, he excommunicated him, deprived him of his Empire, and absolved his subjects from their Oath of obedience. This was the first Pope that ever presumed to depose any Emperour. *Lego & relego* (saith *Otho Frisingensis*) *Romanorum Regum & Imperatorum gesta, & nusquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc a Romano Pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum, nisi fortè quis pro anathemate habendum ducat, quod Philippus ad breve tempus a Romano Pontifice inter penitentes collocatus, & Theodosius a beato Ambrosio propter cruentam cadem a liminibus Ecclesie sequestratus sit*: that is, I reade, and I reade over againe and againe the Acts of the Roman Kings and Emperours, and I no where finde any of them before this, excommunicated by the Roman Bishop, or deprived of his kingdome, unlesse haply any man doe thinke that is to bee taken for an excommunication, that Philip was for a short time put among the Penitents by the Bishop of Rome, and Theodosius for his bloody murther stopped by blessed Ambrose from entring into the Church. And therefore whatsoever Gregory pretendeth to the contrary, professing, that he treadeth in the steps of the Saints, and his holy predecessours; yet it is true that *Sigebert* saith, (which he hopeth he may say with the leave of all good men) that this novelty (that hee say not heresie) had not shewed it selfe in the world in their time, that the Priests of that God which maketh hypocrites to reigne for the finnes of his people, should teach his people that they owe no subjection to wicked Kings, and that they owe no fealty unto them, though they have taken the oath of fealty: that they are free from perjury that lift up their hands against the King to whom they have sworne, and that they are to bee taken for excommunicate persons that doe obey him. What horrible confusions followed upon this censure of Gregory, *Otho Frisingensis* reporteth in most tragicall manner. His words are these. How great evils, how many warres and dangers of warres followed thence? How often was miserable Rome besieged, taken, and sacked? How one Pope was intruded upon another: as likewise one King set up against another, it is irksome to me to remember. To conclude, the whirle-winde of this tempest inwrapped in it so many evils, so many schismes, so many perils of the soules and bodies of men, that it alone may suffice in respect of the cruelty of the persecution and the long continuance of the time thereof, to set before our eyes the infelicity of mans miserable condition. For first, the Emperour offended with the Pope, for moletting him about the Investitures of Bishops, which his predecessours anciently had and enjoyed, and the Clergie discontented with him for his forbidding marriage; he was in an assembly of the States and Bishops of Germany, holden at *Wormes*, deposed, & a letter written to him, requiring him no longer to meddle with the Episcopall Office. But such was the resolution and stoutnesse of this turbulent and unquiet spirit, that being encouraged by certaine B^s of Germany, & promised their ayde and help, he deprived the Bishops that had given sentence against him, and deposed Henry the Emperour, absolving his subjects from their Oath of obedience. Whereupon many of the Princes of Germany, & first of all the Saxons formerly averse from him, withdrew their subjection, pretending, that they might justly cast off the yoke, and refuse to obey him any longer, seeing having bin called to give satisfaction to two Popes, concerning certaine crimes objected to him, he had refused to appeare, and was thereupon excommunicated. These rebellions and defections so affrighted the Nobles and Princes of the Empire that still remained well affected to the Emperour, that for the staying of present confusions, and preventing of other, they thought good that the Pope should be intreated to come into Germany, and that then the Emperour should submit himselfe unto him, and aske forgiveness; which thing accordingly was effected: for the Pope was perswaded, and consented to come into Germany, and was coming towards *Augusta*, as farre as *Versella*. But when he came thither, pretending feare that the Emperour meant not well towards him, he brake off his journey, and went to *Canossam*, and there stayed. Which the Emperour hearing of & doubting what might be the cause of his stay, hastned thither, and putting off all royall Robes, on his bare feet came to the gates of the Town, humbly beseeching that he might be let in; but was stayed without 3. dayes, though it were extreame cold winter weather: which he endured

*Otho Fris. l. 6
Chron. c. 35.*

*Decr. part. 2:
caus. 15. q. 6. &
l. 8. ep. 21.
In Chron.
anno 1088.*

*Chro. lib. 6.
cap. 36.*

*Naucler. Vo 3
Gener. 37.*

endured patiently, continually intreating, till in the end he was let in, and absolved; but yet conditionally, that being called, he should appeare in an assembly of Princes and Bishops, to answer such crimes as were objected to him; and either to purge himselfe, and so retaine his kingdome; or otherwise failing so to doe, to lose it. This his submission afterwards he made knowne to the *Italians*, who, understanding what hee had done, were exceedingly enraged against him, derided the Legates of the Pope, and contemned his curses, as being deposed by all the Bishops of *Italy* for just causes, as namely, for simony, murther, adultery, and other most horrible and capitall crimes; and told him, that hee had done a most intollerable thing. in submitting himselfe and his kingly Majesty to an heretick and most infamous person. Yea they proceeded so farre, that they told him, because he had so done, they were resolved to make his Son Emperour in his stead; and to goe to *Rome* and chuse a new Pope, by whom he might be consecrated, and all the proceedings of this false Pope voided. But the Emperour, excusing himselfe for that which he had done, as driven by necessity so to doe, and promising to revenge these wrongs, when opportunity should be offered, pacified them in such sort, that they began to incline to him againe. Yet were not his evils at an end hereby. For his enemies among the *Germans* presently tooke the opportunity of this his relapse, and calling an assembly with the Legates of the Pope, chose a new Emperour, *Rodolph Duke of Suevia*; to whom the Pope sent an Imperiall Crowne, having this inscription: *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus Diadema Rodolpho*. Which when he heard of, he called a Councell of the Bishops of *Italy* and *Germany*, and charging *Hildebrand* the Pope with most horrible crimes, of heresie, necromancie, perjurie, murther, and the like, deposed him; chose *Guibertus*, Bishop of *Ravenna* in his place, and gathering together a great and mighty Army, went against *Rodolph* abiding in *Saxony*; where a most terrible and bloody battell was fought betweene them: in which battell *Rodolph* was wounded; and going aside from his companions, with many other likewise wounded, was carried to *Mersberge*, where he died; who a little before his death beholding his right hand cut off in that battell, fetching a deepe sigh, said to the Bishops which by chance were present: *Behold, this is the hand with which by solemne vow and oath I obliged my faith and fealty to Henry my Lord. Behold now I leave his kingdome and this present life, see you that made me climbe up into his throne, what you have done: would to God you had led mee the right way, whom you found so willing to follow your advice and counsell, and to be directed by you.* Yet did neither the ill successe of the former attempt, nor the speeches of *Rodolph* at his death, blaming those that had set him a worke, and condemning himselfe for that which he had done, discourage the ill affected from proceeding on in their rebellious practices. For they set up *Hermannus*, Prince of *Lorrayne*, in stead of *Rodolph*, and proclaimed him Emperour, whom the Emperour *Henry* slew likewise, as he had done the other; and rested not till he made Pope *Hildebrand* leave *Rome*, and flie to *Salernum*; and brought the new Pope named *Clement*, to be enthronized, and himselfe crowned by him in *Rome*. The acts of *Hildebrand* (saith *Nauclerus*) were such, that the Writers be very doubtfull, whether the things that were done by him, were done out of any love of vertue, or any zeale he bare to the faith, or not. They that loved him best, disliked his stiffnessse, as *Aventinus* witnesseth. *Otho Frisingensis* noteth, that his disposition was such, that for the most part, hee ever liked that which others disliked. So, that of *Lucane* might be verified of him: *Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni*: that is, The prevailing part and cause best pleased God, but that which fell, & had the overthrow, had *Catoes* wishes. And though he commended his zeale, yet in his prologue of his 7th booke hee taxeth him, and others like unto him, in very bitter sort. His words are these: *Videntur tamen culpandi Sacerdotes per omnia, qui regnum suo gladio, quem ipsi ex regum habent gratia, ferire conantur. Nisi forte David imitari cogitant, qui Philistinum primo virtute Dei stravit, postmodum proprio gladio jugulavit*: that is, Notwithstanding whatsoever may be said, the Priests seeme altogether blameable, and worthy reproofe and reprehension, which goe about to strike Kings and Princes with that their sword which they have by the grace and favour of Princes; unlesse haply they doe

doe thinke it lawfull for them to imitate *David*, who first overthrew and cast to the ground the proud *Philistine* by the power of God, and afterwards slew him with his owne sword. Of this *Hildebrand*, *Sigebert* saith, he found it thus written: Wee will have you know, you that manage the Ecclesiasticall affaires, and to whom the care of the Church is committed, that the Lord, Pope *Hildebrand*, who also was called *Gregorie*, being in *extremis*, and drawing neare his end, called unto him one of the 12 Cardinalls, whom hee loved dearely, and more than any of the rest; and in his hearing confessed to God, to holy *Peter*, and to the whole Church, that hee had sinned exceedingly, and grievously offended in the Pastorall charge committed to him, and in governing the people of whom hee had undertaken the care; and that by the perswasion and instigation of the Devill, he had stirred up hatred and wrath against mankind: and then commanded the forenamed Confessour to make haste to goe to the Emperour, and to the whole Church of God, to aske forgiveness for him, because hee saw the end of his life was neare at hand. And besides all this, in great haste put on him an Angelicall vesture or robe, and released and brake in sunder the bands of all those bitter curses whereunto hee had subjected the Emperour. These were the turbulent proceedings of this cursed *Hildebrand*, indeede a brand taken out of the very fire of hell, to set on fire the course of nature, and to put the whole world into a combustion; whereof (if this report mentioned by *Sigebertus* be true) it repented him not a little before his death. But howsoever, it is most certaine, that his best friends in the end began wholly to dislike him, when they saw whither his violent and furious passions carried him, and what wofull effects followed the same. *Gerochus* (saith *Aventinus*) than whom no man was found more earnestly to defend *Hildebrand*, by bookes written to justifie his proceedings, and who published to the world divers crimes objected to the Emperour, mentioned by no other Writer, at the last, constrained by the force of truth, taxed the pertinacie, if not the tyrannie of the Pope and his adherents, in this sort: *Romani (inquit) sibi divinum usurpant honorem, rationem actorum reddere nolunt, nec sibi dici a quo animo ferunt, cur ita agis? Illud Satyricum inculcant, Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*: that is, The Romans take unto themselves the honour that is proper unto God: they will give no account for any thing they doe; they will be subject to no controll, neither can they endure with any patience, that any man should say to any of them, Sir, why doe you so? That Satyricall saying they have often in their mouthes: So I will have it, so I command it to be, let my will stand for a reason, for so it shall. Thus wee see how ill a beginning the Popes made of deposing Emperours, and how bad successe they had. Which is not to bee marvelled at, seeing in these attempts and practices they were contrary to Christ and his Apostles. For these (as *Aventinus* noteth) acknowledged the Emperours, as also all the holy Fathers did, to bee in the second place and ranke after God, and before all mortall men, given, appointed, and chosen by the immortall God; and honoured them, as having the Crowne set upon their heads by God himselfe; they prayed daily for their prosperity, they paid tribute unto them, and proclaimed them rebels against God, that refused to be subject to them. After this bad beginning, some two or three other Popes succeeding, attempted in like sort as *Hildebrand* had done, to depose such Emperours as they were offended with. Concerning whose attempts and practices, let the Reader consider the censure of Cardinall *Cusanus*: His words are these: "Let it suffice the Pope, that he excelleth the Emperour, as much as the Sunne doth the Moone, and the soule the body; and let him not challenge that which pertaineth not to him: neither let him affirme, that the Empire is not but by him, and in dependance on him: and if haply the deposing of some Kings and Emperours, the translation of the Empire move him so presumptuously for to thinke, let him know, that if the respect of Religion, and due consideration of humility hindered not, it were easie to answer all those things truly and most clearely; and so, that haply these things should no way argue so great a power in the Pope, as Pope, without the consent or willing acceptation of the parties contending, as is imagined. For there wanted not in ancient times men to defend *Henry* the fourth crowned at *Basil* by the Legates of *Rome*, from the

Anno 1085.

m Annal. lib. 3.
pag 363.Cusanus de
concord. Ca-
thol. l. 3. c. 41.

excom-

o See Math. Pa-
rif. Henric. 3.
pag. 682.

excommunication of *Gregorie* or *Hildebrand*. Yea such there were that were Cardinals at that time, and a certaine Councell holden at *Rome*, nay which more is, the generall Councell at *Basil*, holden at that time, did the same things concerning the chusing of *Honorius* Pope, for which *Henry* the Emperour was pronounced excommunicate. And in like sort there are found things excellently and strongly written in defence of *Frederick* the second, a most valiant man, and a most constant defender of the Faith, as also in defence of other Emperours. How much the Popes proceedings against *Frederick* the second, hindered the course of the sacred warre undertaken at that time against the Infidels, how many things the Pope charged him with, which hee utterly disclaimed, and how much all Christian Princes in the end began to dislike the pride of the *Roman* Court, the Histories of those times doe sufficiently make knowne unto us. Wherefore to conclude this point, touching the Popes pretended power of deposing Princes; seeing the first that ever attempted to exercise the same, was that brand of hell *Gregorie* the 7th, seeing he had so ill successe in this his proud attempt, and caused such confusions in the Christian world, as the like had seldome or never beene before; and seeing the best learned about those times, and since, condemned the opinion of them that thinke the Pope may depose Princes, as new and strange, if not hereticall: we may safely resolve, that the Pope taking upon him to give and take away kingdomes, which is proper to God, is that Antichrist that sitteth in the Temple of God, as if hee were God.

C H A P. 47.

Of the Civill dominion which the Popes have by the gift of Princes.

HAVING proved that the Popes neither directly, nor indirectly have power over Princes and the kingdomes of the world, or any thing to doe in the managing and disposing of civill affaires, by vertue of any grant from Christ, let us proceed to see what temporall dominion and civill power they have by the grant of Princes. It is the resolved opinion almost of all men (saith *Cusanus*) that *Constantine* the Emperour gave the whole Empire of the West to *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, and to his successours for ever, so that there can be no Emperour of the West, but such a one as must wholly depend of the Pope, and acknowledge that he holdeth the Imperiall Crowne of him. Neither were there many found in ancient times, that durst make question of this donation of *Constantine*, yet doth this great Cardinall and worthy Divine professe, that having sought diligently to finde out the originall of this supposed grant, and the certainty of it (presupposing, that *Constantine* might make such a grant, which yet will never be proved) hee greatly wondereth if ever there were any such thing. For, that there is no such thing to be found in authentickall bookes, and approved Histories. I have read over (saith he) againe and againe, all the acts of Popes and Emperours that by any meanes I could meeete with, the Histories of Saint *Hierome*, who was most diligent in collecting all things, the workes of *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, and other learned Fathers, and the Acts of generall Councils which have beene since the Councell of *Nice*, and can finde no such thing as this supposed donation, nor any thing that may import, that ever there was any such donation; neither can it stand with the course of things reported unto us by the ancient Historians and Writers: *Damasus* at the request of *Hierome*, wrote the lives and actions of his predecessors: and yet in the life of *Sylvester* reporteth no such thing. He addeth further, that having diligently perused the Charter of this grant, he found in it most evident arguments of forgery and falshood, and therefore saith, hee thinketh these things concerning *Constantines* donation to be Apocryphall, as some other large writings attributed to *Clemens* and *Anacletus* the Popes. For first, the Epistle of *Melchisedech* touching the primitive Church, and the bounty of *Constantine* is proved counterfeit, in that he speaketh of the Councell of *Nice*, holden after his death, and of *Constantines* donation, supposed to have bin granted in the time of *Sylvester*, who succeeded him. Besides this, in the Charter of donation, *Constantine* professeth, that he was a Leper, that

that he was freed from the same by *Sylvesters* meanes, by whom he was baptized, and that he was first instructed in Christianity by him. Whereas it is a meeke fable that is reported of *Constantines* leprosie, and it is most certaine that he was a Christian before *Sylvester* was Bishop of *Rome*. I no where ever read (saith *Melchior Canus*) in any good and approved Authors, that *Constantine* was a Leper: But another of that name surnamed *Gopronymus*, whence haply, through ambiguity of the name, this error might spring, unless this rumor concerning the Leprosie of *Constantine* may seeme to have sprung from that we finde reported of him, that hee went out of the Citie of *Byzantium* to certaine hot bathes for his healths sake: *Thomas Aquinas* in his summe mentioneth this vulgar history of *Constantines* Leprosie, and (as it seemeth) approveth the same; but *Cajetane* doth not so, writing upon *Thomas*; neither wanteth he good Authors to induce him to reject this fabulous report: for he hath *Platina* in the life of *Mark*, *Ludovicus Vives* in his Booke de corruptis disciplinis, and *Alciat*, all flatly denying and rejecting this report: and hee hath all ancient Writers of that age passing it over in silence; who would never have omitted it, if they had knowne of any such thing, and would undoubtedly have knowne it, if there had beene any such thing. Touching his Baptisme, all the ancient Historians, *Hierome*, *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Theodoretus*, *Zozomen*, *Cassiodorus*, *Pomponius Latinus*, and other of that ranke affirme, that hee was baptized by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, a little before his death, and not by *Sylvester*. The Author of the Pontificall, who is full of fables, the fained Charter of *Constantines* donation, and some late Writers, deceived by these late forgeries, affirme, that hee was first converted to Christianity by *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, and by him baptized, which by no meanes can be true; it being most certaine, he was a Christian in the time of *Melchades*, *Sylvesters* predecessor. It is most certainly true (saith *Cusanus*) that *Constantine* the Emperour was a Christian in the time of *Melchades* the Pope, as it appeareth by *Ambrose* in divers places, especially in his Epistle to *Glorentius* and *Eleusius*. These are proofes more than sufficient, that the Edict of donation attributed to *Constantine* is counterfeit and forged: and therefore *Melchior Canus* writeth thus of it. The Lawyers doe sufficiently shew, that that forme of donation which is attributed to *Constantine*, and commonly carried about, is fained and counterfeited, in that they brand it with the disgracefull inscription of chaffe. *Eusebius*, *Ruffinus*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Zozomen*, *Eutropius*, *Victor*, and the other approved Authors, who most diligently wrote all the acts of *Constantine*, doe not onely passe by this supposed donation, without making any mention of it, but also deliver, that *Constantine* by his last will and testament, so divided the Provinces subject to the Roman Empire among his three sonnes, that all *Italy* fell to the lot of one of them: which being so religious a Prince, hee would not have done, if he had formerly given *Italy*, and all the Western part of the Empire to the Pope. *Ammianus Marcellinus* reporteth, that *Constantine* held the Sovereignty of *Rome*, and appointed *Leoninus* to be his Lievtenant there; and all Historians doe report, that sundry Emperours long after the time of *Constantines* supposed donation, ruled and reigned as soveraigne Lords in *Italy*: and even in *Rome* it selfe, Pope *Agatho* writing to *Constantine*, that called the sixth generall Councell, acknowledgeth that *Rome* is *Imperatoris servilis urbs*, that is, the Emperours Citie in all humble and submissive subjection: and it is most evident, that in the time of *Gregory* the first, the Emperour held the Citie of *Rome*, and governed it by a Lord Deputy. But some man perhaps will say, that the acts of *Sylvester*, in which this donation is found, are approved by *Gelasius*, and a Synode of Bishops, and that therefore wee may not doubt of it. This allegation is easily answered: For (as *Cusanus* rightly noteth) it is a very weak and slender confirmation of the acts of Pope *Sylvester*, that is found in *Gelasius*, and the Synode of Bishops holden by him. For *Gelasius* saith onely, the Author of these acts is not knowne, and that yet they are read by some Catholicks in the Church of *Rome*, and many Churches by ancient use imitate the same. The writings also (saith he) concerning the invention of the holy crosse of our Lord, and some other writings concerning the invention of the head of Saint *John Baptist*, are truly but novell and late

6 Locorum
Theologic. lib.
12 c. 5.

3. part. qu. 28.
69. in 4. argu-
mento.
Lib. 2.
Lib. Patreg.
7. cap. 19.

1 In chronico
2 Lib. 4. de vita
Constantin.
3 Lib. 2. cap. 39.
4 Lib. 1. hist.
5 Eccles. c. 31.
6 Lib. 3. c. 34.
7 Turpin. hist.
8 Concord.
Cathol. l. 3. c. 2.

9 Ubi supra,
Dist. 96. cap.
Constantinus.

10 Lib. 15:

11 Epist. Aga-
thonis: lecta in
6. actione 4.

12 Io. Diaconus
in vita Grego-
rii, l. 1. c. 40.

13 Concord. Ca-
thol. l. 3. c. 2.

1. *Theff.* 5. 21.
2. *Hist. part. 1.*
3. *tit. 8. cap. 2.*

4. *Cap. cum E-*
5. *nixa Dist 5. in*
6. *annot.*

7. *Part. 1. decr.*
8. *Dist. 46. cap.*
9. *Constantinus.*
10. *2. Centur 4.*
11. *cap. 7.*

12. *Chronogr.*
13. *Vol. 2. entr.*

14. *Ubi supra.*

15. *Decret. 1. par-*
16. *te caus. 12. qu.*
17. *1. cap. 15.*

18. *6. Decretal.*
19. *Bonifac. 2. lib.*
20. *1. tit. 6. electio-*
21. *ne & elect. po-*
22. *test. c. 17.*

23. *Nauder. vol.*
24. *2. Cen. 19. &*
25. *20.*

late revelations, and yet some Catholicks read them. But when writings of this kinde shall come into the hands of Catholicks, let that sentence of blessed *Paul* the Apostle be before them, *Prove all things, and hold that which is good.* Touching *Grati-* an in whom this Charter of Donation is now found: *Antoninus* Archbishop of *Flo-* rence noteth, that in the old bookes it was not found. And therefore it is rightly no- ted and distinguished from other things of more credit by the inscription of *Palea*, that is, chaffe, because there is no good corne in it, as *Platina* observeth in the life of *John* the seventh, with whom *Continus*, the Author of a Preface before the Decrees, agreeth, affirming, that those things that are so noted, were at the first put into the margent onely, and so after crept into the Text, and that many of them are not found in the most ancient bookes of Decrees. And in his Annotations upon that part of the Decrees, where this fained Charter of *Constantine* is found, insinuateth, that this Chaffe is not in all bookes of Decrees. Touching *Isidore*, the *Magdeburgians* testifie, that in old copies there is nothing found concerning this supposed donation, and the like may be thought of *Ivo*; so that there is no Author of any credit, that giveth testimony to this donation: and they that doe speake of it, speake so differently and uncertainly, that from thence *Nauclere* gathereth, that the whole is but a forged matter, and meere devise. For in the Decrees there is mention of a donation of the Citie of *Rome*, of all *Italy*, and other Provinces of the West, but in the fained Epistle of *Melchisedes*, and in the Decretall of *Bonifacius* the eighth there is no mention, but onely of the Citie of *Rome*: so that though it be not to be doubted, but that *Constantine* gave Princely gifts unto the Church, and other Emperours and Princes augmented the same in such sort, that the Church long since had ample possessions, great reve- nues, and a goodly patrimony in sundry parts of the West: yet I thinke wee may most safely affirme, with *Platina*, *Otho Frisingensis*, *Cusanus*, *Valla*, *Nauclerus*, *Canius*, and sundry other, that there never was any such donation as is imagined, but that both *Rome* and all *Italy*, with the Westerne Provinces, remained still subject to the Empe- rour, till the time of *Pipine* the Father of *Charles* the great, being governed either by the Emperours themselves, or by such as they appointed which they lived away and made their abode in other places, as in proesse of time they resided in a manner altogether at *Constantinople*, made great by *Constantine*, and better liked of by his successours than *Rome* it selfe. Whereupon we reade of one *Narses* the Emperours Lievtenant, a good man, and a good Governour, who having vanquished the *Goths*, ruled the *Romans* in great peace and quietnesse for a long time; till moved with envy, they made complaints of him to the Emperour *Justinus*, and *Sophia* his wife, profes- sing, that it were better for them to bee under the *Goths* againe, than to endure the proud and insolent command of this Lievtenant. Vpon which complaints the Empe- rour displaced him, and sent one *Longinus* to succede him. Which thing so offen- ded *Narses*, that he called the *Lombards* into *Italy*, whose comming made the *Greeke* Emperours in time to lose *Rome*, and all *Italy*. *Longinus* the successour of *Narses*, after he was established in his place, (whereas before there were no Garrisons in the Townes of *Italy*, but every Citie was governed by her owne Magistrates) put Gar- risons into divers Townes, and brought in a new forme of government into *Rome*, and into all *Italy*, which more afflicted it, than all the calamities that it had bene subject unto for the space of 160 yeares before, though such and so grievous, that *Rome* was sometime left desolate, to bee inhabited by wilde beasts. This man brought in a new name of dignity, to expresse the honourable place and office, of the chief Commander in *Italy* under the Emperour, calling it the *Exarchate*, and him that so ruled, the *Exarch*. This *Exarch* remained at *Ravenna*, and went not at all to *Rome*; hee appointed no one President over a whole Province or Countrey, but left every Citie to bee governed by her owne Magistrates, whom hee called Dukes, and made none other difference betweene *Rome* and other Cities, but that whereas the Governours of other places were called Dukes, the Governour of *Rome* first placed, was called a President, and they that followed him Dukes; whence wee reade of the *Roman* Dukedome. Neither had the *Romans* after the times of *Narses* and *Basilin*, either

either Consuls or Senate lawfully called together, but all their affaires were managed by some *Grecian* Duke, whom the *Exarch* sent unto them. This forme of government continued till the time of *Leo* the third, who breaking downe Images in the East parts of the world, and seeking to bring the Pope and Christians of the West to doe the like, procured himselfe so great dislike and ill will among them, (the Pope perswading them to contemne his commandements in this behalfe as unlawfull) that they of *Ravenna* and *Venice* began to rebell against him and his *Exarch*, and would have chosen a new Emperour, but that the Pope (in hope that hee would amend) staid them by his perswasions from so doing. Yet this rebellion proceeded so farre, that the Cities deposed the Magistrates set over them by the *Exarch*, and appointed new of their owne. The Citie of *Rome* slew *Marinus Spatharius*, that was her Duke, and his sonne *Adrian*, and chose another. They of *Ravenna* were divided among themselves: whereupon the *Exarch* was slaine, and in the meane while the *Lombards* brought into *Italy* by *Narses*, and now growne to be strong, possessed themselves of *Baunia*, and other places. The Emperour hearing of these innovations in *Italy*, sent another *Exarch*, who sought to appease the *Lombards* with gifts, and to incite certaine *Romans* against the Pope to take away his life. So that the Pope was greatly distressed on every side, fearing both the Emperour and the *Lombards*. But being encouraged by the people so to doe, hee excommunicated the *Exarch*, whom the Emperour had sent, and pacified the *Lombards*, and afterwards wrought a reconciliation betweene the *Exarch* and himselfe, and perswaded him to goe to *Ravenna*, and there to make his abode as other his predecesours had done. After this the *Lombard* besiegeth *Rome* againe, and putteth the Pope and the inhabitants in great feare, yet did they not send to the Emperour for helpe, by reason of the great dislikes that were betweene them, as also for that there was little hope of any helpe to come from him, being scarce able to defend the Citie of *Constantinople* from the *Saracens*, but to *Charles Martell*, Father of *Pipine*, who by intreaty perswaded the *Lombard* to remove his siege and goe away. After this againe *Aistulphus* King of the *Lombards* besieged *Ravenna*, and tooke it, and put the *Romans* into as great a feare, as ever they had beene in before. Whereupon the Pope writeth to the Emperour, signifying in what state *Rome* and all *Italy* was, and that if he did not presently send ayde, they must fall into the hands of *Aistulphus*. Upon these letters of the Pope, the Emperour sendeth to *Aistulphus*, to perswade him to desist from invading his countries and territories, but effecteth nothing. And therefore the Pope consulteth with the *Romans* what was fitte to bee done. Who resolve to send to the Emperour, and to let him know, that if hee would not presently come in person with the forces of the Empire to relieve *Italy*, they must be forced to seeke defence and reliefe else-where. According to this resolution, messengers were presently sent to *Constantinople*, but not returning in time, the *Romans* were forced to seeke to *Pipine* for helpe: who came in person, and restored the Bishop of *Rome* to his place from whence hee was fled, forced *Aistulphus* to sweare and give pledges to restore all things to him that hee had taken away: but he was no sooner gone out of the countrey, but he did more mischief than ever, whereof *Pipine* understanding, gathered a new Army, and returned into *Italy*, with a full resolution to subdue this Tyrant, and to settle the peace of the Church of *Rome*. The Emperour hearing that the *Romans* had sought helpe of *Pipine*, sendeth to him great gifts and presents, and beseecheth him to restore *Ravenna* and the *Exarchate* to the Empire, whereunto of right it pertained, and not to give them to the *Romans* or Pope. Whereunto *Pipine* answered; That he was now the second time come into *Italy*, not for gaine, but for his soules health, and to repress the insolencies of the *Lombards*, that they might not hurt the Church, and that therefore he meant to take *Ravenna* and the *Exarchate*, and other parts of *Italy* out of the *Lombards* hand, and to give them to the Pope and *Roman* Church, and so he did. Now the *Exarchate* was divided into two regions, the one named *Pentapolis*, containing five Cities, to wit, *Ravenna*, *Casena*, *Classis*, *Forum Livii*, and *Forum Popilii*: the other *Emilia* wherein were *Benonia*, *Rhegium*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and whatsoever land there is from

f Idem Gener.
25. Rheginio.
lib. 1.

g Nauder.
Gener. 25.

g Dist. 63. cap.
Adrianus,

from the bounds of those of *Placentia* and *Ticine* to *Adria*, and from *Adria*, to *Ariminum*. But the state of things was not so settled by *Pipine*, but that *Desiderius*, who succeeded *Aistulphus* in the kingdome of the *Lombards*, began a-fresh to wrong the Church of *Rome* againe, and therefore in the time of *Adrian* the Pope, *Charles* the Great was intreated to come into *Italy*; which thing he willingly yeelded to performe, and came to relieue them whom his father before had set free, and rested not till hee had subdued the *Lombards*, and restored to the Church of *Rome* all that which *Pipine* had given, confirming his gift with more ample priuiledges than before, and therefore to shew their thankfulness to him, the *Romans* did him all the honour that possibly they could devise, and a^s Synode was holden in *Rome* called by *Adrian*, consisting of an hundred fifty and three Bishops, religious men, and Abbots, and *Adrian* the Pope and the Bishops assembled in Councell, with unanimous consent, yeelded to *Charles* right and power to choose the Pope, and to order the Apostolick See, they granted unto him also the dignity of being a *Patrician*, that is, a Noble-man of *Rome*; and besides all this decreed, that Archbishops and Bishops in all Provinces, should receive investiture from him; and that no man should be consecrated a Bishop, unlesse hee were first approved and commended by the King, and invested by him; subjecting all such as should dare to goe against this decree, to excommunication and confiscation of goods, if they should not speedily repent, and shew themselves sorry for so doing. This priuiledge the *French* Kings enjoy in a sort unto this day, especially in certaine Provinces of *France*. After this the second time, *Charles* the Great was occasioned to come to *Rome*; by reason of some violences offered to *Leo* Bishop thereof, at what time the Bishop of *Rome* considering, that the Emperours of *Constantinople* did hardly hold the title of Emperours, that they were able to yeeld little reliefe in time of neede, and that they did in a sort forsake the *Westerne* part of the Empire; and besides all this, differed in some matters of religion: and on the other side, considering that *Charles* was a most mighty Prince, and one that deserved well of the Church, as *Pipine* and *Martel* had done before him, with the consent of the people of *Rome*, taking from him the title of a *Patrician*, proclaimeth him Emperour.

h De regno
Italix, lib. 4

i As Lotharius
did, Nacler.
vol. 2. generat.
28.

k Gener. 39.
l De gestis Fre-
derici, l. 2. c. 5.

m Radevici
Frising. appen.
ad Othonem
de reb. gestis
Frederici lib.
2. cap. 30.

n Ibid.

Thus wee see *Pipine* gave certaine Countries to the Pope and Church, and *Charles* confirmed the same gift. But they did not so give them, but that they retained (as ^h *Sigonius* noteth) *ius, principatum, & ditionem*, that is, the right sovereignty and royalty to themselves, and their successors, so that the *Romans* were to doe the Emperour service, and pay him tributes, they were by an oath of fealty to oblige themselves unto him, and ⁱ he by his Princely power might appoint Magistrates to judge and rule the people; yet such was the encroching of the *Roman* Bishops, that they could not endure long to be in this subjection, but sought wholly to cast off the yoke of the Emperours. Whereupon *Frederick Barbarossa* (as ^k *Naclerus* reporteth out of ^l *Frisingenfis*) some differences growing betwene him and the Pope, and Cities of *Italy*, inquired of the Princes and Lawyers, in what sort and how farre forth the Cities of *Italy* were subject to the Empire: and they with one consent did all adjudge unto him all royalties, as coynes, tolles, shippings, confirmation of dignities, of Judges and Consuls, tributes and judgments anciently established, besides such other things as hee might require when the Empire should stand in neede. But the Pope alleadged at the same time, that the Emperour might send no Embassadors to *Rome*, without his connivence, and that they of his Eschequer might make no collection of money in the Castles, Villages, or Townes subject to the Pope, but only at that time when first he putteth on the Imperiall Crowne in *Rome*. And *Otho Frisingensis* addeth, ^m that these Articles were proposed to the Emperour by the Popes Legates, to wit, that no messengers or Embassadors should be sent to the Citie without the Popes privy, seeing all the Magistrates of that Towne are the officers of *S. Peter*, with all royalties: that no money should be collected out of the Popes Lordships, but onely at the time of the Emperours Coronation; that the Bishops of *Italy* should only take the oath of fealty, and doe no homage to the Emperour: and lastly, that the Emperours Embassadors should not challenge any entertainment in Bishops Pallaces. To these Articles ⁿ the Emperour answered in this sort,

fort. I truly desire not the homage of the Bishops of *Italy*, if they please to renounce
 those royalties that doe belong unto us: who, if they willingly heare from the Pope,
 What hast thou to doe with the King? they must be content to heare from the Em-
 perour also. What hast thou to doe with mundane possessions? That our Embassa-
 dours are not to be received and entertained, I will easily grant, if any Bishop may bee
 found, whose Pallace stands upon his owne ground, and not upon ours. But whereas
 the Pope pretendeth, that the Emperour may send no Embassadors to *Rome* without
 his privy, that all Magistrates there are the Officers of *Saint Peter*; this matter, I
 confesse, is of moment and consequence, and will require a more grave and mature
 deliberation. For seeing by the providence and ordinance of God, I am the Emperour
 of *Rome*, and so called. I shall but only carry a shew of a Sovereigne Lord, and have the
 empty title without the thing, if the Sovereignty and command of the Citie of *Rome*
 be taken from mee. Thus did the good Emperour seeke to maintaine the right of the
 Empire, yet out of a good and Christian disposition, was willing to referre all differ-
 ences betweene the Pope and him, to the triall of law, or of arbitrement. But the Pope
 would not consent to any such thing. Wherein hee shewed more policie than good
 disposition, as knowing that hee must needs fall in this suite, if the matter came to
 tryall. For it is most evident, that *Lotharius* appointed Magistrates even in *Rome* ^{Supra.}
 it selfe, to judge the people, that the Nobles of *Rome* tooke the oath of fealty to the
 Emperour *Ludovicus* Father to *Lotharius*. This oath was taken in the time of *Frede-*
rick the first, in *Verona*: The forme of the oath was this: *I doe sweare that from this* ^{Radevici ap-}
time forward, I will be faithfull and true to my Lord Frederick Emperour of Romans ^{pend ad Otho-}
against all men, &c. And that I will never goe about to take from him his royaltie, &c. ^{nem, l. i. c. 19.}
 These were the differences betweene *Frederick Barbarossa* and the Pope, and the
 opposition grew so great and strong, that divers of the Cardinals conspired against
 the Emperour, and gave large summes of money to *Adrian* the Pope, to excom-
 municate him. And this conspiracie was confirmed with oathes, that none should
 draw back, or seeke the Emperours favour without the rest. And that if the Pope
 should die, they should choose none, but one of the conspiring Cardinals to suc-
 ceede him: But, as *David* said, *They shall curse, but thou shalt blesse*; so *GOD* ^{Psal. 109. 18.}
 that spake by the mouth of *David*, turned all that these Conspiratours did to a con-
 trary effect. For it came to passe that some few dayes after the Pope had denoun-
 ced excommunication against the Emperour at *Anagnia*, going forth to refresh ^{Nauclet. vol.}
 himselfe with some few accompanying him, hee dranke of the water of a certaine ^{2 gener. 39.}
 well, and presently a Flie entred into his mouth and stuck so fast in his throate, that
 by no skill of Physicians it could bee drawne out, till hee had breathed out his last
 breath. Yet were not the Conspiratours discouraged by this accident, but after his
 death, the greater part of Cardinals chose *Rowland* the Chancellor a professed enemy
 to the Empire, and one of the Conspirators, in contempt of *Frederick* and the *Ger-*
mane Nation, (though there were some other that chose Cardinall *Ostavian*, and na-
 med him *Victor*.) This *Rowland* naming himselfe *Alexander* the third, after hee came
 to the Popedome, had many dangerous conflicts with the Emperour, and was often-
 times put to the worse by him, in so much, that in the end he was forced to disguise
 himselfe, and in the habit of a Cooke, to flye to *Venice*, where hee lived for a cer-
 taine space in base condition; till in the end being knowne, hee was honourably en-
 tertained, and kindly intreated by the *Venetians*: which when *Frederick* understood
 of, hee was greatly displeased with them for entertaining his enemy, and sent his
 Sonne with a great Navie and strong Army, by force and violence to fetch him thence.
 But such was the ill hap of the young Prince, that being encountered by the *Venetians*,
 hee was by them taken prisoner: neither could his deliverance by any meanes be pro-
 cured, unlesse *Frederick* would come in person to *Venice*, and seeke to be reconciled
 to the Pope: This hard condition the Emperour yeilded to for his Sonnes sake, went
 to *Venice* in person, and was reconciled to the Pope upon this condition: That hee
 should restore to the Pope the Citie of *Rome*, and whatsoever belonged to the royalty
 of it, and that he should doe such penance as hee should enjoyne him: which being
 yeilded,

yeelded unto, he came to the doore of Saint *Markes* Church, and all the people looking on, the Pope commanded him to prostrate himselfe on the ground, and to aske forgiveness, and then treading on his neck, said; It is written, *Thou shalt goe upon the Asse and Basilske, and thou shalt tread upon the Lion and the Dragon*: and when *Frederick* said unto him, *Non tibi sed Petro cuius successor es, pareo*: that is, I doe not thus submit my selfe to thee, but to *Peter*: the Pope answered, *Et mihi & Petro*: that is, Thou shalt doe it both unto me and unto *Peter*. This story so lively describing the insolencie and pride of the Pope, which hitherto hath gone for currant, is now by certaine *Romanists* called in question, (so little doe they regard their owne Historians, and so freely may they cast aside whatsoever standeth in their way.) Howsoever, wee see how mainely the Popes did strive after they had gotten a kind of a civill dominion under the Emperours, to cast off their yoke wholly, and not content therewith, sought to be Lords also over the Emperours, and to make them acknowledge, that they hold their Empire from them. How and upon what occasion *Leo* the third, with the consent of the people of *Rome*, proclaimed and annoynted *Charles* the Great, King of *France* by inheritance, and of *Italy* by conquest, and Emperour of *Rome*, I have shewed before. Yet (as *Sabellicus* noteth) the opinions of men in the world were greatly altered and changed after this new inauguration; for whereas before the Empire was thought to be from Heaven, and the gift of God: Now many began to thinke it to be the gift of the Pope. Whereupon we reade, that *Adrian* the fourth, upon the report of some villanies offered to the Bishop of *Landa* in the parts of *Germany*, as he returned from *Rome*, and not so pursued, sought out, and revenged, as was expected by *Frederick Barbarossa* then Emperour, writeth unto him, and marvailing at his negligence in revenging wrongs offered to men of the Church, putteth him in minde what benefits he had received from him and the Church of *Rome*, as namely the fulnesse of Imperiall dignity and honour, and the Crowne appertaining thereunto; and professeth, that he would have beene willing to have conferred greater benefits than these upon him, knowing right well how much good he might doe unto the Church. This Letter being brought to the Emperour by two Cardinals, *Bernard* and *Rowland*, offended the Emperour and Princes exceedingly, especially in that it was said in the Letter, that the fulnesse of dignity and honour was conferred upon the Emperour by the Pope, and that hee had received the Imperiall Crowne of his hand; and that it would not grieve him if hee had received greater benefits of his hand. They which heard this Letter read, were induced to make a strict construction of the words, and to thinke the Pope uttered them in the sense which they conceived, because they knew well, that certaine *Romanists* had not feared to affirme, that the Emperours had hitherto possessed the Empire of *Rome*, and the Kingdome of *Italy* by the Popes gift, and that they had not onely uttered such words, but that by writing they had affirmed the same, and by painting lively represented it, that so it might be transmitted and sent over to posterities. For in the Palace of *Lateran* they had painted the manner of *Lotharius* the Emperour his receiving the Crowne of the Pope, and written over it these words: *Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius Urbis honores, post homo fit Papa sumit quo dante Coronam*; that is, The King doth come before the gate, first swearing to the Cities state, the Popes man then doth hee become, and of his gift doth take the Crowne. This painting and superscription being reported to the Emperour the year before, when hee was neere the Citie, by certaine faithfull and trusty Subjects of his, greatly displeased him. But the Pope perceiving his dislike, promised, that both the writing and the painting should bee taken away, that it might give no occasion of contention and discord. The *Romish* practices making the Emperour and his Nobles to understand the words of the Popes Letter in the worst sense, caused the message of these Cardinals to bee very offensive, and a generall murmuring against them was heard among the Princes: which growing more loude, and being heard and discerned by the Legates, one of them adventured, in the quarrell of his Matter, to demand, of whom the Emperour hath his Empire, if hee have it not of the Lord Pope? Which speech of the Cardinall so intriged the Princes, that one of them, (so

Sabel, Ennead. 8. l. 8.

Which Occam dial. lib. 1. tract. 2. part. 3. proveth to be false and hereticall by many reasons.

Radevicus Frising. in Append. ad Othon. l. 1. c. 9.

Ibid. c. 10.

wit,

shaken by reason of these differences betweene him and the Emperour; and tell him, that the words of his letter were such, as that neither the Emperour and Princes could endure them, nor they knew how to defend them, as being strange and unheard-of before these times. Notwithstanding they let him know, that after the receipt of his letters, they communed with the Emperour about these affaires, and received from him such an answer as becomed a Catholick Prince; to wit, That there are two things whereby his Empire must be swayed, the Lawes of Emperours, and the use and custome of his Ancestors. These limits he is resolved not to passe, and whatsoever will not stand with these, he will utterly refuse and reject: he is willing to give all due reverence unto his ghostly Father, but that he ascribeth the Crowne of his Empire to the divine favour onely, the first voyce in the election to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the rest to the other Princes in order: that he acknowledgeth to have received the unction of a King from the Archbishop of *Coleyn*, and the supream unction, which is that of an Emperour from the Pope: and that whatsoever is besides these, is more than enough, and proceedeth from that which is evill: that hee had not sent away the Cardinals in contempt, but forbade them to proceede any further with such writings as they had, tending to the dishonour and scandall of the Empire: and that he had not restrained the going of men into *Italy* upon necessary occasions, to be allowed by their Bishops, nor simply inhibited the comming of men from thence, but that his meaning was, to meete certaine abuses, whereby the Churches of his Kingdome had beene grieved, impoverished, and oppressed: all discipline of men living retired, and in cloysters utterly overthrowne. Lastly, that God having exalted his Church, by meanes of the Empire, in the head Citie of the world, it should not be by any meanes, that the Church in the head Citie of the world should overthrow the state of the Empire, that the matter began with painting, that it proceeded from painting to writing, that the writing now begins to be urged as good authority, but that he will not suffer it, nor endure it so to be, being resolved first to lose his Crowne, before he give any consent to the abasing of the Crowne of the Empire in such sort: and therefore requireth the paintings to be rased out, and the writings to be recalled, that such monuments of enmity between the kingdome and the Priesthood may not remaine: and hereupon they beseech the Pope by new letters, to mollifie that which was too hard, and to sweeten that which was too sowre in the former. This so wise, just, and reasonable an answer of the *German* Bishops prevailed so farre with the Pope, that hee sent other Legates of a milder spirit, and better temper to the Emperour, with new letters, wherein hee sought to qualifie whatsoever was offensive in the former: for, touching that hee wrote of the benefit the Emperour had received of him (which so highly displeased the Emperour, supposing, that he meant that he had received the Imperiall Crowne, as a meere favour or good turne from him) he answered, that howsoever the word *Benefit* bee taken in another sense somtimes, yet he used it in that signification which it hath by originall institution and first imposition. So that the word *Benefit* being compounded of two simple words, *benè* and *factum*, signifieth a good fact, or a thing well done, and in this sense, his setting of the Crowne upon the Emperours head might be called a benefit, not as being a meere favour or good turne, but for that it was well and honourably done of him to set the Ensigne of Imperiall Majestie and power upon the head of him, to whom such power pertained, and so were things at that time pacified by the good endeavour of the Cardinals, and by this milde letter of the Pope. But afterwards they brake out againe: Whereupon the Pope wrote in this sort to the Emperour: *Adrian* the Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to *Frederick* the *Roman* Emperour, greeting and Apostolicall blessing. The divine law, as it promiseth long life to them that honour their parents, so doth it pronounce the sentence of death against them that curse father or mother. For we are taught by the voyce of truth, that whosoever exalteth himselfe, shall be brought low. Wherefore Sonne, beloved in the Lord, we doe not a little marvelle, that you seeme not to give so much reverence to blessed *Peter*, and to the holy Church of *Rome* as you ought to doe. For in your letters written to us, you put your name before ours; wherein you incur the note of insolencie, that I say not arrogancie.

What

Cap. 17.

Cap. 22.

e Appendix vetustis Scriptoris ad Radewinum in fine hist. Othonis Frisingensis, Nauelet. vol. 2. gener. 39.

What shall I say of the fealty you promised and sware to blessed *Peter*? how doe you observe it, when you require of them who are Gods, and the sonnes of the most High, to wit, Bishops, the doing of homage unto you, and exact fealty of them, inclosing their sacred hands in your hands, and manifestly opposing your selfe against us, shut not onely the doores of the Churches, but the gates of the Cities of your kingdome also, against our Cardinals sent as Legates unto you from our owne side? Repent, repent therefore wee advise thee, of us thou receivedst thy consecration, and therefore take heed, lest affecting things denied unto thee, thou lose that which is yeilded to thee. To this letter of the Pope, the worthy Emperour answered in this sort. *Frederick*, by the grace of God, Emperour of *Romans*, to *Adrian* Bishop of the Catholick Church, wishing unto him a firme adhering and cleaving to all those things which *Jesus* began to doe and speake. The law of justice giveth to every one that which is his owne, Neither doe we offend in this behalfe; for we derogate nothing from our parents, but give unto them in this our Imperiall State all due honour, to wit, to those our Noble progenitors, from whom we received the dignity of our kingdome, and our Crowne, and not from the Pope. Had *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome* any thing pertaining to Royall state and dignity in the time of *Constantine*? was not liberty restored to the Church, and peace by his meanes? And hath not your Popedome received all such royall dignities as it now enjoyeth from Princes? And why then is it so much disliked, that when wee write unto the Bishop of *Rome*, by ancient right, and after the old manner, we put our name before his, and according to the rule of justice, permit him, writing unto us, to doe the like? Turne over the Histories and Monuments of Antiquity, and if you have not yet observed it, you shall there finde that which we avouch: and why should we not require homage and the performance of other duties due from subjects to Princes, of them who are Gods by adoption, and yet thinke it no disparagement to hold things pertaining to our Royall state? especially, seeing hee who was author and beginner both of your dignity and ours, who never received any thing of any mortall King, but gave all good things unto all, paid tribute unto *Cesar* for himselfe and *Peter*, and gave you an example to doe the like; either therefore let them put from them the things they hold of us, or if they thinke it behoovefull to retaine and keepe them itill, let them yeeld unto God the things that are Gods, and to *Cesar* the things that are *Cesars*. The doores of our Churches, and the gates of our Cities are shut against your Cardinals, because wee finde them not to be Preachers, but men desirous of a prey, not Confirmers of peace, but polling companions to get money, not such as come to repaire the breaches of the world, but greedily and insatiably to gather gold. But whensoever wee shall see them such as the Church requireth them to bee, men bringing peace, enlightning their Countrey, assisting the cause of those of meane degree in equity and right; they shall want nothing that is necessary for them. To conclude; When you thus contend about things little pertaining to Religion, and strive with secular persons about titles of honour, you seeme to have forgotten that humility which is the keeper of all vertues, and that meeknesse that should be in you. Let your Father-hood therefore take heede, lest while you move questions about things unworthy to bee stood upon, you scandalize them who with attentive care listen to the words of your mouth; and wait for your speeches as for the latter raine. Wee are forced thus to write unto you, because wee see the detestable Beast of pride hath crept up even to the seate of *Peter*. Provide alwayes well for the peace of the Church, and fare you alwayes well. Thus wee see how the Popes not contenting themselves with the fulnesse of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, though they had no just title unto it, proceeded yet further; and partly by the favour of Christian Princes, and partly by fraud and violence, got to be great Princes in the world, and stayed not till they made challenge to bee over the mightiest Emperours, and to dispose of their Crownes and dignities. So shewing themselves to have the perfect marke and character of him of whom the Apostle speaketh: *Who sitteth in the Temple of God as God, and is lifted up above all that is called God.* Yet could they not so prevaile in these their hellish practices, nor so carry away the truth of God, and the liberty of his Church

into captivity, but that there were ever found both Christian Emperours, and learned Divines to resist them in their unjust claimes.

C H A P. 48.

Of generall Councils, and of the end, use, and necessity of them.

HAVING examined what may be said for prooffe of the Universality of the Bishop of *Romes* power and jurisdiction, first we finde that the Sonne of God gave him no power in the common-wealth, but a Father-hood onely in the Church. Secondly, that in the Church, hee neither gave him an illimited power of commanding, nor infallible judgement in discerning, but that the greatest thing that either hee can challenge or we yeeld unto him, is to be the prime Bishop in order and honour; the first and not of himselfe alone, or out of the fulnesse of his owne power, but with the joynt concurrence of others equall in commission with him, to manage the great affaires of Almighty God, and to governe the Christian Church: so that the fulnesse of Ecclesiasticall power and jurisdiction is in the companies, assemblies, and Synodes of Bishops and Pastours, and not in any one man alone. I shewed before, that in the Churches founded and established by the Apostles, containing whole Cities and places adjoyning, though there were many Ministers of the Word and Sacraments; yet one was so the Pastour of each of these Churches, that the rest were but his Assistants, and might doe nothing without him: and that therefore there was an inequality established even from the beginning, not of order onely, but of degree also, betweene such as are Pastours of Churches, and are named Bishops, and such as are but their Assistants named by the common name of Presbyters, yet is the power of him that excelleth the rest in degree in each Church. Fatherly not Princely: for things were so ordered in the beginning, that as the Presbyters could doe nothing without the Bishop, so the Bishop in matters of moment might doe nothing without the Presbyters: and thereupon the Councell of *Carthage* decreeth, that the Bishop shall not presume to heare and sententiate any mans cause without the presence of his Clergie. And though it be said that the Bishop alone may heare and determine the causes of such Clergie-men as are below the degree of Presbyters and Deacons; yet that alone excludeth not the Clergie; but the concurrence of other Bishops, which in the causes of Presbyters and Deacons is necessarily required. For without the presence and concurrence of his Clergie, the Bishop may proceede to no sentence at all. If any difference grew betweene the Bishop and his Clergie, or if [confessing] any one found himselfe greeved with their proceedings, there was a provinciall Synode holden twice every yeare, in which the acts of Episcopall Synode might be re-examined. These Provinciall Synodes were subordinate to Nationall and Patriarchicall Synodes, wherein the Primate of a Nation or Kingdome; or one of the Patriarches fate as President. And in these Nationall or Patriarchicall Synodes the acts of Provinciall Synodes might be re-examined and reversed. Of all which I have spoken before in due place, and upon fit occasion, and have shewed at large of whom these Synodes doe consist. So that it is evident, that the power of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction resteth not in Bishops alone, but in Presbyters also; being admitted to Provinciall and Nationall Synodes, and having decisive voyces in them as well as Bishops, nor in any one Metropolitane, Primate, or Patriarch, within their severall precincts and divisions, but in these and their fellow Bishops joyntly, and that much lesse there is any one in whom the fulnesse of all Ecclesiasticall power, and the right to command the whole Church doth rest. So that this fulnesse of power is found onely in the generall assembly of Pastours, called a generall Councell. Wherefore, now it remaineth that wee speake of generall Councils; wherein first wee are to consider the utility and necessity of such Synodall assemblies and meetings. Secondly, of whom they must consist. Thirdly, what assurance they have of divine assistance and direction: and Fourthly, who must call them.

Touching

Chap. 27.

b See D. Bilson
of the perpetu-
all government
of the Church,
cap. 14. p. 307.
c Concil. Car-
thag. 4. Canon.
23.

Chap. 30.

Touching the first, the causes why generall Councils are called, are three: The first is, the suppressing of new heresies, formerly not condemned. The second, a generall and uniforme reformation of abuses crept into the Church. The third, the taking away of Schismes growing in Patriarchicall Churches, about the election of their Pastours, and the rejecting of intruders, violently and disorderly possessing themselves of those Patriarchicall Thrones. And so we finde, that the Councell of *Nice* was called by *Constantine*, for the suppressing of the damnable heresie of the *Arrians*: the eight generall Councell, by *Basilus*, for the ending of the difference that was growne in the Church of *Constantinople*, about *Ignatius* and *Photius*, contending for the Episcopall chaire: and that all generall Councils intended and sought the reformation of abuses, there being scarce any one wherein Canons were not made, for the reformation of disorders, in so much that the Fathers of the sixth generall Councell, having onely condemned the Heresie of the *Monothelites*, and made no Canons, met afterwards againe many of them, and made those Canons that are now extant, and are the chiefe direction of the *Greeke* Church unto this day. These being the causes for which Councils are called, it is evident, that the holding of them is not absolutely and simply necessary, but in a sort onely. For heresies may be suppressed by the concurrence of Provinciall Synodes, holden in the severall parts of the world; as they were in the first 300. yeares, when there were no generall Councils. But one part of the Christian Church seeking the helpe of another, in common dangers, and one part readily concurring with another (as for the extinguishing of a dangerous fire threatening all, or the repressing and repelling of a common enemy) by mutuall intelligence passing from one to another; they abandoned Heresies newly springing up, and preserved the unity of the common faith. Neither was this course, holden onely in the time of persecution, during the first 300. yeares, but afterwards also, in the time of the Churches peace, we finde the same course to have beene followed in the suppressing of the *Pelagians*; and therefore *Austine* affirmeth, that there were but some few heresies of that nature, that a generall Councell of all the Bishops of the East and West, was necessarily to bee called for the suppressing of them. And indeede wee finde, that if some five or sixe heresies have beene condemned by the censure of generall Councils, an 100. have beene suppressed and extinguished by other meanes. And of those, for the condemning whereof generall Councils were holden, some were not extinguished a long time after. For that of the *Arrians* grew stronger after, than ever it was before, and those of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, continued some hundreds of yeares after the ending of those Councils in which they received the sentence of condemnation. How is it then that *Isidore* saith, the Church before *Constantines* time was divided and rent into divers Factions and Sects, because there was no generall Councell? as if there were no other meanes to preserve unity, but generall Councils, and that wheresoever they may be had, peace were presently established. For the clearing hereof wee say, that such new opinions, as growing up in those times, found a concurring dislike in the severall Churches, seeking one to another, were then suppressed, when yet there could be no generall Councils, as the heresies of the *Marcionites*, *Valentinians*, and the like. But they, wherein there grew difference among the chiefe Pastours and Bishops of the Churches, could not be determined in those times, as the errors of the *Millenaries*, of those that kept Easter after the *Jewish* observation, and of those that held the necessity of rebaptizing of such as were baptized by hereticks: in which point many worthy Pastours and Bishops of the Church did erre in the first ages of the Church, neither could their error be extinguished, as *Austine* noteth: nor the truth so cleared, as that all dissenters should incur the note of heresie, till the decree of a Councell passed about it. *Questionis hujus obscuritas* (saith *Austine*) *Prioribus Ecclesie temporibus ante schisma Donati, magnos viros, & magnam charitatem Baptismo, con-* e Aug lib. 4. contra duos Epist. Pelagian. cap. 12.
praditos, Patres & Episcopos, ita inter se compulsi, salva pace, disceptare & fluctuare, f In Pragm. Conciliorum.
ut diu Conciliorum in suis quibusq; regionibus diversa statuta nuncaverint, donec plen- Aug lib. 7. de Baptismo, contra Donatist. cap. 7.
ario totius orbis Concilio, quod saluberrime sentiebatur, etiam remotis dubitationi-
bus formaretur: that is, The obscurity of this question in former ages of the Church before

before the schisme of *Donatus*, did cause great men, and Fathers, and Bishops, indued with great charity, so to strive among themselves, and to waver as doubtfull and uncertaine, without breaking the bond of peace, that for a long time the Decrees of Councils in severall Regions, were divers and different, without any settled certainty, till that which was most wholesomely conceived, was fully formed, settled, and established by a plenary Councell of the Bishops of the whole world, and no place left for doubting & uncertainty any longer. Thus we see that some heresies may easily be suppressed without troubling all the Bishops of the world to meet in a generall Councell, and that some others cannot easily be suppressed without generall Councils; and as heresies may be suppressed by the mutuall concurrence of severall Churches; so by the like correspondence, the severity of discipline may bee upholden uniformly, and schismes prevented. When *Cornelius* was elected and ordained Bishop of *Rome*, at the first, because there was some opposition, *Cyprian* and others were fearfull to write unto him as to the Bishop of *Rome*, but afterward being fully informed, touching the lawfulness of his election and ordination, they rejected his Competitours, and communicated with him onely: and the like we shall find to have beene practised generally by all Bishops, carefully seeking to bee certified out of other Provinces and parts of the Church, by such Bishops as were knowne to be Catholicks, who came lawfully into places of Ministry; and being so come, held the unity of Faith and Charity, that so they might hold Communion with them, and reject those that entered otherwise. Whereupon *Cyprian* telleth *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, to whom in *Africa* he might write as to Catholick Bishops, and from whom he might receive letters, as from Catholicks. Notwithstanding generall Councils are the best meanes for preserving of unity of doctrine, severity of discipline, and preventing of schismes when they may be had: and though they be not absolutely necessary to the being of the Church; yet are they most behoovefull for the best, readiest, and most gracious governing of the same; and howsoever there may be a kind of exercise of the supreme jurisdiction that is in the Church by the concurrence of particular Synodes, and the correspondence of severall Pastours, upon mutuall intelligence of the sense, judgement, and resolution of every of them; yet the highest and most excellent exercise of the supreme Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, is in generall Councils. Here the Papists are wont to argue, that the Protestants having no generall Councils, have not the exercise of the supreme Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction; and consequently, that they are not that Church, out of which no salvation is found: but this is a very silly trifling and playing with their owne shadowes; neither is it any thing else but a meere abusing of themselves and others thus idly and fondly to jangle. For first, the Protestants being but a part of the Christian Church, never challenged to themselves the authority that belongeth to the whole, as the Papists doe, who excluding all the Christians of *Gracia*, *Armenia*, *Russia*, and *Aethiopia*, out of the fellowship and communion of Saints, and (as much as in them lieth) casting them into hell; suppose a generall meeting of those of their owne faction, to be a generall Councell. And secondly, if the Protestants did thinke themselves to be the whole Church; yet their argument were of no force, seeing the whole Church may be without the benefit of generall Councils, much longer than the Protestants have beene, since the division betweene them and the Papists: for the Christians of the primitive Church had no generall Councell for the space of 300 yeares after Christ. But to returne to the point from which we are a little digressed (occasioned so to doe by this frivolous objection of the Papists) touching the good and profitable use of generall Councils, there is no difference betweene us and our Adversaries, but it is agreed on both sides, that though they bee not absolutely necessary, yet they are very behoovefull, and much to be desired in divers cases: neither ever was there any man of judgement that thought otherwise. For, that which *Nazianzen* hath, that hee never saw good end of any Councell, is not to be understood, as spoken generally and absolutely, but respectively to the turbulent times wherein he lived, and the *Arrian* faction so prevailed, that many Synodes were holden for the overthrow of the *Nicene* faith; without all respect to the good of the Church.

6 Cypri: ep. 45.
& 55.

i Ubi supra.

Ep. ad Pro-
copium 102.

C H A P. 49.

Of the persons that may be present in generall Councils: and who they are of whom generall Councils doe consist.

HAVING spoken of the necessity, profit, and use of generall Councils, it remaineth that wee proceede to see, who they are, that may bee present in such Councils, and of whom they doe consist. The persons that may be present are of divers sorts. For, some are there with authority to teach, define, prescribe, and to direct: Others are there to heare, set forward, and consent unto that which is there to be done. In the former sort, none but onely Ministers of the Word, and Sacraments are present in Councils, and they onely have deciding and defining voyces; but in the later sort, * Lay-men also may be present: whereupon we shall find, that Bishops and Presbyters subscribe in this sort: *Ego N. definians, subscripsi*, that is, I, as having power to define and decree, have subscribed. But the Emperour, or any other Lay-person; *Ego N. consentiens, subscripsi*: that is, I, as one giving consent to that which is agreed on by the spirituall Pastours, have subscribed. That the Emperour and other Lay-men of place and sort may be present in generall Councils, no man maketh doubt. For though Pope ^a *Nicholas* seeme to deny, that the Emperours may be present in other Councils, where matters of faith are not handled, yet hee confesseth, they may be present in generall Councils, where the faith which is common to all, and pertaineth not to Clergy-men alone, but to Lay-men and all Christians generally, is treated of, it being a rule in nature and reason; ^b *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debere*: that is, That that which concerneth all, may be handled and medled with by all, so farre forth as conveniently it may, and as there is no manifest reason, in respect of the disturbance and hinderance of the deliberation, to repell them from such intermedling: for, in such cases there may be a repelling of men having interest in such busineses and affaires: and therefore ^c *Pulcheria* the Emperesse commanded the Captaine of *Bythinia*, with violence to drive out of the Council of *Chalcedon*, such Monkes, Clerkes, and Lay-men, as being of no use, did but pester the Council, and to leave none there but such as the Bishops brought with them.

But our ^d Adversaries say, the Protestants affirme, that Lay-men ought not only to be present in generall Councils, but also to have decisive voyces, as well as they of the Clergie, and thereupon charge us with great absurdity. Wherefore, for the answering of this objection, wee must observe, that there is a threefold decision of things doubtfull and questionable. The one such as every one upon the knowledge of it must yeeld unto upon perill of damnation, upon the bare word of him that decideth. The second, to which every one must yeeld upon like perill, not upon the bare word of him that decideth, but upon the evidence of proofe he bringeth. The third, such as every one must yeeld unto, not upon perill of damnation, but of excommunication, and the like censure Ecclesiasticall. In the first sort the Protestants say, that onely Christ the Sonne of God hath a decisive voyce: In the second sort, that any Lay-men as well as Clergy-men: for whosoever it is that bringeth convincing proofes, decideth a doubt in such sort, as that no man ought to resist against it. Whereupon ^e *Panormitan* saith, that the judgement of one private man is to be preferred before the sentence of the Pope, if hee have better authorities of the Old and New Testament, to confirme his judgement. And ^f *Gerson* saith, that any learned man may and ought to resist against a whole Council, if hee discern it to erre of malice or ignorance; and whatsoever Bishops determine, their determinations binde not the conscience further than they approve that they propose, some other way than by their authority onely. So that in this sense, the Protestants truly say, that Bishops must not proceede Prator-like, but that all that they doe, must be but in the nature of an inquiry, and their Decrees no farther of force, than reason doth warrant them. For, howsoever the Sonne of God hath promised to bee with his Church to the end of the world, which shall bee fulfilled in respect of his elect and chosen who cannot erre damnably and

^a In the Council of Eliberis: in the first Council of Carthage about rebaptization, and in the third Council of Rome under Felix the third many of the people were present.

^b Dist. 96. cap. Ubinam.

^c Occam. Dialog. 2. part. lib. 6. part. 1. c. 85.

^d In Epist. ad Strateg. Bithynia ante Concil. Chalcedon.

^e Bellar. l. 1. de conciliis c. 15.

^f In Cap. Significasti de Electione.

^g Part. 1. de examin. Doctrinarum.

and finally, yet hath he not tied himselfe to any one sort or company of men, neither is it certainly knowne, but that all they that meete in a Councell, may erre notwithstanding Christs promise. To which purpose it is, that *Brentius*, and other say, Wee cannot be certaine of the determination of Councils, because every company of men professing Christ, is not the true Church, seeing all that so professe, are not Elect; neither doe they deny all authority and jurisdiction to such as are not known to be Elect, nor give it all to such as no man can know who they be, (as *Bellarmino* untruly saith they doe) for in the third sort they willingly acknowledge, that Bishops have deciding voyces, and power so to judge of things, as to subject all those that shall thinke and teach otherwise than they doe, to excommunication and censures of like nature. And that therefore they are properly Judges; that their course of proceeding is not a bare inquiry and search, but a binding determination, and that they have a Pretorlike power, to binde men to stand to that they propose and decree: and in this sort, we all teach, that Lay-men have no voyce decisive, but Bishops and Pastours onely, which may be confirmed by many reasons: First, because when the question is, in what pastures it is fitte the sheepe of Christ should feede, and in what pastures they may feede without danger, the duty of consulting is principally, and the power of prescribing wholly in the Pastours, though the sheepe of Christ being reasonable, have and must have a kinde of discerning, whether they be directed into wholesome and pleasant pastures or not. Secondly, none but they whom *Paul* saith, *Christ going up into heaven, gave for the gathering together of the Saints, for the worke of the Ministry*, have authority to teach, and to prescribe unto others what they shall professe and beleieve: of whom the Lord said by *Jeremy* the Prophet: *I will give you Pastours that shall feede you with knowledge and doctrine*. Thirdly, because in all Councils, Bishops and Pastours onely are found to have subscribed to the decrees made in them, as defining and decreeing; howsoever other men testified their consent by subscription, and Princes and Emperours, by their Royall authority, confirmed the same, and subjected the contemners and violaters thereof to imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods, and the like civill punishments, as the Bishops did to excommunication, and censures Spirituall.

So that it is agreed on, that Bishops and Ministers onely have decisive voyces in Councils, in sort before expressed; but the question is onely, whether all Ministers of the Word and Sacraments have such decisive voyces, or none but Bishops. The Papists thinke, that this is the peculiar right of Bishops, but they are clearly refuted by the universall practice of the whole Church from the beginning. For, in all Provinciaall and Nationall Synodes, Presbyters did ever give voyce, and subscribe in the very same sort that Bishops did, whether they were assembled to make Canons of discipline, to heare causes, or to define doubtfull points of doctrine, as I have before shewed at large: and that they did not anciently sit, and give decisive voyces in generall Councils, the reason was, not because they have no interest in such deliberations and resolutions, but because, seeing all cannot meete in Councils that have interest in such businesses, but some must bee deputed for, and authorized by the rest, therefore it was thought fit, that Bishops, who are the chiefest among such as have interest in deliberation of this nature, should in giving decisive voyces, supply the places of the rest, especially seeing the manner was ever in all the first Councils, that the chiefe Patriarches, being acquainted with the matter that should be debated, sent to all the Metropolitans subject to them, who calling Provinciaall Synodes, consulting of their Bishops and Presbyters, discussed such doubts, and then by common consent, choosing out certaine principall Bishops, to goe to the generall Councell in their name, sent by them their resolutions. So that in effect, Presbyters did subscribe as well as Bishops: seeing they that went and subscribed were not to vary from the instructions they carried with them. That this was the course, it is evident by that of *John* Bishop of *Antioch* in the third generall Councell, excusing his long tarrying, by reason that his Metropolitans could no sooner assemble their Clergie to consult: and by the Acts of the sixth generall Councell, where we find

g Libr. 1. de conciliis, c. 19.

h Ephes. 4. 11.

i Jerom. 3. 15.

k Chap. 30.

(Evagrius, lib. 1. cap. 3. = Epist. Agathon. & Rom. Synod. in actione 4. Synodi textu.

find the suggestion of *Agatho* Bishop of *Rome*, sent to the Councell, subscribed by himselfe and the whole Synode of the West, subject to the See Apostolick: in which Synode sundry Bishops doe subscribe as Legates sent from Nationall Synodes. But if wee shall come to later Councells holden in the West, and esteemed (by the Papists) to bee Generall, wee shall finde that Presbyters did give voyces decisive in them, as well as Bishops. For in the great Councell of *Lateran* (as they call it) ^{Platina in Innocent. 3.} under *Innocentius* the third, there were but foure hundred eighty two Bishops, but of Abbots and Priours Conventuall eight hundred: who yet have much lesse to doe in the government of the Church, than Presbyters having care of soules. And *Bel-* ^{Lib. 1. de concil. c. 15.} *larmine* himselfe confesseth, that by priviledge and custome, Presbyters, as namely Cardinals, Abbots, and the Generals of the Orders of Friers, may give decisive voyces in Generall Councells; which they could not doe, if by Gods Law it pertained to Bishops onely. For there is no prescribing against the Law of GOD; and therefore I cannot see why the *Romanists* should so bitterly censure the Councell of *Basil*, because Presbyters were admitted to give voyces in it. ^{Bellarmin. ibid.} Having cleared who they are that are to bee admitted to bee present, and to give voyces in Generall Councells, let us proceede to see what number of Bishops is required to make a Generall Councell, and what order must bee kept in the holding of it. Touching the first, the Divines require three conditions to make a Generall Councell, whereof the first is, that the summons bee generall, and such as may be knowne to all the principall parts and Provinces of the Christian World. The second, that no Bishop whence-soever hee come, bee excluded, if hee bee knowne to bee a Bishop, and not excommunicate. The third, that the principall Patriarches bee present with the concurrence of the particular Synodes under them, either in person, or by their substitutes and Vicars, or at least by their Provinciaall Letters, as the Patriarch of *Rome* was present in the second Generall Councell, (though hee were not there in person nor by substitutes.) And hereupon the second Councell of *Nice* taketh exception to a certaine Synode holden in *Constantinople* as not Generall, because neither all that were present did consent, neither was there a concurrence in it of the Bishop of *Rome* and his Bishops, either by his Vicars, or Provinciaall Letters; nor of the Patriarches of the East, to wit, of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and the Bishops subject to them; and therefore pronounceth, that the words of those foolish men, assuming to them the name of a Generall Councell, were not a candle set on a candlestick, to give light to all in the house, but a meere smoake full of darkenesse, blinding the eyes of men, and were uttered, as it were, under the bed, and not upon the mountaine of right beliefe; and that their sound did not goe forth into all the earth, nor their words to the uttermost ends of the world, as the sound, voyce, and words of the former six Generall Councells did. But that wee may the better discern how farre forth the presence of the chiefe Patriarches is necessary in Generall Councells; and that wee bee not deceived in this point, we must observe, that when wee speake of Patriarches, either wee understand them, and their Synodes, or themselves singly and apart: If wee speake of them in the former sense, no Synode can bee accounted fully and perfectly Generall, to which the presence of any one of the chiefe Patriarches is wanting: and therefore the first Councell of *Ephesus* was an imperfect Generall Councell, when before the comming of *John* of *Antioch*, and his Bishops, it proceeded to the condemnation of *Nestorius*. And wee see how great turmoyle and confusion that hath caused, which could never bee quieted and taken away, till *Cyris* President of that Councell, and *John* were reconciled, and the Actes of the Councell confirmed by the joynt consent of them both: and hence *Cusanus* saith it is, that the eighth Generall Councell, when ^{Concor. cap. 1. a. c. 3.} the Vicar of the Apostolicall Throne of *Alexandria* came, rejoyced greatly, and said, wee glorifie the GOD of all, who hath supplied unto this universall Synode what was wanting, and hath now made it most full and perfect. But if we speake of them in the second sense, that is, singly and by themselves alone, in case of heresie or wilfull refusal, the Councell may proceede without them, and yet want nothing that pertai-
neth

f Conc. Chalced. actione 5.

9 Bellar. lib. 1. de Concil. cap. 17.

9 Theodoret. hist. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 9.
9 Bellarm. ubi supra.

9 Cusan. de Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. c. 3.

9 Leo epist. 25.

neth to the perfection of a Generall Councell, as did the Councell of *Ephesus*, and the Councell of *Chalcedon*, proceeding to the condemnation of *Nestorius* and *Dioscorus*, upon such evidence as they had against them, though they refused to present themselves in those Synodes: so that the concurrence of the Bishops subject to them be not wanting, as in the case of *Nestorius* and *Dioscorus* it was not. For the Bishops subject to *Nestorius* subscribed to his condemnation, and the Bishops of *Alexandria* gave their consent to the condemnation of *Dioscorus* their Patriarch, and approved the proceedings of the Synode against him, though they refused to subscribe to the acts and decrees of it, till they had a new Patriarch chosen in his place. Which refusal, though it were ill taken at the first, yet were the Fathers in the end perswaded, by the mediation of the Judges, to forbear their subscription, till they might have time to choose a new Patriarch; so that it is not the personall presence, or concurrence precisely of those chiefe Bishops or Patriarches, to whom all other Bishops are subject, that is required to the fulnesse and perfection of a Generall Councell, but the coming of some from the severall Synodes subject to the Patriarches, or from the Patriarchicall Synode, where some out of all these doe meete, or at the least the sending of Synodall Letters, that so the consent of all may be had: The Provinces that are neare the place where the Synode is holden, sending the greater number, and they that are most remote, sending some few, with instructions from the rest, or at the least their Synodall Letters, expressing their opinion, judgement, and resolution. So in the Councell of *Nice*, there were many Bishops out of the East, but out of the West only two Presbyters out of *Italy*, one Bishop out of *Spaine*, one Bishop out of *France*, and one out of *Africa*. But in the second and third Councils, there were many out of the East, and none out of the West. But the Bishops of *Rome*, *Damasus* and *Celestinus*, as Patriarches of the West, confirmed those Councils, and gave consent unto them in their owne names, and in the names of all the Bishops of the West, whom they had gathered together in Synodes. In the Councell of *Chalcedon*, there were none present out of the West, but the Legates of *Leo*, but he sent by them the consent of the Bishops of *Spaine*, *France*, *Italy*, and other parts of the West: who having holden Synodes in their severall Provinces, wrote unto him, that they approved his judgment touching the point in controversie, which was to be debated in the generall Councell; and that they would most willingly concur with him in the forme of instruction, which he meant to send to the Councell.

Touching the order that must bee kept in generall Councils: First the Booke of God must bee laid in the midst of them that are present. Secondly, the meeting must be openly and not in secret. Thirdly, it must bee free, and every man must bee permitted boldly to speake what hee thinketh. Whereupon Pope *Nicholas*, when some objected to him the number of Bishops that met in the Councell of *Phorus*, answered, that the great concourse of Bishops in the Councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, was not so much respected as their free and religious uttering of their judgments and resolutions; and *Agatho* writing to *Constantine* the Emperour touching the Bishops that were to meete in the sixth generall Councell, hath these words: *Grant free power of speaking to every one that desireth to speake for the faith which he beleeveth and holds, that all men may most clearly see and know, that no man, desirous and willing to speake for the truth, was forbidden, hindered, or rejected by any terrours, force, threatening, or any other thing that might avert and turne him away from so doing.* And as there must be a liberty and freedome of speech in Generall Councils, so there must be a desire of finding out the truth, and an intending and seeking of the common good, that private respects, purposes, and designs bee not set forward under pretence of religion; and therefore *Leo* the first, writing to the Emperour, of the error of the second *Ephesine* Councell, hath these words: While private intendments and designs were set forward, under pretence of religion, that was effected by the impiety of a few, that wounded the whole universall Church; wee finde by certaine report, that a great number of Bishops came together unto the Synode, who being come together in such great multitudes, might very profitably have bene employed in deliberating and discerning.

discerning what was fit to be resolved, if he who challenged unto himselfe the chiefe place, would have observed such Priestly moderation, as that (according to the manner and custome of such meetings, all men having freely uttered their opinions) that might peaceably and rightly have beene decreed, that might both agree with faith, and bring them into the right way that were in error. But here wee finde, that when the Decree was to be passed, all they who were come together, were not permitted to be present: for we have beene informed, that some were rejected and others brought in, who, at the pleasure of the foresaid Bishop, were brought to yeeld captive hands to those impious subscriptions: for that they knew that it would be prejudiciall to their state, unlesse they did such things as were enjoyned them. Which kinde of proceedings, our substitutes sent from the Apostolicall See, discerned to be so impious, and contrary to the Catholick Faith, that by no violent meanes they could be enforced to consent thereunto, but constantly protested, and professed, (as be seemed them) that that which was there agreed on and decreed, should never be admitted or received by the Apostolicall See. And a little after hee hath these words. All the Bishops of those parts of the Church, that are subject unto us, as supplicants in most humble manner, with sighes and teares, beseech your most gracious Majestie, that feeling both those Substitutes which we sent, did most constantly resist against such impious and bad proceedings, and *Flavianus* the Bishop offered a bill of appeale unto them, you would be pleased to command a Generall Councell to be holden in *Italy*. This we see what things are essentially required to the being of a Councell, and what order is to be observed in it. The next thing that followeth in order to be treated of, is the Presidentship of such and so sacred an Assembly.

C H A P. 58.

Of the President of Generall Councells.

Touching the Presidentship of Generall Councells, it pertained in a sort, to all the Patriarches, and therefore *Photius* in his discourse of the seven Synodes, in divers of them, nameth all the Patriarches, and their Vicegerents, Presidents, as having an honourable preheminence, above and before other Bishops in such Assemblies; yet we deny not, but that as these were over all other Bishops, so even amongst these also there was an order; so that one of them had a preheminence above and before another. For the Bishop of *Alexandria*, was before the Bishop of *Antioch*; and the Bishop of *Rome* before him anciently, even before the time of the *Nice* Councell; and afterwards the Bishop of *Constantinople*, made a Patriarch, was set before the other two, next unto the Bishop of *Rome*. And as these were thus one before another in order and honour, so they had preheminence of honour in Synodall assemblies accordingly, in sitting, speaking, and subscribing, though this were not all wayes precisely observed. For in the Councell of *Nice*, there being two rankes of seates; the one in the one side of the Hall, and the other in the other, where the Councell met, the Emperour sitting in the middelt; in the upper part of the Hall, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch* sate in the highest seate in that ranke that was on the right hand, and made the Oration to the Emperour; but in subscribing, many were before him. And *Hosius* the Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spaine*, a man of great fame was chiefe President, composed the forme of faith, there agreed on, and subscribed it first; and then in the second place the Presbyters, that were the Vicegerents of the Bishop of *Rome*, who in respect of his old age could not be present, subscribed to the same forme of faith, and after them *Alexander* the Bishop of *Alexandria*. That *Hosius* was President of the Councell of *Nice*; and of many other Councells besides, we have the testimony of *Athanasius*. The reason why he being a Bishop of so meane a place, should be so honoured and set before all other, was the good opinion that all men held of him, being a man famous and renowned throughout the world, which moved *Constantine* after i. c. 7.

d Euseb. l. 3. de
vit. Constant.
cap. 7.

e Lib. 1. de
Concil. c. 19.

f Actione 6.
p. 136. apud
Bin.

g Ubi supra.

h Apud Theod.
l. 5. c. 9.

i Act. Conc.
Eph. Tom. 1.
cap. 16.
k Conc. Chal-
ced actione 3.
l Actione 4.

m Lib. 1. c. 4.

n D. 7. Synod.

after he heard of the differences in the Church of *Alexandria*, between *Alexander* and *Arrian*, to send him thither before ever he thought of calling this Councell, hoping that by his wisdom and authority he might quiet all. But our Adversaries, lest any prejudice might grow to the Church of *Rome* by this ill President of the Councell of *Nice*, in admitting so mean a Bishop to be her President, and neglecting the Bishop of *Rome*, adventure to say, that *Hosius* was not President in his own right, but as the Bishop of *Rome's* Vicegerent, and supplying his place, though they be no way able to prove the same, and the cleare evidence of the thing it selfe reprove them. For the Histories speake of Presbyters the Bishop of *Rome* sent to supply his place, but mention not *Hosius* as employed in that sort: which they would not have omitted, if hee had beene employed so also; and besides in the subscriptions, both as they are found in the ordinary Edition of the Councell of *Nice*, and that which is out of the *Greeke* Booke found in the *Vatican*, put forth by *Pisanus* the Iesuite, *Hosius* subscribeth first without any signification of his supplying the place of the Bishop of *Rome*, as Legates are ever wont to doe, and as *Vitus* and *Vincentius* his Legates doe in this Councell: for the forme of their subscription is this, *Wee have subscribed for, and in the name of the most reverend man, &c.* So that that which *Bellarmino* alleadgeth out of a certaine Preface before the Councell of *Sardica*, the Author whereof is not knowne, is little to be esteemed, as no way able to weaken the authorities and reasons which wee bring. Touching the second Generall Councell, the Councell of *Chalcedon* expressly affirmeth, that *Nectarius* Bishop of *Constantinople* was President of it; and if we looke to the subscriptions, wee shall finde that he subscribed first, and before all other. So that it is evident, that *Damasus* then Bishop of *Rome*, was not President of that Assembly. And *Bellarmino* confesseth as much: but hee saith, if hee had beene present, he had doubtlesse beene President: which haply may bee true, yet his reason to prove it, is not good, which hee taketh from the Epistle of the Councell to *Damasus*. For in that Epistle the Fathers and Bishops acknowledge themselves members of that body, whereof *Damasus* and his company are a part, but doe not call him their head, as hee untruely reporteth. Neither doth the Epistle of *Damasus* to the Fathers of the Councell yeeld any better prooffe. For though he call them sonnes, yet it will hardly follow, that they would have taken him for a President of their meeting, especially seeing it is probably supposed, that they therefore staid of purpose at *Constantinople*, that more freely, and with greater authority they might compasse such things as they intended, than if they should have gone to *Rome*, where *Damasus* with his *Westerne* Bishops might have crossed, or at least in some sort hindered their intendments and designs. In the third Generall Councell, which was the first at *Ephesus*, *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria* was President, as it appeareth evidently by the acts of the Councell, and the Histories of those times: and had also the authority of *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome* joyned unto him, as may bee seene by the Epistle of *Celestinus* written unto him, which is found among the Actes of the *Ephesine* Councell. Whereunto agreeth that of *Valentinian* and *Martian*, in their Epistle to *Palladius*, expressly saying, that both *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, were Presidents of the Councell of *Ephesus*: and also that of the whole Councell of *Chalcedon*, professing expressly, that both *Celestinus* and *Cyril* were Presidents of that Assembly: which thing the very Acts of the Councell it selfe, sufficiently prove: in which he is described to have moderated all, as chiefe and principall among the Bishops present, yet not by his own authority alone, but supplying also the place of *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*. And in like sort *Evagrius* doth not say, that he supplied the place of *Celestinus*, as if he had not bin President in his own right; but that he also supplied the place of *Celestinus*: for so it is in the *Greeke*: and *Photius* saith, *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, (who also supplied the place of *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*) and *Atanasius* Bishop of *Ephesus*, and *Juvenall* Bishop of *Ierusalem*, were Presidents of the first Councell of *Ephesus*. Thus it is evident, that *Cyril* sate as President in the Councell of *Ephesus*, though not without the concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, who joyned

joyned his authority with him, and sent his owne resolution, and the resolutions of his Bishops unto him, and the Councell, though he sent none out of the West to that meeting, till long after the Councell was begun, and many things therein done. In the fourth Generall Councell holden at *Chalcedon*, the Legates of the Bishop of Rome had the first and chiefest place: but in the fifth, *Eutychius* Bishop of *Constantinople* sat as President, and had the first place. And though *Vigilius* then Bishop of Rome, being at that time at *Constantinople*, could neither be induced to be present, nor to agree unto it, while it was holden, nor to confirme and allow it when it ended, yet it was judged a lawfull generall Councell, and he and so many more as resisted against it, for their wilfull dissenting, were sent into banishment. This Councell was called by *Justinian* the Emperor, to examine and condemne an Epistle of *Ibas*; certaine workes of *Theodoret*, and the person of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, who all were thought favourers of *Nestorius*, and yet received to grace in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, in hope that they would thereupon embrace and receive that Councell, which were averse from it; as thinking (though untruly) that it favoured the *Nestorians*; as also to condemne the errors of *Origen* and his followers. That this Councell, notwithstanding the contradiction of *Vigilius* was admitted and received as a true and lawfull Generall Councell, it appeareth by *Gregory* Bishop of Rome, who having allowed of the first foure Generall Councells, addeth these words; *I doe also in like sort reverence and honour the fifth Councell, in which the Epistle of Ibas, full of error, is rejected, in which Theodorus separating and dividing the person of the Mediator of God and Men, and imagining two subsistences in Christ, is convinced to have fallen into perfidious impiety: and in which also the writings of Theodoret (wherein the faith of blessed Cyril is reprehended) are found and pronounced to have beene published by a bold foolishnesse: but I truly reject all those persons, which the forenamed reverend and sacred Councells doe reject, and embrace and honour those which they reverence and honour, because being established and agreed unto, and things settled in them by generall consent, he destroyeth and overthroweth himselfe and not them, whosoever presumeth either to lose those whom they binde, or to binde those whom they lose. Whosoever therefore shall bee otherwise minded, let him be anathema.* So that the Presidence and presence of the Bishop of Rome, is not so necessary in Generall Councells, but that in case of his wilfull refusall a Councell may proceed and be holden for lawfull, without his consenting to it. It is true indeede, that the Canon of the Church prescribeth, that no Generall Councell shall be holden without the Bishop of Rome, and the Bishops subject to him; but the meaning of the Canon is not, that all proceedings are voyde and unlawfull, wherein his presence is not had, but wherein it is not sought and expected: for, if he wilfully refuse to joyne with the rest, or his negligence be intollerable, the state of the Church requiring, that order be presently taken, they may proceede without him, as appeareth by the eighth Generall Councell, wherein some things were resolved on, before the coming of the Vicars of the Bishop of Rome: and by this fifth, wherein neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any of his Bishops would be present, nor give any consent unto it, and yet it is reputed a lawfull Generall Councell. And, as a Councell may bee holden in such a case, without the presence or concurrence of the *Roman* Bishop, and those that are subject to him, so being present, if he refuse to concur in judgement with the rest, they may proceede without him, and their sentence may be of force, though he consent not to it; as we see in the Councell of *Chalcedon*. And though Generall Councells, wherein the Bishop of Rome, with his Bishops, refuse to bee present, or being present, to give consent to that which is decreed, be not so full and perfect, as they are that have his concurrence together with the Bishops subject to him, and therefore the like effect doth not presently follow; yet wee shall finde, that all such determination, consented and agreed unto uniformly, by all the other Patriarchies, doe in the end generally take place. So that even the *Romans* themselves are forced to yeeld unto it; as wee see it came to passe, that the Decrees of the fifth Generall Councell, wherein the *Romans* refused to bee present, and to which they would yeeld no consent, were soone after generally received; the *Romans* themselves yeelding unto them; and likewise

Act. Concil.
Ephes. rom. 2.
cap. 17.

Binnius in
Annotat. in
Concil. 5.

Greg. lib. 1.
Epist. 24. ad
Ioan. Con-
stantinopol.

Socrates l. 2.
cap. 13.
Cusanus
Concord. Ca-
thol. l. 2. c. 24.
l. 3. c. 15.

* Vide Acta
horum Conci-
liorum.

' likewise the acts of the fourth generall Councell, wherein the Decree of equalling the Bishop of *Constantinople*, to the Bishop of *Rome*, and preferring him before the other Patriarches, passing without the consent of the Bishop of *Romes* Legates, and resisted by the Bishops of the West, yet prevailed in the end. and forced the *Roman* Bishop to yeeld unto it. For, after the time of *Justinian* the Emperour, none of the Bishops of *Rome* was ever found to contradict it any more. So that to conclude and resolve this point, even as no Chapter-act is good, wherein the meanest (having voyce in Chapter) is refused, neglected, or contemned: and much lesse, wherein hee that is chiefest and President is contemned: and as the Actes of Provinciaall Synodes are voyde, wherein the meanest Suffragan is not called and expected: so there is no question, but that all the acts of generall Councils are voyde, wherein the Bishop of *Rome*, so long as hee continueth Catholick, and keepeth his owne standing, is not specially above all other expected and desired. But, as things may passe in these Assemblies without their consent, whose presence is so necessarily to be sought (as we see in Provinciaall Synodes the major part swayeth all, and the Metropolitane hath no negative) so in a generall Councell, things may passe by the consent of the greater part, not onely without the consent, but even against the liking of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops. In the sixth and seventh Generall Councils, the Bishop of *Romes* Legates, and Vice-gerents (in a sort) had the Presidentship; yet so, as that *Tharassius* Bishop of *Constantinople* rather performed the duty of a Moderator and President in the seventh than they, as it will easily appeare to any one that will but take a view of the Acts of that Synode.

u See the acts of
those Councils.

So that we finde that neither the Bishop of *Rome* had the Presidentship in all Councils, nor that there was any certaine and uniforme course holden in giving preheminences to the chiefe Bishops, in the first seven Generall Councils. For in the Councell of *Nice*, *Hosius* doth first subscribe: after him, the Presbyters that supplied the place of the Bishop of *Rome*: then *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the Bishop of *Ierusalem* after all the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Thebais*, and *Lybia*; and the Bishop of *Antioch* after all these, and the Bishops of *Palestina*, and *Phœnicia* also, and yet he sate in the highest place on the right side. In the second, neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any Western Bishop were present: the first that subscribed was *Nectarius*, the next *Timothy* of *Alexandria*, and after him *Dorotheus*, then *Cyril* of *Ierusalem*, and *Meletius* of *Antioch* after him, and after all, the Bishops of *Palestina* and *Phœnicia*. In the third, *Cyril* subscribed first, and after him *Iuvenall* Bishop of *Ierusalem*. for *Iohn* of *Antioch* came not before the condemnation of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople* (to which they subscribed) was past. In the fourth, to the condemnation of *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: First the Legates of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* subscribed: then *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople*: after him the Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Iuvenall* Bishop of *Ierusalem*, almost after all the Bishops in the Synode, though in the order of sitting he was placed in the fifth place: but where they subscribe to the decree touching matter of faith, he subscribeth in the fourth place, after *Rome*, *Constantinople*, and *Antioch*. To the act for advancing the See of *Constantinople*, and setting it before the rest of the Patriarchicall Thrones next to *Rome*, the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* subscribe not, but *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* in the first place; after him, *Maximus* of *Antioch*; and in the third place, *Iuvenall* of *Ierusalem*. In the fifth, they sate and subscribed in this sort: First *Eutychius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, then *Apollinaris* of *Alexandria*, after him *Domnius* of *Antioch*, and last of all the Legates of *Eustochius* of *Ierusalem*; for the Bishop of *Rome* was not there in person, nor by his Legates. In the sixth, the Emperour sate in the highest place, in the midst: His great men, and the Consuls sate by him: on the left side the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome*, the Vicars of the Bishop of *Ierusalem*, and the Bishops that were present out of the *Roman* Synode: On the right side sate first the Bishop of *Constantinople*, next him the Bishop of *Antioch*, then he that supplied the place of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, and so in order the Bishops subject to them: yet in subscribing, the Bishop of *Rome* was first, *Constantinople* second, *Alexandria* third, *Antioch* fourth, and *Ierusalem* last. In the seventh, the

the Legates of *Adrian* Bishop of *Rome* had the first place, and subscribed first: after them the Bishop of *Constantinople Tharassius*; and then they that supplied the roomes of the other three Patriarchicall Thrones. But *Tharassius* rather performed the duty of a President and Moderator, then the Legates of *Rome*, as I shewed before. These are all the Generall Councils that the *Greeke* and *Latine* Churches joyntly acknowledge; and by this view which wee have taken of them, wee may see how diversly things have beene carried, both concerning the Presidentship in Generall Councils, and the preheminences of the chiefeest Bishops in the same.

Yet, as the *Grecians* were content in the Councell of *Florence*, that the Bishop of *Rome* should have all such preheminences againe, as hee had before the division of the Churches, if other matters might bee agreed on: so if the Bishop of *Rome* would disclaime his claime of universall jurisdiction, of infallible judgement, and power to dispose at his pleasure the Kingdomes of the world, and would content himselfe with that all Antiquity gave him, which is, to bee in order and honour the first among Bishops, wee would easily grant him to bee in such sort President of Generall Councils, as to sit and speake first in such meetings: but to bee an absolute Commander, wee cannot yeeld unto him. *Cardinall Turrecremata* rightly noteth, that the Presidentship of Councils whereof men doe speake, is of two sorts, the one of honour, the other of power. Presidentship of honour is, to have preheminence in place, to propose things to bee debated, to direct the actions, and to give definitive sentence according to the voyces and judgement of the Councell. Presidentship of power is, to have the right, not onely of directing, but of ruling their doings also that are assembled in Councell, and to conclude of matters after his owne judgement, though the greater part of the Councell like it not, yea though no part like it. A Presidentship of the former sort, Antiquity yeelded to the Bishop of *Rome*, when hee was not wanting to himselfe. And if there were no other differences betweene us and him, wee also would yeeld it him; but the later kinde of Presidentship we cannot yeeld, unlesse wee overthrow the whole course of Councils, and goe against the streame of all Antiquity. This seemeth (saith *Duarenus*) to bee consonant unto the Law of God; that the Church which the Synode doth represent, should have the fulnesse of all power, and that the Pope should acknowledge himselfe subject unto it. For Christ did not give the power of binding and loosing to *Peter* alone, whose successor the Pope is said to bee, but to the whole Church. Although I doe not deny, but that hee was set before the rest of the Apostles; yet so often as any one was to be ordained either Bishop, or Deacon, or any thing to be decreed that concerned the Church, *Peter* never tooke it to himselfe, but referred it to the whole Church. But herein did his preheminence stand and consist, that as Prince of the Apostles it pertained to him to call the rest together, and to propose unto them the things that were to be handled; as with us at this day the President of the Court of Parliament calleth together the whole Senate, and when occasion requireth, beginneth first to speake, and doth many other things, which easily shew the greatnesse of the person which hee sustaineth: and yet notwithstanding he is not greater or superiour to the whole Court; neither hath he power over all the Senatours; neither may he decree any thing contrary to their judgements. But the judgement of all controversies pertaineth to the Court it selfe, whose Head the President is said to bee; nay, which is more, the Court commandeth, judgeth, and punisheth the President as well as any other, if there be cause so to doe. And these things truly were likewise in the Ecclesiasticall State heretofore, but I know not by what meanes it is now brought about, that supream power over all Christians is given to one, and that he is set free from all Lawes and Canons, after the example of the Emperours.

This is the judgement of the learned and worthy *Duarenus*; yet the Jesuites, and Jesuited Papists at this day, will needs have the Pope to be President of Generall Councils, in such sort, that hee may conclude of matters after his owne judgement and liking, though the greater part of the Councell like it not; yea, though no part like it. But this their conceit is easily refuted: first by reason, & then by the practice of the Church

y. Sess. ult.

y Summa de Eccl. l. 3, c. 2.

2. De sacris Eccl. minist. & benef. l. 3, c. 2.

from the beginning. For first, either Bishops are assembled in Generall Councils, onely as the Popes Counsellors, to give him advise ; or they are in joynt Commission with him, and sit as his fellow Iudges of all matters of faith and discipline. If onely as Counsellors to advise him, Councils should not consist onely or principally of Bishops. For, as they say commonly, that many a doting old woman may be more devout, and many a poore begging Friar more learned than the Pope himselfe : so there is no question, but that many other may be as learned and judicious as Bishops; *Though (saith Augustine) according to the titles of honour, which the custome of the Church giveth men, Austine a Bishop be greater than Hierome a Presbyter, yet Hierome in worth and merit is greater than Austine.* In the late Councell of Trent, there is no question, but that *Andradius, Vega,* and other Doctors that were there, were every way comparable with the greatest Bishop or Cardinall ; yet Bishops onely as of ordinary right, and some few other, by speciall priviledge, gave decisive voyces in that Councell : other, how learned soever, being admitted onely to discusse and debate matters, and thereby to prepare and ripen them, that the Bishops might more easily judge of them : and therefore the current of most Papiſts is against the conceit of making Bishops to bee but the Popes Counsellors onely, as appeareth by *Andradius, Canus, Bellarmine,* and many more. That Bishops (saith *Melchior Canus*) are not Counsellors onely to advise, but Iudges to determine all matters doubtfull touching faith and manners, may easily bee proved by the proceedings of all ancient Councils. For the Fathers of the *Nicene* Councell desire *Sylvester* to confirme what they have decreed ; and *Leo* professeth, that hee approveth all those things which the Councell of *Chalcedon* decreed touching the Faith: and the Councell it selfe speaking to *Leo* saith, *Honour our judgement with the concurrence of thy Decrees.* And the sixth *Generall Councell* saith: *Wee anathematize Theodorus, Sergius, Syrus, &c.* And a little after : *All these things being determined by this holy Councell, and confirmed by our constant subscription, wee decree, that no man make any farther adoe about matters of faith, &c.* Are these the words of him that onely giveth advise and counsell ? or of him that judgeth and determineth what shall be beleaved and done ? and in all the rest, the Fathers speake not as Counsellors that are to advise, but as Iudges that have power, to determine : For the third Chapter of the *Nicene Synode* hath thus : *The great Synode hath altogether forbidden, &c.* Thus farre *Melchior Canus*, learnedly and strongly proving, that Bishops are not present in Generall Councils, as the Popes Counsellors to advise him, but as Iudges together with him to define and determine : which if it be granted, wee may easily in the second place prove, that the Pope may not determine things of himselfe contrary to the judgement of all the rest. For, though the chiefe President of a Company, may have a negative voyce, against the affirmative of all the rest, yet never was there any company of Iudges, having power to judge and determine, wherein one might not onely dash what the rest agreed on, but determine also what hee pleased, though none concurred with him. When in any commission, some certaine number of men may determine and resolve, and none hath power to contradict, they are absolutely Iudges, and the power of judging resteth wholly in them ; when in their resolutions they may bee so gain-said by others, that yet others can doe nothing without them, they are Iudges in part, and the power of judging resteth in part in them ; but when another may dash what they consent on, and doe what hee pleaseth, whatsoever they say to the contrary, they may bee in the nature of Counsellors to advise, but not of Iudges to determine. For wheresoever there are many Iudges, either the power of determining, both affirmatively and negatively resteth in the *Major* part ; or else any one hath an absolute negative, and onely the concurrence of all an affirmative, as in *Iuries* here in *England*; or thirdly, either one man, or some certaine men have their negative, and the affirmative is onely in the *Major* part. And therefore it is most fond and frivolous, that *Canus* hath in answer to this our argument ; for whereas we say, if Bishops be Iudges, the Pope may not resolve against the *Major* part of them, hee hath these words ; *I deny that it is necessary to follow the judgement of the major part, when wee treat of matters of Faith ; neither doe wee here measure the sentence by the num-*

^a August. epist.
19. ad Hieron.

^b De Gener.
Concil. authoritate, lib. 1.
pag. 46. & 47.
^c Loc. Theolog.
lib. 5. cap. 5.
^d De Conciliis
lib. 1. cap. 18.
^e Loco citato.
^f Action. 18.

^g Canus loco
citato. pag. 164.

ber of voyces, as in humane elections or judgements; knowing that oftentimes it comes to passe, that the greater part doth overcome the better; that those things are not alwayes best, which please most; and that in things which pertain to doctrine, the judgement of the wise is to bee preferred, and the wise are exceeding few, whereas there is an infinite number of fooles: Four hundred Prophets did lye unto Achab, but the truth came out of the mouth of one Michæas alone, and hee very contemptible; and therefore the judgements of divine things are not to bee moderated by humane reasons: The Lord saveth and delivereth, sometimes sooner with a few than many. This saying of Canus is contrary to all course of judgement in the world, and contradicted by his owne fellow and friend Cardinall^b Bellarmine, who saith, That in Councels, things are to bee carried by number of voyces, and not by disputation; that in the Councell mentioned in the Acts, the question was defined by the voyces of the Apostles: and that in the Councell of Chalcedon the ten Bishops of Egypt were condemned as Hereticks, because they yielded not to the major part of that Councell. Thus doth he crosse his fellow Canus. But let not Canus bee offended with him for so doing, for hee will presently crosse himselfe also: for I hope hee thinketh the Bishops of Egypt were rightly judged Hereticks, for refusing to subscribe to the judgement of the major part of Bishops in the Councell of Chalcedon (seeing hee bringeth this censure to prove that the determinations of Councels doe binde the conscience) and then it will follow, that the greater part of Bishops in a Generall Councell cannot erre, which yet hee presently denieth,^k and saith, the greater part of this Councell did erre, and resolved that which was reversed by the Pope. If hee say, that those ten Bishops of Egypt refused to subscribe to that which was agreed on by the major part with the Legates of Rome; and that therefore they might justly bee judged Hereticks, as contradicting the judgement of them that cannot erre, it standeth no better with his resolution^l else-where, that the major part of Bishops in a Generall Councell, with the Legates, may erre. But passing by these contradictions and absurdities of the Cardinall, let us see if hee can cleare this doubt any better, which hath so much troubled Canus. For the avoyding of this one poore argument, hee is forced to divide the Pope, as otherwise finding no meanes to escape the force thereof.^m The Pope therefore (hee saith) may bee considered two wayes, either as hee is President of a Councell, and so hee is tyed to follow the major part, or as hee is chiefe Prince in the Church, and so he may goe against the major part, and resolve what hee pleaseth of himselfe: and yet this divided consideration no way divideth or breaketh the force of our argument, but leaveth it entire and whole as it found it. For wee seeke not the difference betweene a President and a chiefe and absolute Prince, but whether the Bishops sitting in Councell with the Pope, bee his fellow Iudges, or not: which they cannot bee, if hee may not onely dash what they would doe, but also doe what hee pleaseth without them. And besides this, if the Pope doe sit in Generall Councels as President, and so as bound to pronounce according to the major part of voyces in all Decrees, then hee sitteth not there as absolute Prince, having power not onely to dash what others would doe, but also to doe what hee pleaseth of himselfe without them, and contrary to their judgements; and so cannot define and determine contrary to the judgement and resolution of the major part. The onely answer that may bee imagined to this objection, is, that as inferiour Iudges may determine a thing, which yet by a superiour authority may bee reversed, and the contrary decreed, so the Bishops in a Generall Councell, as Iudges, may decree and determine, and yet the power of reexamining and reversing all, if neede bee, may rest in the Pope as superiour Iudge unto them, which yet no way cleareth the doubt. For howsoever it bee true in Iudges and Judgements, distinct, separate, and subordinate one to another, that one may dash that the other doth, and doe the contrary without the consent of the other, yet of Iudges joyned in one commission, and of the same judgement it cannot bee so conceived. Now the Iudgement of the Generall Councell includeth in it the Iudgement of the Pope; the Pope and Councell make one Iudge, and are not separate, distinct, and subordinate Iudges, and therefore no such thing can bee said of them.

^b Lib. 1. de
Concil. c. 18.

^k Actianc 4.

^l Eodem Ca-
pit.

^l Lib. 2. de
Concil. c. 11.

^m Lib. 1. de
Concil. c. 18.

them. If it be said, that hee who is joyned in commission with others, in some inferior Court, and hath a negative voyce in it onely, and no absolute affirmative, may in a superiour Court have both; and that therefore the Pope, who hath no absolute voyce affirmative and negative in a Generall Councell, may have such a voyce in some higher Court, it will be found to be too shamelesse a saying. For there neither is, nor can be any higher Court than that of a Generall Councell consisting of the Bishop of Rome, and all the other Bishops of the World. So that all answers failing, wee may safely conclude, that if Bishops be Iudges Ecclesiasticall, truly and properly, (as wee have proved them to bee by unanswerable reasons, and our Adversaries confesse) the Pope hath no absolute voyce affirmative and negative in Generall Councils; that is, to dash what the major part would doe, and to doe that they by no meanes like of. This

Lib. 1. de G-
ner. Concil. au-
thoritate.
De Pont. l. 4.
cap. 8.

Andradus saw, and therefore he disclaimeth the position of *Bellarmino*; that all the assurance the Councell hath of finding out the truth, is originally in the Pope, and from him communicated to the Councell: and holdeth, that the Councell hath as good assurance of finding out the truth, and better than the Pope himselfe: And therefore he saith, that though he thinketh it impossible the Pope should dissent from the Councell, so as to define contrary to it, yet, if it should so fall out (as he thinketh it not impossible) that the Bishop of Rome should altogether dislike in his opinion that which the Councell resolveth on, and which he should consent unto, and (though he define not the contrary) yet despise the Decrees of the Councell, and in his private opinion gainsay them; he thinketh in such a case, men were to conceive none otherwise of him than if he should depart from the faith and profession of the ancient Councils, which

Lib. 1. Epist.
c. 4. & 24.

the consent of all ages hath confirmed, and *Gregory* professeth to honour and esteeme as the foure Gospels, seeing the power and authority is as great in all Councils, as in those which the same *Gregory* saith, that *whosoever holdeth not their certaine resolutions, though he seeme to be a stone elect and precious, yet he lieth beside the foundation*. And because the authority of Cardinall *Turrecremata* is great with all those that defend the dignity of the Pope against the Bishops that were assembled in the Council of *Basil*, and such as are of their judgement, therefore he produceth his opinion in these words:

De Pont.
Max. Genera-
liumq; Conc.
authoritate ad
Basiliens. ora-
torem. Respon-
sum. 67. & 68.

If such a case should fall out (saith Cardinall *Turrecremata*) that all the Fathers assembled in a Generall Councell with unanimous consent should make a decree concerning the faith, which the person of the Pope alone should contradict, I would say according to my judgement, that men were bound to stand to the judgement of the Synode, and not to listen to the gainsay of the person of the Pope: for the judgment of so many and so great Fathers in a generall Councell, seemeth worthily to be preferred before the judgement of one man. In which case that Glosse upon the Decrees is most excellent, that when the faith is treated of, the Pope is bound to require the Councell of Bishops, which is to bee understood to bee necessary to bee done, as often as the case is very doubtfull, and a Synode may be called, and then the Synode is greater than the Pope; not truly in the power of jurisdiction, but in the authority of discerning, judgement, and the amplitude of knowledge. This is the opinion of this great Champion, who so mainly in defence of the Popes universall jurisdiction, impugned the Fathers that were assembled in the Councell of *Basil*. Whereby it is evident, that the Pope may not goe against the consent of a Generall Councell, and that he may not dissent from it, being greater in the authority of discerning and judgement than he is; and consequently, that hee hath no negative voyce in Councils. Which may further bee proved, for that if he had a negative voyce, as the Councell hath, then were there two absolute negatives; but where there are two absolute negatives, it is uncertaine whether any thing shall be resolved on or not, (whereas yet the state of the Church requireth resolution and certaine concluding of matters, that men may know what they are to beleieve:) Therefore the Pope hath none, but the only negative is that of the Councell, a part whereof the Pope is, giving a voyce as others doe. And this the manner of other Synodes confirmeth. For in Provinciaall, Nationall, and Patriarchicall Councils, the Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarches have no absolute negative, but give only a single voyce; and the absolute negative, as also the affirmative, is onely in the major part;

part; and as Cardinall *Turrecremata* learnedly and rightly maketh the authority of the Generall Councell, in discerning and defining what is to be beleaved, greater than the authority of the Pope : and that the Councell is rather to be listened unto, than the Pope, dissenting from the Councell ; so there is no doubt, but that (the authority of Councels, being as great in making necessary lawes for the good of the Church, as in resolving doubts and clearing controversies) the Councell is greater than the Pope in the power of making lawes, and consequently in the power of jurisdiction, which he denieth, and they of *Basil* affirme.

The greatest allegation on the contrary side is the confirmation that ancient Councels sought of the Bishop of *Rome* : for that may seeme to import, that their decrees are of no force, unlessse they be strengthened by his authority : whereunto *Andradus* ^{Ubi supra.} answereth out of *Alfonfus a Castro* and others, that Generall Councels carefully sought to be confirmed by the Bishop of *Rome*, not as if in themselves without his confirmation they were weake and might erre, nor for that they thought him to have as much or more assurance of not erring than they ; but that it might appeare, that hee that hath the first place in the Church of God, and the rest, did consent and conspire together in the delivery, and the defence of the truth. But because happily this answer may seeme too weake, therefore for the clearing of this doubt, wee must observe, that all the ancient Councels were holden in the East, and that in some of them, neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any of his Westerne Bishops were present, and in others very few : For, there were onely three out of the West, in the name of all the rest, in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, wherein 630 Bishops met. Now seeing the authority of generall Councels is from the consent of all other Bishops of the Christian Church, as well as those that meet in them, it was necessary that the Bishop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the West, and the Bishops subject to him, though they were no more infallible in judgement than the other, yet should by consenting with the rest, confirme that was done ; seeing they were not present to give consent when it was done. If it bee said, that in divers of them there were some for the Bishop of *Rome*, and some in the name of the Synodes subject to him, who having instructions from them, gave consent in their names, and that therefore there needed no further confirmation, it will be easily answered : First, that it was possible for those Legates, being but few, to forsake their instructions, and to doe contrary to them, as *Rodoaldus* and *Zachary* the Legates of Pope *Nicholas* did in the Councell under *Michael* the Emperour ; wherein *Photius* was set up, and *Ignatius* put downe. Secondly, that " it was necessary, that the Fathers should wholly follow those instructions that they brought, and absolutely agree unto them : and therefore when things were concluded, it was fit there should be a signifying of that which was done, and a desire of the confirmation of the same. Thirdly, some things might bee concluded, to which the instructions reached not, and in respect of them, a confirmation was necessary : as the Councell of *Chalcedon* decreed certaine things without the compasse of *Leo's* instructions, and therefore sought his confirmation. Besides all this, we must note that the confirmation which the ancient Councels sought, was not from the person of the Bishop of *Rome* alone, but from him and his Synodes, as I have proved before : And *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth ; saying, that in the second and third Synodes, there were no Bishops of the West present, but that the Bishop of *Rome* in his owne name, and in the name of the Bishops, and Synodes subject to him, did confirme them. So that this confirming of Councels by the Pope, proveth no more that he is infallible in judgement, or that all the assurance of finding out the truth is originally in him, and from him communicated to generall Councels : than that all the Bishops and Synodes subject to him, are free from possibility of erring : and that Nationall or Provinciaall Synodes in the West, are more infallible in their judgements, than those that are Generall in the East. The next allegation to prove that the Councell is nothing without the Pope, is, that a promise was made to *Peter*, that ^{2. Luke 22. 31.} ^{3. Mat. 18. 20.} his faith should not faile, but that no promise was made to the Councell : that ^{4. Bellarm. l. 2.} ^{de Conciliis} promise of Christ, ^{cap. 16.} that where two or three are gathered together in his name, he will be in the midst of them, being no way proper to Councels and Bishops, ^{cap. 16.} having no authority

rity when they are assembled, which they have not when they are single and divided. This allegation is contradictory to the resolution, and contrary to the practice of all times. For first, that promise of Christ, *that where two or three are gathered together in his name, he will be in the midst of them*, was ever thought to assure his presence in a lawfull Generall Councell, in very speciall sort, and otherwise than any where else; and that upon very good ground of reason. For, if God be present with private men, meeting together in his feare about the things that concerne them, as with a few particular Pastours of Churches, for the direction of them in things that concerne them, there is no question but in generall meetings, wherein all the variety of the gifts of God, bestowed on men, is gathered together, and things concerning the state of the whole Christian Church treated of, he is present in most peculiar sort and manner. Secondly, though Christ the Sonne of God, gave no authority to the whole universality of Christian men, and therein the Church and Common-wealth may seeme to differ, yet he gave Commission to the Generality of Pastours, more than to each one part; and being assembled, they have that power which severally they have not, as to ordaine, judge, suspend, and depose Pastours and Bishops. And howsoever, in each Province the rest are to know him that is the first among them, and to doe nothing pertaining to the whole Province, without consulting with him first, yet may he doe nothing without them. And as this is the Canon and Law of the Church in particular Provinces, so in Churches of larger extent, comprehending whole countries, subject to one Patriarch, and much more, in the whole Church, wherein there is no one having so much power in respect of the rest, as the Metropolitane hath, in respect of the Bishops of the Province; and the Patriarch, in respect of the Metropolitans: For the Bishops are to be ordained by the Metropolitane; and the Metropolitans are to be ordained, or at least confirmed by the Patriarch; whereas among the Patriarches, there is no one, to whom it pertaineth to ordaine the rest, or to confirme them in any speciall sort, or otherwise than they are to confirme him.

Thus then it being proved by convincing reasons, and the confession, not onely of such Papists as make the Pope among Bishops to bee but as the Duke of Venice among the great Senatours of that State (greater than each one, but inferiour to the whole company of them) but of such also as attribute much more unto him; that hee hath no such Presidentship in Generall Councils, as that he may determine what he will against the liking of all, or the greater part of Bishops, but that hee is bound to follow the greater part; and that Generall Councils are of force, not from the absolute authority of the Pope, onely advising with other Bishops, but from their consents as well as his: Let us proceede to see if the practice of former times prove not the same. I finde (saith *Cusanus*) that in all the first eight Generall Councils, the Popes, or the Legates of the Popes, (for themselves were never present in person) did ever subscribe in the very same sort that the other Bishops did, without note of any singularity. For every Bishop was wont to subscribe in this forme, *Annuens, vel consentiens, vel statuens, vel definiens, subscripsi*: and this was the forme the Legates of the Bishop of Rome observed. But (saith *Cusanus*) that no man may doubt, but that all things were determined by the joynt consent of such as met in Generall Councils, and not by the sole authority of the Bishop of Rome alone, wee finde in the Acts of the Councell of Chalcedon, that *Dioscorus* being the third time warned to appeare, and refusing so to doe, *Paschasius* the Legate of *Leo* the Pope, said unto the Synode, *We desire to learne of your Holinesse, what punishment hee is worthy of*. To whom the Synode answering, *Let that be done that is agreeable to the Canons*: *Paschasius* said, *Doth your righteousnesse or reverend worthinesse command us to use Canonick vengeance against him? Doe you consent? or doe you resolve otherwise?* The holy Synode said, *We consent, none dissenteth: This is the agreeing and consenting will of the whole Synode*. *Julian* the Bishop of *Hypepa* said to the Legates of *Leo*, *Wee desire your Holinesse, in that you are more eminent than the rest, having the place of the most holy Pope Leo, to pronounce the sentence of just vengeance against this contumacious person, the Canons requiring the same*: For, *wee all, and the whole Synode agree to the sentence of your Holinesse*.

Holinesse. Paschasius said, Let what pleaseth your blessednesse be pronounced with unanimous consent. Maximus of Antioch said, What your Holinesse thinketh fit to bee done, we consent unto. After this the Apostolicall Legates pronounced the sentence, whereby Leo the Pope had deposed and condemned Dioscorus, and then added, Let not this holy Synode be slack to determine what is agreeable to the Canons touching Dioscorus. Whereupon Anatolius of Constantinople, and every Bishop in the Councell gave sentence against him, saying, I judge him to be rejected from all Sacerdotal and Episcopall Ministry. Here (saith Cusano) the Reader may see, that the Apostolicall Legates (because they have the first place in the Councell) pronounce the sentence, and yet no otherwise, but if the Councell command them so to doe, that all in order pronounce sentence likewise; and that the force of the sentence dependeth on the unity and consent of will in them that are present. Neither is this course observed onely in Generall Councils; but that, in these also that were Patriarchicall the other Bishops subscribed in the very same forme that the Bishop of Rome did, it is evident. For, in the Councell under Pope Martine, before the sixth Generall Councell, Martine subscribed in this sort: I Martine, Bishop of the Citie of Rome, decreeing and determining, have subscribed to this definition of confirmation of the true faith, and condemnation of Sergius of Constantinople, Pyrrhus and Paulus: And in the very same sort subscribed Maximus of Aquileia, defining and confirming the true Faith, and condemning the Hereticks: And so did a hundred and three Bishops more. And in the Councell under Symmachus we read that the Synode said: whatsoever Clerke, Monke, or Lay-man, either of the superiour or inferiour order, shall presume to goe against these Decrees, let him by the sentence of the Canon be rejected as a Schismaticke. And the Bishops subscribed thus: I Symmachus, of the holy Catholick Church of the Citie of Rome, have subscribed to this constitution made by us, by the inspiration of the Lord: I Lawrence, Bishop of the Church of Millaine, have subscribed to this constitution made by us, &c. and so the rest in order. In the Councell of Africa, Gennadius said, Wee must by our severall subscriptions give force and strength to the things we have spoken and all the Bishops said, Fiat, fiat, that is, Let us so doe. So the Vicars of old Rome said in the eighth Generall Councell: Seeing by the happy providence of God all things are come to a good end, we must by subscription give strength to that which is done. And the like we finde in the end and conclusion of all Councils: whereby it appeareth, that the strength, vigour and force of all Canons made in Councils, is from the uniforme consent of them that have voices in Councils, and not from the Pope, or Head of such Assemblies. In the Councell of Chalcedon we finde, that a forme of a Decree touching the faith was agreed on by all, besides the Romans, and certaine of the East, who would have some things added out of the Epistles of Leo. The Bishops urged, that all had liked and approved that forme the day before, and that it did confirme the Epistle of Leo, which they all had received, and desired the Judges, that all might be callt out of the Synode that would not subscribe. The Vicars of Rome on the contrary side told them, that if they would not consent to the Epistle of Leo, they would returne, that a Synode might be holden in the West: and the Judges commanded them to come to some conference, a certaine selected number of them: or else to declare their Faith by their severall Metropolitans, that so there might remaine no further doubt or discord; and told them, that if they would follow none of these courses, nor agree to make a certaine Decree touching the true Faith, a Synode should be holden in the West. So that wee see, that without the concurrence of the other Bishops, nothing could be done by the Romans, and those of the East: that there was no other remedy, in case they would not have agreed in determining the doubts then a foote, but to call another Synode, wherein a greater number of the Western Bishops might be present. So that the Pope was not at that time reputed an absolute commander in Generall Councils.

^d Hicenus ex
Cusano loca
citato.
^e Actione 3.

C H A P. 51.

Of the assurance of finding out the Truth, which the Bishops assembled in
Generall Councils have.

HAVING shewed who have decisive voyces in Generall Councils, what presence of Bishops is necessary to the being of them, what order is to be observed in their proceedings, who is President in them, and what his authority is; it remaineth that we proceed to see what assurance they have of finding out the Truth, and who is to call them. Touching the first of these two, some have beene of opinion, that the Bishops and Fathers in Councils are so guided by the Spirit of Truth, that their Decrees and determinations may bee joyned to the Canonick Scripture, and reckoned parts of it. This position *Melchior Canus* saith, a man excellently learned, and that had so profited in Divinity, that hee might be thought matchable with great and eminent Divines, feared not to hold in his hearing: and addeth, that *Gratian* seemeth to have beene of the same opinion, where hee affirmeth, that the Decretall Epistles of Popes are Canonick Scripture, and alleadgeth *Austine* for prooffe thereof. But the same *Canus* refuteth that opinion as absurd; and sheweth, that *Gratian* mistooke Saint *Austine*. For whereas Saint *Austine* hath these words;

a Locor. Theologic. l. 5. c. 5.

b Dist. 19. cap. In Canonickis.

c Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. lib. 2. cap. 8.

In Canonickis Scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurimum auctoritatem sequuntur: inter quas sane illa sunt, quae Apostolicas sedes habere, & Epistolas accipere meruerunt: that is; In reckoning the Bookes of Canonick Scripture, let the diligent searcher of the Scriptures follow the authority of the greater number of Catholick Churches. Among which, they truly which were so happy as to have Apostolick seates, and to receive Epistles from Apostles, are specially and principally to bee regarded. *Gratian* citeth the place thus; *In Canonickis Scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurimum Scripturarum solertissimus indagator auctoritatem sequatur: inter quas sane illa sunt quas Apostolica sedes habere, & ab ea alii meruerunt accipere Epistolas.* So that whereas Saint *Augustine* saith, that in reckoning the Canonick Bookes of Scripture, a man must follow the authority of the greater number of Catholick Churches, and among them especially such as either had Apostolick seates, as *Hierusalem*, and the like; or received Epistles from some of the Apostles, as did the Churches of *Corinth* and *Galatia*; *Gratian* maketh him say, that the Epistles which the Apostolick See received, or other received of it, are to be reckoned among Canonick Scriptures. This oversight of *Gratian*, *Picus Mirandula* long since observed, and after him *Alfonso à Castro*; whereby wee may see how easie it was for men in former times to runne into most grosse errors, before the reviving of learning in these later times, while the blinde did leade the blinde. For *Gratian* was the man out of whom greatest Divines of former times tooke all their authorities of Fathers and Councils; as appeareth by their marginall quotations. And how ignorantly and negligently he mistook them, and mis-alleadged them, this one example is prooffe sufficient.

d De fide & ordine credendi. Theorem. 15.

e Adversus haeres. l. 1. c. 2.

f Turcremata lib. 4. summ. de Ecclesia

part. 2. c. 9. & Cajetan. in lib.

de primatu Rom. Ecclesiae

cap. 14. were misled in this point by Gratian & Alphon-

sus noteth.

g 2 Pet. 1. 21.

h 2 Tim. 3. 16.

But whatsoever we thinke of *Gratian*, we shall finde, that not only our Divines, but the best learned among our Adversaries also put a great difference betwene the sacred Scriptures of the holy Canon, and the Decrees of Councils. For, first they say, the Scripture is the word of God revealed immediately, and written, in a sort, from his owne mouth; according to that of *S. Peter*, *The holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*: And that of *S. Paul*, *All Scriptura is by divina inspiration*: which is not so to be understood, as if alwayes the holy Writers had had new revelations, and had alwayes written that which before they were ignorant of: for it is certain that the Evangelists *Matthew* & *John*, wrote those things which they saw, and *Mark* and *Luke* those things they heard from others, as *Luke* himselfe confesseth in the beginning of his Gospel. But the holy Writers are therefore said to have had immediate revelation, and to have written the words of God himselfe: because either some new things & not known before, were revealed to them by God; or because God immediatly inspired

inspired and moved the Writers to write those things which they had scene and heard, and directed them that they should not any way erre in writing: whereas Councils neither have, nor write immediate revelations or words of God, but only declare which is that word of God uttered formerly to the Prophets and Apostles, how it is to be understood, and what conclusions may be deduced from it by discourse of reason. Secondly, the holy Writers performed that which they did, without any further labour or travell, than that, in writing and calling to minde what they had scene and heard: but in Councils, the Bishops and Fathers, with great paine and travell, seeke out the truth by discourse, conference, reading, and deepe meditation: and therefore the holy Writers are wont to attribute all to God onely, and the Prophets were wont often to repeate, *The Lord saith*. Thirdly, in the Scriptures, not only the whole sentences, but every word pertaineth to Faith; for no word is therein vaine or ill placed; but in Councils there are many disputations going before resolution, many reasons brought for confirmation of things resolved on, many things added for explication and illustration, many things uttered *obiter*, and in passage, that men are not bound to admit as true and right: nay many things are defined in Councils that men are not bound to stand unto. For it is the manner of Councils, sometimes to define a thing as certainly and undoubtedly true, pronouncing them Hereticks that thinke otherwise, and subjecting them to curse and *Anathema*: and sometimes as probable only, and not certaine, as the Council of *Vienna* decreed, that it is more probable, that both grace, and vertues accompanying grace, are infused into Infants when they are baptized, than that they are not: and yet is this no matter of faith in the Church of *Rome*. Fourthly, in the Scripture all things, (as well concerning particular persons, as in generality) are undoubtedly true. For, it is as certaine that *Peter* and *Paul* had the Spirit of God, as no man can be saved without the illumination and sanctification of the Spirit: but in the determinations and degrees of Bishops assembled in a generall Council it is not so; for they may erre in judging of the persons of men, and therefore there is no absolute certainty in the canonization of Saints, as both *Thomas* and *Camus* doe confesse. Fifthly, in Scriptures there are no precepts touching manners, either concerning the whole Church or any part of it, that are not right, equall, and just. But Councils may erre, if not in prescribing things evill, instead of good, yet in prescribing things not fitting nor expedient, if not to the whole Church, yet in some particular part of it, as not knowing the condition of things therein: Yea some there are that thinke it not hereticall to beleeve, that Generall Councils may prescribe some lawes to the whole Church, that are not right, profitable, and just; as to honour such a one for a Saint, who indeed is no Saint; to admit such Orders of religious men as are not profitable; to receive the communion onely in one kind, and the like. And there are many that confidently pronounce, that Generall Councils may decree such things as may breed inconvenience, and may savour of too great severity and austerity, which the Guides of the Church in the execution of the same must bee forced to qualifie and temper. So that the only question is, whether a Generall Council may certainly define any thing to be true in matter of faith, that is false; or command the doing of any act as good and an act of vertue, that indeed and in truth is an act of sinne. Touching this point, there are that say, that all interpretations of holy Scriptures agreed on in Generall Councils, and all resolutions of doubts concerning things therein contained, proceede from the same Spirit from which the holy Scriptures were inspired: and that therefore Generall Councils cannot erre either in the interpretation of Scriptures, or resolving of things doubtfull concerning the faith. But these men should know, that though the interpretations and resolutions of Bishops in Generall Councils, proceed from the same Spirit, from which the Scriptures were inspired, yet not in the same sort, nor with like assurance of being free from mixture of error. For the Fathers assembled in Generall Councils, doe not relie upon immediate revelation; in all their particular resolutions and determinations, as the Writers of the Bookes of holy Scripture did, but on their owne meditation, search, and studie, the generall assistance of divine grace concurring with them. That

Clementina
 unica de sum-
 ma Trinitate
 & fide Catho-
 lica.

Quodlibet
 9. art. ult.
 Locorum
 Theol. l. 5. c. 5.
 Citat etiam
 Antoninum.
 part. 3. tit. 12.
 cap. 8. Ibid &
 Cajetan. O-
 pusc. de indul-
 gent. ad Juli-
 um cap. 8.
 Vide Canum
 Loco citato.
 Andrad. de
 autoritate
 Concilior. lib.
 1. fol. 66.

Occam. Dia-
 log lib. 3. primi
 tract. 3. part.
 cap. 8.

the Fathers assembled in Generall Councils, relie not upon any speciall and immediate revelations, may easily be proved by sundry good and effectual reasons: For first, whensoever wee hope to come to know any thing by speciall and immediate revelation from God, wee use not to betake our selves to studie and meditation, but to prayer onely, and other good workes, or at least principally to these: Whence it is, that *Daniel* when hee hoped to obtaine of GOD the interpretation of *Nebuchadnezzars* dreame by speciall and immediate revelation, did not exhort his companions and comforts by studie to search out the secret hee desired to know, but by prayer and supplication to seeke it of GOD. And after hee had found out the secret hee sought for, hee said; *O God of my Fathers, I confesse unto thee, and prayse thee, because thou hast given mee wisdome and strength, and hast shewed unto mee those things which we desired of thee, and hast opened unto us the word of the King: Whence also it is, that Christ* promising his Apostles, that hee would reveale unto them what they should speake, when they should bee brought before Kings and Rulers, willett them, *To take no care how, or what to speake, for that it should be revealed unto them in that houre what they should speake; It is not you that speake (saith our Saviour) but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you.* When as therefore we hope to learne any thing of GOD by immediate revelation, wee must not apply our selves to studie, and meditation, but to prayer. But when men meete in Generall Councils, to determine any doubt or question, they principally give themselves to meditation, studie, and search; therefore they hope not to be taught of GOD by immediate revelation. Secondly, when wee desire to have things made knowne unto us by immediate revelation from GOD, wee goe not to them that are most learned, but to them that are most devout and religious, whether they be learned or unlearned, whether of the Clergie or the Laity, whether men or women, because for the most part GOD revealeth his secrets, not to them that are wiser and more learned, but to them that are better, and more religious and devout, according to that of our Saviour, *I give thee thanks O Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto Babes.* And therefore the good King *Iosias*, when he desired by revelation to know the will of GOD touching the words of the Volume that was found in the Temple, he sent *Helkiah* the High Priest to *Huldah* the Prophetesse, and sought not concerning the words of the Law among the Priests, whose lippes are to preserve knowledge, and at whose mouth men ought to seeke the Law: because though the Law bee to bee sought at the mouth of the Priest, in all those things which may bee learned by studie, meditation, and search, yet in those things that are to bee learned by revelation, recourse must bee had to them that have the Spirit of Prophecie, if any such bee; or else to them that are most holy, and whose prayers are most acceptable unto God. Neither are men for satisfaction in these things, rather to goe to the Priests, than to any Lay-man that is utterly unlearned: But in Councils men goe to them that are more learned, and of better place in the Church, though they bee not the best and holiest men: Therefore questions touching matters of faith are not determined in Councils by immediate revelation. If it bee said, that the Apostles and Elders in the first Councell which is mentioned in the *Actes*, relyed on the knowledge they had of the Scriptures and Trueth of God, and did not wait for a new immediate revelation; and that therefore this kinde of reasoning will bring them within compasse of the same danger of erring, that wee subject their Successours unto, because they relye not upon immediate revelation, but search and studie: It will bee easily answered, that though the Apostles and others assembled in that Councell, depended not upon immediate revelation, but the knowledge they had of the Scriptures and Trueth of God, and thence inferred what was to bee thought of the matter then in question, yet were they not in danger of erring, as their Successours are, because they relyed not on such imperfect knowledge, as studie and meditation begets, but such as divine revelation causeth: to wit, perfect and absolute; whence they knew how to derive the resolution

resolution of any doubt or question, being specially assisted by the Spirit of Truth. Neither let any man thinke that the Apostles assembled in this Councell were any way doubtfull what to resolve, when they heard the matter proposed, because there is mention made of great disputation in that meeting: For, (as it may be thought) that questioning and disputing was among the Elders and Brethren, and not among the Apostles; the meanest of them being able to resolve a farre greater matter without any the least doubt or stay. So that it is absurd that *Malchior Canus* from hence inferreth, • Loc Theol. lib. 5. cap. 5. that the Decrees of this Councell, wherein there was so great a dispute, are not Canonically Scripture, any other wayes than the words of *Pilate* are, because they are recorded by the Evangelists in the holy Scripture. But to returne to the matter whence this objection made us digresse, it is no way necessary to thinke, that the Fathers are any otherwise directed by the Spirit of Truth in Generall Councells, than in Patriarchicall, Nationall, or Provinciall; seeing Generall Councells consist of such as come within instructions from Provinciall, Nationall, and Patriarchicall Synodes, and must follow the same in making Decrees, as hath beene shewed before; and consequently, that they are not led to the finding out of the truth in any speciall sort or manner, beyond that generall influence that is required to the performance of every good worke. So that as God assisting Christian men in the Church, onely in a generall sort to the performance of the workes of vertue, there are ever some wel-doers, and yet no particular man doth alwayes well; and there is no degree or kinde of Morall vertue commanded in the Law, but is attained by some one or other, at one time or other, one excelling in one thing, and another in another, yet no particular man, or company of men hath all degrees and perfections of vertue, as *Hierome* firly noteth against the *Pelagians*: so in like sort, God assisting Christian men in the Church, in seeking out the truth, only in generall sort, as in the performance of the actions of vertue, and not by immediate revelation and inspiration, as in the Apostles times; there are ever some that hold and professe all necessary truth, though no one man, or company of men doe finde the truth ever, and in all things, nor any assurance can be had of any particular men, that they should alwayes hold all necessary truthe.

And therefore we may safely conclude, that no man can certainly pronounce, that whatsoever the greater part of Bishops assembled in a Generall Councell agree on, is undoubtedly true. Neither are we alone in this conclusion, but sundry excellently learned among our Adversaries in former times, even in the midst of the Papacie, concurred in the same. For *Waldensis* expressly affirmeth, that Generall Councells have erred, and may erre; and confidently delivered, that it is no particular Church that hath assurance of holding the truth, and not erring from the Faith, neither that of Africa which *Donatus* so much admired, nor the particular Church of Rome, but the universall Church: nor that universall Church which is gathered together in a Generall Councell, which wee have found to have erred sometimes, (as that at Ariminum under Taurus the Governour, and that at Constantinople under Justinian the younger in the time of Sergius the Pope, according to Beda and certaine other,) but that Catholick Church of Christ which hath beene dispersed throughout the whole world by the Ministry of the Apostles and others their successours, ever since the Baptisme of Christ, and continued unto these times, which undoubtedly keepeth the true faith, and the faithfull testimony of Christ, teaching Babes heavenly wisdom, and retaining the truth constantly in the midst of all extremities of errors. And againe in another place, speaking of Councells, he saith: That which the multitude of Catholick Doctors, with unanimous consent, resolveth and delivereth to be true Catholick and Orthodox, is not lightly to be esteemed; though haply all that are there present are not led by the spirit: for this very unanimous consenting is a great and excellent thing, and much to be respected; though sometimes by the faults of men carried with sinister respects, it tend to scandall and ruine: and thereupon, having shewed the different degrees of authority found in the Church (which I have else-where set downe at large) he pronounceth; that onely the consent of the Fathers successively from the beginning (as absolutely from danger of erring, and next in degree of authority to the Canonically Scripture) is to be listened and hearkned unto: And that no man

should thinke it strange, that the Fathers successively in all ages, should be accounted more certain and infallible Judges in matters of faith, than a generall Councell of Bishops meeting at one time and in one place, seeing so many wise, just, and holy Fathers can neither be contained within the straites of one place, nor are in the world at one time, but were given successively by Almighty God, to give testimony unto the faith in their severall times, in a constant and a perpetuall course: all which Fathers wee may gather together, and have present all at once, so often as wee desire to consult with them, and to be resolved by them in matters of difficultie and doubt, though they could never be all assembled into one place, or meete together, while they lived in the flesh. Neither is this the private conceit of *Waldensis* onely, but *Pious Mirandula* affirmeth, that howsoever many Divines are of opinion, that Generall Councils, wherein the Pope is present, cannot define any thing amiss concerning faith and good living, yet there are other that dissent from them, affirming, that Councils have erred, and may erre, as that at *Ariminum*, and the Second at *Ephesus*. Whereas the former sort answer, that these Councils might erre, because the Pope was not present in them, they reply, that the second Councell of *Ephesus* was lawfully called, the Popes Legates being present, and yet tended to the overthrow of the true faith, so that *Leo* was forced to procure the Councell of *Chalcedon* for the reversing of the Acts of it. And this their opinion of the possibility of the erring of generall Councils, they prove and confirme by the possibility of their dissenting one from another; and the possibility of their dissenting one from another, by the directions which the *Divines* doe give, to shew to which we are to stand, when they are found contradictory one to another. Besides these, there are other who say, that Generall Councils may erre for some short time, but that they cannot long persist in error: and a third sort, who thinke, that Generall Councils may erre when they proceed disorderly, or use not that diligence they should.

Neither is this opinion of the possibility of the erring of Generall Councils, the private conceit of late Writers, but the Ancient accord with them in the same. For *Austine* pronounceth, that the Writings of the Bishops that have beene published since the Canon of the Scripture was perfited, may bee censured and reprov'd by such as see more, by the graver authority of other Bishops, by the prudence of the Learned, and by Councils, if in any thing they may be found to have erred from the Truth; that Councils holden in severall Regions and Provinces, must without all resistance give way to those that are generall; and that among Generall Councils, the former must be content to be amended by the later, when by experiment that which was shut up is opened, and that which lay hid is found out, and knowne. Neither doth *Bellarmines* evasion, that *Austine* speaketh of matters of fact, wherein Councils may erre, or of conversation of manners, which may vary, serve the turne. seeing the drift of *Austine* is to shew, that no writing of men are free from errours, but only the Canonickall Scriptures: and that therefore they must be content to be examined, judged, and controuled even in matters of Faith. And *Isidore* speaking of differences in doctrine and matters of Faith, and not of Fact only, as *Bellarmines* in the same place confesseth, acknowledgeth that Councils may dissent one from another, and consequently erre: and giveth direction on which is to be followed, in case such difference doe fall out. I have thought good (faith hee) to adde in the end of this Epistle, that so often as in the Actes of Councils there is found disagreement of judgement, the sentence and judgment of that Council is rather to be holden, which in antiquity or greatnes of authority excelleth the other.

But what neede we insit upon Authorities to prove that Councils may erre? In the time of *Constantinus* the Emperour, we know there was a generall Councell holden, consisting of exceeding many Bishops, gathered together out of all parts of the world, one part of them meeting at *Ariminum* in the West, and the other at *Seleucia* in the East. In both these divided assemblies, there were exceeding many right beleeving Bishops, & between these there was a continuall entercourse: & yet things were so carried, that both parts consented to the betraying of the sincerity of the Christian profession, and the wronging of worthy *Athanasius*: some purposely out of an hereticall disposition: some out of a mistaking of things, being abused by cunning companions; some for that they

De fide &
orderedendi
Theorem. 4.

* See Cleman-
gis his disputa-
tion, with a cer-
taine Schoole-
man of Paris,
wherein he pro-
veth by exce-
lent reasons,
that Generall
Councils may
erre. This disputa-
tion is found
in the Booke in-
titled Specu-
lum Ecclesie
Pontificie,
lately printed
at London.

d Sylvester: ut
est apud Ca-
num, lib. 5. c. 5.
e Ut idem Ca-
nus refert.

f Lib. 2. de Bap-
tismo cap. 3.

g De Concil. 2.
cap. 7.

h Apud Grati-
an. dist. 50. Ca.
Domino sanct.

i Socrates, lib
2. cap. 20.

they could no longer endure to stay in a strange Countrey, consenting to that which they should not have consented unto. If it be said, that *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, did not consent to this Councell, it will easily be answered, that though at the very first he did not consent to the Hereticall practices of the *Arrians*, yet in the end he did, after he had beene in banishment for a time. As likewise *Vigilius* refused to subscribe to the fifth Generall Councell, till he was banished for his refusall. The only thing that can bee said, is, that they proceeded not orderly in this Councell, but violently and fraudulently. But this absolutely overthroweth the infallibility of Councels, and their Decrees. For if Councels may erre when they proceede disorderly, and use not that diligence for the finding out of the Truth, which they should, what certainty can there be in their Decrees? Seeing it may be doubted, whether they proceeded orderly, and consequently, whether they erred or not. *Leo* confesseth, that in the second Councell of *Ephesus*, there were a great number of worthy Bishops, who might have beene sufficient to have found out and cleared the Truth, if he that obtained the chiefe place had used accustomed moderation, and suffered every one to speake his minde freely, and not forced all to serve his vile designs. If it be said, that howsoever this was a Generall Councell, and lawfully called, yet the resolution was not the resolution of a Generall Councell, because it was not consented unto, but mainly resisted by the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome*, we shall finde, that in the Councels under *Michael* the Emperour, the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* consented also to an ill and unlawfull conclusion there made. If it be further alleadged, that howsoever the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* may erre as well as other Bishops in the Councell, when they presume to define without instructions, or to goe against their instructions, yet the Pope himselfe cannot give consent to anything that is not true and right; it will bee proved the Popes also may be so misled by sinister affections, as not onely to consent to that they should not, but also to miscarry all in Councell as well as others. For *Sigebert* reporteth, that *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, and after him *Sergius*, called Councels, and proceeded in them in furious manner against *Formosus* their predecessour, not onely pulling his dead body out of the grave, and despitefully re-ordaining such as he ordained, but judicially pronouncing and defining, that his ordinations were voyde, which was an errour in Faith, seeing he was knowne once to have beene a true and lawfull Bishop, though in respect of perjury or violent intrusion, he had beene judged never to have beene lawfull Bishop of *Rome*.

But here I cannot passe by the contradiction of Cardinall *Bellarmin*, strangely forgetting himselfe, and saying hee knoweth not what. For first he saith, "it is certaine, and a matter of Faith, that a Generall Councell confirmed by the Pope, cannot erre. Secondly, hee saith, "the infallibility of Councels is wholly in the Pope, and not partly in the Pope, partly in the Bishops. And thirdly hee saith, "hee dareth not to affirme it to bee a matter of Faith, that the Pope is free from danger of erring, though hee have a particular Councell concurring with him. So strangely doth the good man crosse himselfe, and overthrow that in one place which hee built in another. For how can it bee certaine and a matter of Faith, that the Generall Councell approved by the Pope, cannot erre, if it have no certainty of not erring but from the Pope, and it bee not certaine that the Pope cannot erre. That Councels, though lawfull, to which nothing wanted but the Popes consent, have erred, hee saith, it is most certaine and undoubted. So that Generall Councels are not in themselves free from errour, but their infallibility resteth in the Pope. Now that it is not certaine, that the Pope is free from danger of erring, hee proveth, first, because they are still tolerated by the Church, and not condemned as Hereticks, that thinke the Pope subject to errour, even in judicall sentence and decree. Secondly, out of *Ensebinus*, who saith, that *Cornelius* the Pope with a Nationall Councell of all the Bishops of *Italy* decreed, that Hereticks ought not to be rebaptized, and *Stephen* afterwards approved the same sentence, and commanded, that Hereticks should not bee rebaptized; and yet *Cyprian* thought the contrary, and earnestly maintained it, charging *Stephen* with errour and obstinacie, which hee would not have done, if he had thought the Pope

L o ep. 25.

U: patet ex
Epistola Nico-
lai ad Patriar-
chas & ceteros
Episc. Orientis.
& ex Zonara
in vita Mich.
Imp.

In Chron.
an 90.

De Conc. in
Lib. 2. c. 2.

De Pont. l. 4.

cap. 3.
De Conc. l. 1.
cap. 5.

Hist. Eccl. l. 7.
c. 2. 3. & 4.

Ep. 74. ad
Pomp.

free from danger of erring. Neither would the Church have honoured him as a Catholick Bishop and blessed Martyr, that thus confidently contradicted the Pope, and resisted his decrees and mandates, if it were certaine, and a matter of Faith, and all men under paine of Heresie bound to beleve, that the Pope cannot erre. Wherefore to conclude this point, how can wee be sure with the certainty of faith, that Generall Councils cannot erre, if their infallibility depend on the Popes, who may be most prodigiously impious, and worse than Infidels; not onely erring in some particular points concerning the Faith, but overthrowing all, as he did, that *Petrus Mirandula* speaketh of, who peremptorily denied that there is any God; and confirmed the same his execrable impiety by the manner of his entering into the Popedome, and living in it: and that other he speaketh of, who denied the immortality of the soule, though after his death, appearing to one of them to whom in his life time he had uttered that his impious conceit, he told him, he now found, to his endlesse woe and misery, that soule he thought mortall to be immortall, and never to dye.

[Theorem. 4.]

† Ibidem.

¶ Ockam. Dialog. lib. 3. primi tract. 3. part. cap. 6.

Yet when there is a lawfull Generall Councell according to the former description, to wit, wherein all the Patriarches are present, either in person, or by their deputies, and the Synode of Bishops under them signifie their opinion, either by such as they send, or by their Provinciaall Letters, if there appeare nothing to us in it, that may argue an unlawfull proceeding, nor there be no gainfaying of men of worth, place, and esteeme, wee are so strongly to presume that it is true and right, that with unanimous consent is agreed on in such a Councell, that we must not so much as professe publickly that we thinke otherwise, unlesse wee doe most certainly know the contrary, yet may wee in the secret of our hearts remaine in some doubt, carefully seeking by the Scripture and Monuments of antiquity to finde out the trueth. Neither is it necessary for us expressly to beleve whatsoever the Councell hath concluded, though it be true; unlesse by some other meanes it appeare unto us to be true, and we be convinced of it, in some other sort than by the bare determination of the Councell onely. But it sufficeth that wee beleve it, *implicitè*, and *in preparatione animi*, that out of the due respect we beare to the Councils Decree, wee dare not resolve otherwise, and be ready expressly to beleve it, if it shall be made to appeare unto us. But concerning the Generall Councils of this sort, that hitherto have beene holden, wee confesse that in respect of the matter about which they were called, so neerely, and essentially concerning the life and soule of the Christian Faith, and in respect of the manner and forme of their proceeding, and the evidence of prooffe brought in them, they are, and ever were expressly to bee beleaved by all such as perfectly understand the meaning of their determination. And that therefore it is not to bee marvelled at, if

¶ Greg. lib. 1. Epist. 24.

Gregory professe, that hee honoureth the first foure Councils as the foure Gospels; and that whosoever admitteth them not, though he seeme to be a Stone elect and precious, yet hee lyeth beside the foundation, and out of the building. Of this sort there are onely six; the first, defining the Sonne of God to bee co-essentiall, co-eternall, and co-equall with the Father. The second, defining that the Holy Ghost is truly God, co-essentiall, co-eternall, and co-equall with the Father and the Sonne. The third, the unity of Christs person. The fourth, the distinction and diversity of his Natures, in, and after the personall union. The fifth, condemning some remaines of *Nestorianisme*; more fully explaining things stumbled at in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, and accursing the Heresie of *Origen* and his followers, touching the temporall punishments of Devils and wicked Cast-awayes: and the sixth, defining and clearing the distinction of operations, actions, powers, and wils in Christ, according to the diversity of his Natures. These were all the lawfull Generall Councils (lawfull I say both in their beginning, and proceeding, and continuance) that ever were holden in the Christian Church, touching matters of Faith. For the seventh, which is the second of *Nice*, was not called about any question of Faith, but of manners: In which our Adversaries confesse there may be something inconveniently prescribed, and so as to be the occasion of great and grievous evils: and surely that is our conceit of the seventh Generall Councell, the second of *Nice*: for howsoever it condemne the religious adoration

ration and worshipping of pictures, and seeme to allow no other use of them, but that which is Historicall: yet in permitting men by outward signes of reverence and respect towards the pictures of Saints, to expresse their love towards them, and the desire they have of enjoying their happy society, and in condemning so bitterly such as upon dislike of abuses, wished there might be no pictures in the Church at all: it may seeme to have given some occasion, and to have opened the way unto that grosse Idolatrie which afterwards entered into the Church. The eight Generall Councell was not called about any question of Faith or Manners, but to determine the question of right betweene *Phorim* and *Ignatius*, contending about the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. So that there are but seven Generall Councells, that the whole Church acknowledgeth, called to determine matters of Faith and manners. For the rest that were holden afterwards, which our Adversaries would have to be accounted Generall, they are not onely rejected by us, but by the *Grecians* also, as not Generall, but Patriarchicall only: because either they consisted onely of the Westerne Bishops, without any concurrence of those of the East; or, if any were present (as in the Councell of *Florence* there were) they consented to those things which they agreed unto, rather out of other respects, than any matter of their owne satisfaction. And therefore howsoever we dare not pronounce that lawfull Generall Councells are free from danger of erring (as some among our Adversaries doe) yet doe we more honour and esteeme, and more fully admit all the Generall Councells that ever hitherto have beene holden, than they doe, who feare not to charge some of the chiefest of them with error, as both the *Second*, and the *Fourth*, for equalling the Bishop of *Constantinople* to the Bishop of *Rome*; which I thinke they suppose to have beene an error in Faith.

Cap. 5.
Actione 15.
Canon. 28.

C H A P. 52.

Of the calling of Councells; and to whom that right pertaineth.

FROM the assurance of Trueth which lawfull Generall Councells have, let us proceede to see by whom they are to bee called. The state of the Christian Church, the good things it enjoyeth, and the felicity it promiseth, being spirituall, is such, that it may stand, though not onely forsaken, but grievously oppressed by the great men of the world, and doth not absolutely depend on the care of such as manage the great affaires of the world, and direct the outward course of things here below: and therefore it is by all resolved on, that the Church hath her Guides and Rulers distinct from them that beare the Sword, and that there is in the Church a power of convocating these her spirituall Pastours, to consult of things concerning her wel-fare, though none of the Princes of the World doe favour her, nor reach forth unto her their helping hands: neither neede we to seeke farre, to find in whom this power resteth: for there is no question, but that this power is in them that are first, and before other, in each company of spirituall Pastours and Ministers: seeing none other can be imagined, from whom each action of consequence, and each common deliberation should take beginning, but they who are in order, honour, and place before other, and to whom the rest that governe the Church in common have an eye, as to them, that are first in place among them. Hereupon, we shall finde, that the calling of Diocesan Synodes pertaineth to the Bishop; of Provinciaall, to the Metropolitan; of Nationall, to the Primate; and of Patriarchicall, to the Patriarch; in that they are in order, honour, and place before the rest; though some of these (as *Bellarmino* truly noteth) have no commanding authority over the rest. Touching Diocesan Synodes, I shewed before, that the Bishop is bound once every yeare at least to call unto him the Presbyters of his Church, and to hold a Synode with them: and the Councell of *Antioch* ordaineth, that the Metropolitan shall call together the Bishops of the Province by his letters, to make a Synode. And the Councell of *Tarracon* in *Spain* decreeth, that if any Bishop, warned by the Metropolitan, neglect to come to the Synode (except hee be hindered by some corporall necessity) he

De Conciliis
lib. 2. cap. 12.
Chap. 29.
Canon. 19.
& 20.
Canon. 6.

- he shall be deprived of the communion of all the Bishops untill the next Councell. The
- ^e Canone 1. ^a *Epauine* Councell in like sort ordereth, that when the Metropolitan shall thinke good to call his Brethren the Bishops of the same Province to a Synode, none shall excuse his absence without an evident cause. Touching Nationall Councils, and such as consist of the Bishops of many Provinces, such as were the Councils of *Africa*, the calling of them pertained unto the Primate, as it appeareth by the second Councell of
- ^f Canone 1. ^b *Carthage*, in that the Bishop of *Carthage* being the Primate of *Africa* by vertue of particular Canons concerning that matter, by his Letters called together the rest of the
- ^g Canone 17. Metropolitans and their Bishops. And concerning Patriarchicall Councils, the eighth Generall Councell taketh order, that the Patriarch shall have power to convocate the Metropolitans that are under him, and that they shall not refuse to come when he calleth them, unlesse they be hindered by urgent causes. And to this purpose it was, that the Bishops within the Patriarchship of *Rome* were once in the yeare to visit the Apostolicall thresholds; which to doe, they take an oath still even to this day (as
- ^h De concord. ^b *Cusanus* noteth) so that it is evident, that there is a power in Bishops, Metropolitans, Primates, and Patriarches, to call Episcopall, Provinciall, Nationall, and Patriarchicall Synodes; and that neither so depending of, nor subject to the power of Princes, but that when they are enemies to the Faith, they may exercise the same without their consent and privity, and subject them that refuse to obey their summons, to such punishments as the Canons of the Church doe prescribe in cases of such contempt or wilfull negligence. But that wee may see to whom the calling of Generall Councils doth pertain in the times of persecution, and when there are no Christian Princes, wee must observe, that among the Patriarches, though one be in order before another, (as the Patriarch of *Alexandria* is before the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and the Patriarch of *Rome* before the Patriarch of *Alexandria*) yet is not one of them superiour to another in degree, as Bishops are to Presbyters; nor so in order, honour, and place, as Metropolitans are to Bishops, or Patriarches to Metropolitans, whom they are to ordaine, or at the least to confirme: And therefore no one of them singly and by himselfe alone, hath power to call unto him any Patriarch, or any Bishop subject to such Patriarch; but as in case when there groweth a difference betweene the Patriarches of one See and another, or between any of the Patriarches and the Metropolitans, and Bishops subject to them, the superiour Patriarch not of himselfe alone, but with his Metropolitans, and such particular Bishops as are interessed, may judge and determine the differences between them, if without danger of a further rent it may be done (as in the case of *Chrysostome* and *Theophilus* it could not:) So if there be any matter of Faith, or any thing concerning the whole state of the Christian Church, wherein a common deliberation of all the Pastours of the Church is necessary, he that is in order the first among the Patriarches, with the Synodes of Bishops subject to him, may call the rest together, as being the principall part of the Church, whence all actions of this nature doe take beginning: And this is that which *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* hath, when
- ⁱ Apud Athanas. ^b writing to the Bishops of the East, he telleth them, that the manner and custome is, that they should write to him and the Westerne Bishops first; that from thence might be decreed the thing that is just: and againe, that they ought to have written to them all, that so that which is just might be decreed by all. And hence it is that *Damasus*, *Ambrose*, *Brito*, *Valerianus*, and the rest of the holy Bishops assembled in the great Citie of *Rome*, out of their brotherly love sent for the Bishops of the East, as their owne members, praying and desiring them to come unto them, that they might not reigne alone. So that the power of calling Generall Councils, when the Church hath no Princes to assist her, is not in the Pope, but in the Westerne Synode: and yet hath not this Synode any power over all the other Churches, as a supreame Commander, but is onely (as a principall part among the rest) to begin, procure, and set forward, as much as in her lieth, such things as pertain to the common good: neither may it by vertue of any Canon, custome, or practices of the Church, excommunicate the rest for refusing to hearken when it calleth: as it appeareth by the former example; in that they of the East came not when they were called, and intreated to come to *Rome* by *Damasus*,

maius Ambrose, and the rest; but stayed at *Constantinople*, did some things which they disliked, and yet were forced to give way unto them; and, as being greater in authority than they, bare the name of the Generall Council; though they were assembled at *Rome* at the same time in a very great number. But if the greater part concur with them, they may excommunicate those few that shall wilfully and carelessly refuse to obey them. If it be said, that hence it will follow, that there is no certaine meanes of having a Generall Council at all times; as there is of Provinciaall or Patriarchicall, (which may seeme absurd) it will be answered, that there is not the like necessity of having Generall Councils, as there is of having those more particular Synodes: and that therefore it is not absurd to grant, that the Church hath not at all times certaine and infallible meanes to have a Generall Council, as it hath to have the other. Nay, that it hath not, it most plainly appeareth, in that in the case of *Chrysostome* greatly distressed and grievously wronged, *Innocentius* professed unto him, he knew no meanes to helpe him, but a Generall Council; which to obtaine, he became an humble suer to the Emperour, but was so farre from prevailing, that the messengers he sent, were returned back againe unto him with disgrace.

Thus we see to whom the calling of Councils pertaineth, when there is no Christian Magistrate to assist the Church, but when there is a Christian Magistrate, it pertaineth to him to see, that these Assemblies be duly holden accordingly as the necessity of the Church requireth, and the Canons prescribe. And therefore we shall finde, that though Christian Emperours, Kings, and Princes within their severall dominions, oftentimes permitted Bishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarches, to hold Episcopall, Provinciaall, Nationall, or Patriarchicall Councils, without particular intermeddling therein, when they saw neither negligence in those of the Clergie, in omitting to hold such Councils when it was fit, nor intrusion into their office; yet, so often as they saw cause, they tooke into their owne hands the power of calling these more particular Synodes: And touching Generall, there was never any that was not called by the Emperour.

That Emperours, Kings, and Princes in their severall dominions respectively called particular Councils, is proved by innumerable examples. For *Constantine* the Great called the first Council of *Arle*, as it appeareth by his Epistle to *Crestus*: and *Binnius* confesseth it. The Council of *Aquileia* was called by the Emperours, as it appeareth by the Epistle of the Council to *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* the Emperours, in the first Tome of the Councils. The Council of *Burdegalis* was called by the Emperour against *Priscillian*. The Council of *Agatha* by the permission of the King, as appeareth in the second Tome of the Councils. The first of *Orleans* was called by *Clodoveus*. The *Epaunine* Council by *Sigismund* the Sonne of *Gundebald*. The second of *Orleans*, by the command of *Childebert* the French King. The Council of *Arverne*, by the permission of the King *Theodobertus*. The fifth of *Orleans* by *Childebert*. The first of *Bracar*, by *Arianus*, or (as some will have it) *Theodomirus*. The second of *Turon*, with the connivence of the King. The second of *Bracar* by *Arianus*. The first *Cabillon* Council, by the mandate of *Gunthram*; as likewise that of *Matifcon*, and *Valentia*. The third of *Toledo* by *Richardus*. The Council of *Narbone*, and *Cesar Augusta*, by *Richardus*, King of *Sueveland*. Many other examples might be produced, but these suffice, to shew what the ancient practice was, and what Christian Princes in former times tooke upon them in this behalfe. And that they did lawfully so to intermeddle, it appeareth, in that *St. Gregory* writing to *Theodoricus*, exhorteth him by the Crowne of life, to call Councils, and reforme abuses.

Wherefore let us proceede to see who called the Generall Councils, that have bin holden in the Christian Church. Having perused (saith *Cusanus*) the Actes of all the Generall Councils, to the Eighth inclusively, which Eighth was holden in the time of *Basilius* the Emperour, I finde, that they were all called by the Emperours. Whereupon (saith hee) *Elias* the most holy Presbyter, that supplied the place of the Bishop of *Hierusalem* said openly in the eighth Generall Council, in the hearing of all, that Emperours

Bellarminus, al-
qua Concilia
simpliciter esse
necessaria, ge-
neralia non
simpliciter sed
suo quodam
modo. lib. 1. de
Conciliis
authorit. cap.
11. & 10.

Sozomen.
lib. 8. cap. 18.

*Tom. 1. Con-
ciliis*, pag.
267. apud *Binn-*
nium.

Pag. 523.

*Tom. 1. Con-
cil.* pag. 535.

*Binnius ex Se-
vero*, lib. 2. &

*Prospero &
Chron. Maxi-*

mum Imp. in-
dixisse often-
dit.

Pag. 304.

*Tom. 2. Con-
cil.* pag. 309.

Tom. 2. pag. 314.

Tom. 3. pag. 477.

Tom. 2. pag. 501.

Tom. 2. pag. 514.

Tom. 2. pag. 640.

Tom. 2. pag. 656.

Tom. 2. pag. 663.

Tom. 2. 697.

Tom. 2. 698.

Tom. 2. 705.

Tom. 2. 706.

Tom. 2. 722.

Tom. 2. 956.

Lib. 7. Epist.
114. citat. a
Cusan. lib. 3.

Concord. Ca-
thol. cap. 10.

Concord.
Cath. 3. c. 13.

¶ Apolog. 2.
contra Ruffin.

¶ De Conciliis,
lib. 1. cap. 1.

¶ Euseb. de vita
Constantini,
lib. 3. cap. 6.

¶ Theodoret,
lib. 1. cap. 7.

¶ Lib. 10. ca. 1.

¶ Lib. 1. cap. 7.

¶ Lib. 3. cap. 6.

¶ Lib. 5. cap. 9.

¶ Evagrius lib.
1. cap. 3.

¶ Idem lib. 1.
cap. 9 & 10.

Emperours did ever call Councils, and that *Basilus* was not inferiour to those that went before him, in the care of providing for the Church by Synodall meetings. And *Anastasius* the Popes Library-keeper, in his Glosse upon the same place, saith, that the Emperours were wont to call Councils out of the whole world. Which thing is so cleare, that *Hierome* writing against *Ruffinus*, and taking exception against a certaine Council, biddeth him say, what Emperour it was that commanded that Council to bee called? and therefore *Bellarmino* confesseth it, and giveth foure reasons why it was so: whereof the first is, for that there was an Imperiall Law, that there should not be any great Assemblies without the Emperours privy, consent, and authority, for feare of sedition. The second, for that all those Cities in which such Councils might be holden, being the Emperours, they might not bee holden without his consent. The third, for that the Councils were holden at the Emperours charges, both in respect of carriages, and the diet, and entertainment of the Bishops, during the time of their being in Council, as *Eusebius* in the life of *Constantine* doth testifie; and *Theodoret* in his Historie. The fourth, for that it was fit the Popes in those times, acknowledging the Emperours to bee their Sovereigne Lords, should (as we reade they did) as suppliants beseech them to command Councils to bee called. And surely, if wee had neither his confession, nor reasons, we neede not doubt hereof, having the testimony of all Stories to confirme the same. For *Ruffinus* saith, *Constantine* called the Council of Bishops at Nice: and with him *Theodoret* agreeth, saying expressly, that *Constantine* called the noble Synode of Nice: and *Eusebius* in his Booke of the life of *Constantine*, affirming, that by his letters most honourably written, hee drew together the Bishops out of all parts, marshalling them as a mighty Army of God, to encounter the enemies of the true faith. The occasion of calling this Council, was the Heresie of *Arrius*, denying the Sonne of God to bee consubstantiall with the Father. The next Generall Council after this, was the first at *Constantinople*, called for the suppressing of the Heresie of *Macedonius* and *Eunomius*, who denied the Holy Ghost to bee God co-essentiall and co-eternall with the Father, and this Council was called by *Theodosius* the elder, as *Theodoret* testifieth. The third was holden at *Ephesus*, and called by *Theodosius* the younger, at the suite of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, fearing the proceedings of *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome* against him. The fourth Council was holden at *Chalcedon*, and called by *Martian* the Emperour. The occasion was this: In the time of *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, the Heresie of *Eutyches* began, about which a Provinciaall Council was called at *Constantinople*; whereunto unfortunate *Eutyches* being called, was found to have uttered horrible blasphemies: for hee affirmed, that howsoever before the personall union there were two distinct natures in Christ, yet after the union, there was but one; and besides affirmed, that his body was not of the same substance with ours: Whereupon hee was put from the Ministry of the Church and degree of Priesthood. But not enduring thus to bee deprived of his place and honour, he complaineth to *Theodosius* the Emperour, pretending that *Flavianus* had fained and devised matters against him, and rested not, till hee procured a Synode at *Constantinople* of the neighbour Bishops, to re-examine the matters, who confirming that which was formerly done, another by his procurement was called at *Ephesus* by *Theodosius*, and *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* made President of it. In which Council all things were carried in a very disordered and violent sort; for *Dioscorus* permitted not the Bishops to speake freely, neither would hee suffer the Letters of the Bishop of *Rome* (who was absent) to bee read; such Bishops as hee disliked, he violently cast out of the Council, and retained none but such as were fit to serve his turne. Hee deposed *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Eusebius* of *Dorileum*, *Domnus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Theodoret*, with sundry other. The Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* offended with these violent proceedings, protested against them as unlawfull; and *Flavianus* (who was not only deprived, but so beaten, that not long after he died) appealed to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West for helpe and remedy: upon the hearing of which complaints,

Leo then Bishop of Rome, with many other Bishops of the West, went to the Em-^{a Ut patet in}perour, and in most humble and earnest manner upon their knees besought him to call ^{Epist. Leonis}a Councell in Italy, which he would not yeeld unto, but called one at Chalcedon, com-^{42. & 43.}manding him and all other Bishops to come unto it. The fifth Councell was holden at Constantinople, and called by Justinian the Elder, as ^{x Lib. 4. c. 13.}Evagrius testifieth. I have ^{Cap. 49.}shewed before what the occasion of calling this Councell was, and that though ^{Vi.}Basilius Bishop of Rome, and the Westerne Bishops refused to be present in it, together with the rest, or to confirme it when it ended, yet it was holden a lawfull Councell. The sixth Generall Councell was holden at Constantinople, and was called by Constantine the fourth, as appeareth by his letters to the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, and the rest prefixed before it: the occasion whereof was the Heresie of the Monothelites, who denied the diversity of wils, actions, and operations in Christ, and consequently of Natures. The seventh was holden at Nice, about the use of Pictures in the Church, and called by Constantine the Emperour, as appeareth by his Epistle to Adrian Bishop of Rome, prefixed before it. The eight was holden at Constantinople, about the difference betweene Ignatius and Photius, and called by Basilus the Emperour, as appeareth by the Appendix to the Acts of that Councell, collected out of divers Authors by Surius, and extant in the second part of the third Tome of Councils, set out by Binnius. So that wee see all the eight Generall Councils were called by the Emperours, and not by the Popes, which thing is so cleare and evident, that our Adversaries dare not deny it, but seeke to avoyde the evidence of the truth (against which they dare not directly oppose themselves) by all the shifts they can devise; for first they say, that though it be not so proper to the Pope to call Councils, but that others ^{z. Bel. de Conc.}may doe it, if hee assent unto it or approve it, yet that without his mandate, assent, or ^{l. 1. c. 13.}approbation of such indiction and calling, no Councell is lawfull. Secondly, they say, ^{Ibid.}that the Emperours called Councils by the authority of the Pope: and thirdly, ^{b Andrad de}that ^{author. Gener.}happily they presumed above that was fit for them to doe. Wherefore let us see how ^{conc. l. 3. p. 59.}they prove that they say.

That the right of calling Councils belongeth to the Pope, and not to the Emperour, and consequently, that the Emperour may call none without his assent, ^{c Ubi suprà.}Bellarmino endeavoureth to prove in this sort: They that meete in Councils, must bee gathered together in the name of Christ: to be gathered in the name of Christ, is, to be gathered by him that hath authority from Christ; and none hath authority from Christ to call together the Pastours of the Church, but the Pope onely: therefore none but the Pope may call Councils. To this argument wee answer, that indeed they must meete in the name of Christ, who assemble in Councils: but that to meete in Christs name, importeth not in the promise made by Christ, a gathering together of them that meet by his authority. And that the Cardinall can never prove that the Pope, and he onely, is authorized to call together the Pastours of the Churches. That to bee gathered together in Christs name, importeth not to bee called together by publick authority, as Bellarmine untruely affirmeth, it is evident by his owne confession, in that ^{d De Conc. l. 2.}hee acknowledgeth, that the gathering together in Christs name, to which hee hath ^{cap. 2.}promised to joyne his owne presence, may bee verified of many or few, Bishops or Lay-men, private or publick persons, about private or publick affaires: whereas private men meeting about private businesses, are not gathered together by any one having authority to command them, but by voluntary agreement among themselves: and therefore ^{e De conc. author. l. 1. p. 13. & 14.}Andradius telleth us, that both by the circumstance of Christs ^{f Hom. 61. in Math. 23.}speech, and the Commentaries of the holy Fathers it is evident, that his words agree to every meeting of such men, as being joyned together in faith and charitie, aske any thing of GOD; and particularly produceth Chrysostome expounding Christs words as Calvin doth, whom Bellarmine taxeth; to wit, that they are said to bee gathered together in Christs name, whom neither respect of private gaine induceth, nor the ambitious desire of honour inviteth, nor the pricks of hatred and envie incite and drive forward, whom the inflamed love of peace, and the fervent affections of Christian charity impell, and not the spirit of contention: and in one word, they

8 Epist. 25.

6 Serm. 3. in die
Assumptionis.
7 Cap. 24.

* Esay 49. 23.

4 Lib. 2. c. 13.
5 Lib. 3. cap. 9.

m Chap. 49.

they who meete to seeke out (by force of divine grace, with common and heartiest longing desires sought and obtained) what especially pleaseth Christ, and what is true. For they that come together to set forward, and advance their owne private designs, and to serve their owne contentious dispositions, and to deceive miserable men with the glorious name of a Councell, are by no meanes to be thought to come together in Christs name, nor to hold Ecclesiasticall Assemblies, but such as are most pestilent and hurtfull : of which sort they were, which were holden heretofore in the time of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, at *Tyrus*, *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Sirminum* and *Seleucia*, and infinit other conventicles of Hereticks, to which that most aptly agreeth, which *Leo* the Pope pronounceth of the second Councell of *Ephesus*, to wit, that while private causes were promoted and set forward under pretence of Religion, that was brought to passe by the impiety of a few, that wounded the whole Church. But (saith *Belarmine*) this note of meeting in the feare of God, with desire of finding out the truth, and doing good, discerneth not lawfull Councells from other, seeing all that meete in Councells, pretend that they come together, out of a desire of the common good, and not for private respects : and that therefore this is not to meete in Christs name : which is strangely said of him ; as if lawfull Councells rightly proceeding in their deliberations, might not be discerned from other by any thing that other may pretend : or as if this his silly argument might sway against the circumstance of Christs words, and the Commentaries of the holy Fathers. Wherefore passing from this first exception against his Argument, wee secondly answer unto it, that Christ did not give the power of calling Generall Councells to the Pope alone, as hee alleadgeth : and in what sort Christ committed his Church to *Peter*, to bee governed by him : as likewise in what sense it is that *Leo* saith, *Though there bee many Pastours, yet Peter ruleth them all*, we have largely declared already. So that from hence nothing can bee concluded, to prove, that Christ gave the power and right of calling Generall Councells to the Pope alone : And thirdly we say, that though it be true, that Christ did not leave his Church to be governed by *Tiberius Caesar* an Infidell, so continuing, or to his successors like unto him in infidelity ; yet hee that promised to give *Kings to be nursing Fathers, and Queenes to be nursing Mothers* unto his Church, left it to bee governed by those nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers, which hee meant in succeeding times to raise up for the good, comfort, and peace of his faithfull people, after that their faith, patience, and long suffering (more precious than gold) should be sufficiently tried in the fire of tribulation. Wherefore let us passe to the Cardinals second argument, which is no better than the first. For neither hath the Pope power either Civill or Ecclesiasticall, to inforce all Bishops to be present at such assemblies as he shall appoint, neither did the Emperours in former time want meanes to inforce all to come when they called them. And touching the present state of things, wee are not so foolish, as to thinke the right of calling Generall Councells to rest in the Emperour, having so little command as now hee hath, but wee place it in the concurrence of Christian Princes, without which no lawfull Generall Councell can ever be had. His third reason, taken from the proportion of Metropolitans and Patriarches, calling Provinciaall and Patriarchicall Synodes, holdeth not, as I have shewed before. Neither that which seemeth of all other to bee strongest, taken from the ancient Canon of the Church, that without the liking judgment and will of the Bishop of *Rome*, no Councell can be holden, mentioned by *Socrates* and *Zozomen*. For first the Canon is not to bee understood of the person of the Bishop of *Rome*, but of him and his Welterne Bishops. Secondly, it is not so to bee understood, as if simply without him and his Bishops, no Generall Councell could bee holden, but, that without consulting with him, and first seeking to him and his, no such Councell may be holden, as I have largely shewed before. For otherwise we know that *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*, refused to have any part in the deliberations of the fifth Generall Councell, or to confirme the Actes of it when it ended. Yet was it ever holden to bee a lawfull Generall Councell, hee and his being sufficiently sought unto, and their presence desired. As likewise *Leo* consented to the calling of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, onely for the

the determination of that question of faith, that was then debated, and ^a gave no consent to the Decree therein passed touching the See of *Constantinople*, yet did this Councell prevaile, and the succeeding Bishops of *Rome* were forced to give way to that Canon their predecessors so much disliked. And therefore, whereas the Bishop of *Romes* Legates, in the Councell of *Chalcedon* doe except against *Dioscorus* for presuming to hold a Synode without the authority of the Apostolick See, which they say never was lawfull, nor never was done: their meaning is not, that in no case a Councell may bee holden without the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of the West, but that there never was any such Synode holden without requiring and admitting the concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of the West. And that therefore *Dioscorus* was justly to be condemned, who not onely tooke upon him by the favour of one neere about the Emperour to be President of the second Councell of *Ephesus*, whereof they speake, and sit before the Bishop of *Romes* Legates, being but Bishop of the second See, but also ^o rejected the Synodall letters of *Leo*, and the Bishops of the West, not suffering them to be read, and, as if all the power had beene in him alone, deprived the Bishops of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, notwithstanding the protestation of the *Roman* Legates against such proceedings, and their appeale from the same; and still carried on with his furious passions, reited not till hee had pronounced sentence of excommunication against blessed *Leo*, and all the Bishops of the West. The next testimony which *Bellarmino* bringeth, no way proveth that, for prooffe whereof it is brought: for it is not said in the ^p place cited by him, that the Councell holden at *Constantinople*, against the painting of those things that are reported in the story of the Bible, and for the defacing of such pictures made for Historicall use, was therefore voyd, because it was called without the consent of the *Roman* Bishop (as he untruly reporteth:) but that it was no Generall Councell, seeing many that were present consented not, but disliked the proceedings of it: and besides, it neither had the Bishop of *Rome* to concur, nor his Bishops, neither by their Vicegerents, nor by Provinciaall Letters; neither yet the Patriarches of the East; to wit, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Hierusalem*, nor their Bishops. It is true indeede, that the ^q Bishops assembled at *Rome* by the command of *Theodoricus*, to examine the matters objected to *Symmachus* the Pope, told him, the Councell should have beene called by the Pope, and not by him; but they spake of particular Councells, which oftentimes, by the permission of Princes were wont to be called by Metropolitans, Primates, or Patriarches, and not of generall whereof our question is: and yet I have shewed before, by many testimonies, that Princes when they saw cause, did call Councells of this sort also. So that the speech of these Bishops (affected to their Patriarch, and unwilling to come to any scanning of his actions) is not much to be esteemed. The next testimony out of the Epistles of *Leo* testifieth, the Cardinall careth not what he saith, so he say something: for it is true indeede, that *Leo* saith; Hee directed his Letters to his Brethren and Fellow-bishops, and summoned them to a Generall Councell, but meaneth not a Councell absolutely Generall, consisting of all the Bishops of the world, of which our question is, but of all the Bishops of those parts to which hee writeth, being subject to him as Patriarch of the West, as appeareth by the circumstances of the Epistle cited. But ^r *Pelagius* the second in his Epistle to those that *John* of *Constantinople* called to his Synode as Generall, saith, The authority of calling Generall Councells was by singular priviledge of blessed *Peter*, given to the Apostolick See; that no Synode was ever reputed lawfull, that was not strengthened by the authority of the See Apostolick: And againe, that Councells may not be holden without the judgement and liking of the Bishop of *Rome*: therefore all is true that the Cardinall hath hitherto alleadged. Hereunto (though *Pelagius* may seeme somewhat partiall in his owne cause) wee answer, first with *Bellarmino* himselfe, that the calling of Generall Councells is not so proper to the Bishop of *Rome*, but that another may doe it, if he consent, or if he ratifie the indiction: Secondly, that though he refuse to ratifie it, if his residence and concurrence be sufficiently sought and desired, it may be lawfull, and of force, as it appeareth by the first Generall Councell, which *Vigilius* refused to have any

^a Leo Epist. 53
54, 55.

^o Actione 1.

^o Actione 3.
pag. 73: apud
Bionium

^p Concil. 3.
Actione 6.

^q Concil. Romi
4. sub Symmacho.

^r Epist. 93. cap.
17.

^s Epist. 1. ad
Orientales.

^t De Conciliis,
lib. 1. cap. 12.

⁂ Zozom. lib.
6. cap. 7.

part in. The last testimony that *Bellarmino* produceth to prove that the power of calling Councils doth not properly belong to the Emperours, is a saying of *Valentinian*, reported by *Zozomen*; but it maketh clearly against himselfe. The circumstances of *Zozomens* report are these: The Bishops of *Hellepont*, *Bithynia*, and some other, protesting to beleeve that Christ the Sonne of God is con-substantiall with his Father, sent a Legate to *Valentinian* the Emperour, and desired him to give them leave to meet about matters concerning the Faith. To whom the Emperour answered, that it was not lawfull for him, being one of the Laity, to intermeddle in these Businesses, but willed, that the Priests and Bishops, to whom the care of these things pertaineth, should meete in one place wheresoever it should please them: for here we see, that the Bishops durst not presume to assemble themselves without the Emperours leave: which mainly crosseth the conceit of the Cardinall: neither doth the Emperour say, the calling of Councils pertaineth nothing to him, but the intermeddling with the matters that are brought in question in them; and therefore biddeth them meete by themselves, not intending to be present among them; not meaning that it was not lawfull for him to be present, (for then he should condemne *Constantine*, and other that were present, either in person, or by Deputies) nor that it was simply unlawfull for him to intermeddle, (for they intermeddled as I will shew in that which followeth) but that he might not so intermeddle as Bishops and Priests, to whom properly it pertaineth to determine these things; yet if Princes perceive, that they who meete in Councils be swayed by sinister and vile affections, not seeking the clearing of the truth, but the suppressing of it, they may, and in duty are bound to hinder their proceedings by all lawfull meanes, that come within the compasse of their Princely power.

⁂ Theod. hist.
Ecclesiast.
⁂ Leo epist. 124.
& 43.

Wherefore seeing our Adversaries cannot prove, that the right that Princes have to call Councils dependeth on the consent of the Pope, and that without his consent or ratification, their indiction of Councils is unlawfull, let us see how they can prove, that the Emperours called Generall Councils by the Popes authority, and as commanded or required by him so to doe, and not otherwise. Wee know that *Liberius* intreated *Constantine* to call a Councell: and that *Leo* with other Bishops of the West, on their knees besought the Emperour *Martian* to call a Councell in Italy, and could not obtaine it; but were commanded to come to the Councell the Emperour appointed at *Chalcedon*, and were straitly charged and required to come or send unto it at the time appointed, not finding so much favour as to have it deferred for a little time. And therefore it is greatly to be feared that *Bellarmines* allegations will be too weake to prove, that the Emperours called Councils by the Popes authority,

⁂ Lib. 1. cap. 2.

and as commanded by him. For first, touching the Councell of *Nice*, *Ruffinus* sheweth, that *Arrius* having broached his divelish Heresie, and being often admonished by his Bishop, *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, no way reforming himselfe, *Alexander* wrote to other Bishops, signifying what was fallen out in his Church, so that in the end, the matter came to the Emperours cares; who thereupon (by the counsell of the Bishops advising him so to doe) called the Councell of *Nice*; and *Andreas* faith, hee was induced so to doe by the perswasion of *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, but that the Bishop of *Rome* commanded him so to doe, it no way appeareth.

⁂ De authorit.
gener. Concil.
lib. 1. p. 59.

⁂ In vita Sylv.

⁂ Actione 18.

p. 88. apud Bin.

Indeede the Author of the *Pontificall* faith, *Constantine* called it with the consent of *Sylvester*. And the Fathers in the sixth Generall Councell (out of him or some such Author) say, that *Constantine* and *Sylvester* called it. But the Author of the *Pontificall* is of no credit in this behalfe, reporting in the same place the curing of *Constantines* Leprosie, which is acknowledged by all learned men to be a meere fable: and besides, *Zozomen* is of opinion, that the Councell of *Nice* was not holden in the time of *Sylvester*, but of *Julius* that succeeded him; wherefore let us proceede to the next prooffe. *Damasus* the Bishop of *Rome* (saith *Bellarmino*) called the first Councell of *Constantinople*, and *Theodosius* the elder did but send his Letters to the Bishops to that purpose; therefore the calling of Generall Councils pertaineth to the Pope. How

⁂ Lib. 5. cap. 9.

⁂ Lib. 7. cap. 7.

⁂ Lib. 5. cap. 7.

little the Iesuites care what they write, it appeareth by the dealing of the Cardinall in this matter. For whereas both *Socratus*, *Zozomen*, and *Theodoret* doe testify, that

the Emperour called the Bishops to *Constantinople*, without making any mention of the letters of the Bishop of *Rome*, and that they came upon his summons; hee saith, it was not the Emperour that called them to *Constantinople*, but the Pope; and that the Emperour did nothing but transport and conveigh his letters unto them, wholly mistaking the story. For the letters he speaketh of, were not to call them to *Constantinople*, whither they came upon the Emperours summons, but to *Rome*, where the Bishops of the West were assembled in Councell, whither they refused to come. Neither doth hee shew any more faithfulness and sincerity in that hee hath touching the Councell of *Ephesus*. For whereas the Stories report, that things were managed in that Councell by the industrie of *Cyrl*, with the concurrence of the authority of *Celestinus*, and that *Cyrl* was there present and President, not onely in his owne name, but also as supplying the place of *Celestinus*, hee inferreth from hence, that it was the Pope that called the Councell. That the Councell of *Chalcedon* was called by the Emperour, it is most evident; The Pope (as I have shewed) being not able to prevaile so much, as to get it deferred for a time: yet will *Bellarmino* prove, that *Leo* called that Councell, though not without the helpe of the Emperour. First, out of the Epistle of the Emperour to *Leo*, prefixed before the Councell: And secondly, out of the Epistle of the Bishops of the lesser *Mesia*, written to the Emperour. But these proofes are too weake: for the Emperour having resolved to have a Councell, telleth *Leo* in his Epistle, that it remaineth that hee come unto it: or if it seeme troublesome unto him, that hee signifie so much to him by his letters, that hee may write to *Illyricum*, *Thracia*, and the East, that all the holy Bishops may come together into the place he shall appoint; and may declare, publish, and set forth by their Decree, such things as may bee behoovefull to the Religion of Christians and the Catholick Faith, accordingly as his Holinesse also shall define, according to the Ecclesiasticall Canons, but saith nothing whence it may be inferred that *Leo* called the Councell. For I thinke it will not follow, that because the Bishop of *Rome* was to come to the Councell, or otherwise to send Synodall and Provinciaall Letters from himselfe and his Bishops, that so with one uniforme consent things might bee agreed on, therefore the Pope called the Councell. The Epistle of the Bishops of the lesser *Mesia* is lesse to the purpose, than the former of the Emperour: for they say; The Councell of *Chalcedon* was holden by the command of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, the chiefe of all Bishops, and the most honourable Bishop and Patriarch *Anatolius*; joyning the Bishop of *Rome* and the Bishop of *Constantinople* together, in commanding this Councell to bee holden. So that if the Cardinall will prove from hence, that the Pope called the Councell, hee may prove likewise, that the Patriarch of *Constantinople* called it. But the trueth is, they might command the Bishops under them to assemble, after they received the Emperours Letters, but the Councell was called by neither of them. And therefore, whereas *Gelasius* saith, the See Apostolick only decreed, that the Councell of *Chalcedon* should be holden, his meaning is not, to exclude the Emperour and his authority, but the other Patriarchieall Sees, and to let the world know, that the See of *Rome* alone, by the authority it had with the Emperour, prevailed so farre, as to obtaine his royall Edict, for the gathering together of the Bishops in this Councell; or else hee speaketh untruely. For wee know the Emperour tooke upon him in such peremptory sort to call this Councell, that hee would not bee intreated by the *Roman* Bishop, and other Bishops of the West, neither for the time, nor place, but out of his absolute authority appointed both, as it seemed good unto himselfe. Three other proofes the Iesuite hath yet behinde: The first is out of *Socrates*, out of whom hee saith it may bee proved, that *Julius* the Pope called the Councell of *Sardica*; but how, I cannot tell; For *Socrates* saith expressly, that the Councell of *Sardica* was called by the two Emperours, *Constantine* and *Constantius*: whereof the one reigned in the East, the other in the West; the one by his Letters desiring it, the other most willingly performing that hee desired: But of *Julius* calling it, hee maketh no mention. If the Iesuite thinke it may bee proved, that *Julius* called it; because among them that sought to

Constat de
Evagrio lib. 1.
cap. 4. Epistol.
Celestini ad
Cyrl. Photio.
in lib. de 7.
Synodis.

Inter Epist.
ad Concilium
Chalced. per-
tinentes.

Epist. ad E-
pisc. Dardanie

Lib. 2. cap. 18

excuse themselves from coming upon fained pretences, some complained of the shortnesse of the time appointed for this meeting, and cast the blame thereof upon *Julius*, hee is greatly deceived; seeing *Julius* might be blamed, for procuring the Emperour *Constance*, by his Letters directed to *Constantinus* his Brother, to set so short a time as he did, though hee did not call the Councell himselfe. And that it was not the authority of the Pope that brought the Bishops together in this Councell, it is most evident, in that, when he wrote to them to restore *Athanasius* to his place, they rejected his Letters with contempt, marvailing, that he medled more with their matters than they did with his. Neither is it likely, that *Constantinus* would be commanded by *Julius* to call this Councell. Seeing when the Councell had commanded *Athanasius* to be restored to his place, yet he refused to give way, till his brother threatened to make warre upon him for it. But if this prooffe faile, *Bellarmino* hath a better. For he saith, *Sixtus* the third in an Epistle to those of the East, writeth, That *Valentinian* the Emperour called a Synode by his authority, whence it followeth, that the calling of Generall Councils pertaineth in such sort to the Popes, that the Emperours may not call them, but by warrant and authority from them. If the Reader will be pleased to consider of this prooffe, hee shall easily discern how little credit is to bee given to Jesuited Papists in their allegations. For first, *Sixtus* doth not say, the Emperour *Valentinian* called a Synode by his authority, but that hee commanded a Synode should be called by his authority; that is, commanded him to call it. And the Author of the

Pontificall, speaking of the calling of the same Synode, saith, the Emperour commanded that the Councell and holy Synode should be congregated. Secondly, it was but a Diocesan Synode, consisting of the Presbyters and Clergie of *Rome* called together about certaine crimes objected to *Sixtus*, whereof he purged himselfe before them. Now I thinke it will not follow, that, if the Bishop of *Rome* might call together the Clergie of his owne Diocese, the calling of Generall Councils pertained to him onely: or that, if the Emperour thought fit, rather to command the *Roman* Bishop to call together his Clergie, than to doe it immediately by his owne authority; therefore he would have done the like in summoning Generall Councils, consisting of all the Bishops of the World. Wherefore let us passe to the last of his prooffes, taken out of the Epistle of *Adrian* the second to *Basileus* the Emperour, prefixed before the eight Generall Councell, which undoubtedly upon prooffe, will be found to bee no better than the rest. For first, it is grounded on the saying of a Pope that lived many hundred yeares after Christ, and long after the division of the Empire, and the withdrawing of the Church of *Rome* from the obedience of the Emperours of the East, and so not much to bee regarded in a question concerning the right of the Emperour. Secondly, hee speaketh not in his owne name, but in the name of all the West Church: And thirdly, that hee saith, * Wee will that by your industry, a great assembly be gathered, proveth not that, the Pope tooke upon him peremptorily to command the Emperour. For seeing in the whole Epistle hee useth words of exhorting, praying, and intreating, these words may seeme to import no more, but, Our desire is, that there should be such an assembly by your industry, in which our Legates sitting as Presidents, matters may be examined, and all things righted. Or, Wee, though no way subject to your Empire, yet at your request, are content that such a Councell be called, and that our Legates doe sit in it, with the Bishops subject to your Imperiall command. For, that *Basileus* called the Councell, appeareth by his words to the Bishops in the beginning of it.

But if none of these exceptions against the Emperours ancient practice of calling Councils will hold, our Adversaries, rather than they will suffer the Pope to be a loser, will not stick to charge the Emperours with usurpation, and taking more on them than pertained to them. Whosoever (saith *Andradus*) shall thinke, that the power and authority of Emperours is to bee esteemed and judged of by the things done by them in the Church, rather than by Christs institution; the Decrees of the Elders, and the force and nature of the Papall dignity it selfe, hee shall make unbridled pride, and headlong furie to bee chiefe commander, and to sway most in the Ecclesiasticall

* Sozom. l. 3. cap. 7.

* Soerates lib. 2. cap. 18.

* In vita Sixti 3

* Adrian wrote this Epistle after hee had received the Emperours letters, calling him to the Councell, and therefore it may be thought, that when hee saith, Wee will, &c. hee expresseth his consenting to the Emperours mandate, and not any commanding of him.

p Lib. 1. de auctorit. general. Concil. p. 19.

Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy. Thus doth *Andradus* censure the ancient Christian Emperours, and exemplifieth not onely in *Constantine* the *Arrian*, but *Justinian* also (as himselfe confesseth) a good Emperour. For refutation of which most unjust exception, wee say, that howsoever it bee not to bee doubted, but that ill affected, or ill directed Emperours did sometimes that which was not fit; yet, that in calling Councils by their Princely authority, and commanding all Bishops to come or send unto them; they exceeded not the bounds and limits of their commission; it is evident, in that never any Bishop durst blame them for it; but all sought unto them, even the Bishops of *Rome* themselves, praying them so to doe, as I shewed before by the examples of *Liberius*, *Innocentius*, and *Leo*: which thing also *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth: Wherefore seeing it is evident by the allowed practice of former times; that the calling of Generall Councils belonged to the Emperours, after they became Christians, let us see what they tooke on them in these Councils, after they had called them; and consequently, what right, power, and authority Christian Princes have to manage the affaires, and command the holy Bishops and Ministers of the Church.

De Cone.
l. 1. c. 13.

C H A P. 53.

Of the power and authority exercised by the ancient Emperours in Generall Councils; and of the supremacie of Christian Princes in causes and over persons Ecclesiasticall.

THe first thing that Christian Emperours in ancient times assumed to themselves in Generall Councils, was, to be present in them when they pleased: as wee read of *Constantine* the Great; that hee not onely called the Council of *Nice*, but was present in it; of *Martian*, that hee was present in the Council of *Chalcedon*, with *Pulcheria* the Emperesse; of *Constantine* the fourth, that hee was present in the sixth Generall Council; and *Basileus* in the eight: and when they pleased to bee absent, to send some in their stead; as *Theodosius* the younger sent *Candidianus* to be present for him in the Council of *Ephesus*, and *Martianus*, though present in the first Session, yet being for the most part of the time absent, appointed certaine secular Judges to sit in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The second thing that they assumed to them, was, to sit in the highest place: and so wee read, that in the Council of *Nice*, all the Bishops being placed in order, the Emperour (some few going before him) entred into the Council; at whose comming all the Bishops rose up, and did reverence unto him, and he passed through the midst of them, as an heavenly Angel of God, having on a purple robe, and shining vesture bedecked with gold, pearles, and precious stones, and stayed not till hee came to the highest place, where a little seate of gold was prepared; wherein yet hee sate not downe, but stood upright till the Bishops had bowed and beckened unto him to sit downe. In like sort wee read of *Martian*, that hee sate in the highest place in the Council of *Chalcedon*, with the Senatours and Judges by his side: and of *Constantine* the fourth, that he sate in the highest place in the sixth Generall Council. And when they were not present in person, the Senatours and secular Judges deputed by them, sate in the midst in the highest roome; as wee shall finde they did in the Councils of *Chalcedon*, at such times as the Emperour was away.

Euseb. de vita
Constant. lib.
3. cap. 10.

Conc. Chalced. act. 1. p. 4.

apud Bin.
Conc. 6. act. 1
tom. 3. apud
Bin. p. 8.

U. pater in
act. conc. 8.

A. Ephes.
Conc. tom. 1.
cap. 32.

Vide act. Synod. Chalced.

Euseb. de vita
Constant. lib.
3. cap. 10.

Ubi supra.

Ubi supra.

Ubi supra.

Ubi supra.

Ubi supra.

The third thing which the Emperours tooke on them either in their owne persons, or by such as they deputed, besides the defence of the Bishops from outward violence, was a kinde of direction of things that were to bee done in the Council. This direction consisted in seven things: First, in providing that nothing should bee done passionately, violently, and by clamour of multitudes, but that the ground of each thing should be sought out. Secondly, in providing that nothing should

be extorted by feare and terrour, from them that meete to decree for truth and justice, without all private and sinister respects. Thirdly, in seeing that nothing should be omitted, that the holy Canons required to be done for the finding out of that which is true and right; that so both error and wrong might be avoyded. Fourthly, in not suffering them to passe from one thing to another, before that they had in hand were fully ended; nor to digresse to things impertinent, which might breed confusion, and hinder the effecting of that which was intended; and in putting an end to each action, when they saw as much done as was fit, or otherwise deferring the farther deliberation to some other time. Fifthly, when they found an indisposition in them, to agree to such and so cleare determination of matters in question, as might satisfie all, to dissolve the Councell, and to call another. Sixthly, in judging and pronouncing according to that they saw alleadged with the approbation and assent of the Councell. Lastly, in subscribing and confirming by their royall assent, the things resolved and agreed on. All these things (as *Cusanus* rightly noteth) the Emperours tooke on them in Generall Councils; and the performance of every of these wee may finde in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, but especially the first and the fifth. For whereas the ten Bishops of *Egypt*, that were there in the name of the rest, refused to subscribe to the Actes of the Councell, till they should have a new Patriarch chosen and ordained (not out of any dislike of that was done, or as being of another judgement, but because the custome of their country permitted them not to subscribe, unless their Patriarch went before them in so doing) there was a generall clamour against them of all the Bishops, crying out aloud, that they were to be excommunicate and anathematized. And though they fell prostrate on their faces before the whole Councell, professing their refusall to proceede from no private conceit, and desiring to be pitied, and not urged to any formall subscription, for that if they should doe any such thing, they were sure never to be endured by the Bishops of their country; yet could they finde no favour or relenting, till the secular Judges, out of their discretion, finding the true ground of this their stay to subscribe, to be such as they alleadged, delivered their opinion, that it was a thing reasonable, and in pittie to be granted unto them, that they should be foreborne and stay in the Citie, till their Archbishop were chosen: which when *Paschasius* the Legate of *Rome* heard, hee said, if your glorious excellencie command that it be so, let them put in suerties not to depart the Citie, till their Archbishop be chosen; and the rest of the Bishops agreed to him. So that the matter which was ready to be swayed by the whole Councell, with clamour and out-crie in a very violent sort, was stayed by the wisdom of the secular Judges, the poore distressed suppliants pittied, and the hard proceeding of the Bishops against them hindred. And in the same Councell wee reade, that the Bishops having agreed on a forme of confession of Faith, were desired by the Emperours Deputies the secular Judges, for the satisfaction of all men, to adde certaine words out of the Epistle of *Leo*, to that forme of confession; which when they all (some few of the East, and the Legates of *Rome* excepted) with great clamour refused to doe; the Judges told them, the Emperour should know of their clamorous courses: And that if they would not agree together to make some good end, a Councell should be called in the West; and they forced to walke thither.

Neither did Christian Emperours onely thus intermeddle in Generall Councils as chiefe Lords of the whole world, but particular Kings and Princes likewise within their severall dominions and kingdomes did as much. For wee reade that *Charlemaine*, with the advise and counsell of the servants of God, and his Nobles, gathered together into a Synode all the Bishops in his kingdome, with their Presbyters, that they might advise him how the Law of God and Religion (well established in the times of former Princes, but now much fallen and decayed) might be restored, and Christian people attaine salvation, and not be misled by false Priests: and by the advise of his Bishops and Nobles, according to this his good intent and purpose, hee ordained Bishops in his Cities, and set over them *Bonifacius* as their Archbishop: hee decreed that a Synode should be holden once every yeare, that in his presence the

Decrees

Concord. Ca-
thol. lib. 3. cap.
18.
Concil. Chal-
ced. Actione 4.

Actio. cad.

Naucier. vol.
2. generat. 25.

Decrees of the Canons and Lawes of the Church might be restored, and what should be found amisse in Christian Religion, amended: he degraded false Priests and Deacons, and Clerkes that were whoremongers and adulterers; he prescribed penance to certaine offenders, and subjected them to imprisonment and other corporall punishments and corrections. This Act of *Charlemaigne* is alleadged by *Cusanus*, and greatly approved: yea the same *Cusanus*, complaining of the abuses of the Court of *Rome* (in that things are carried thither, that should bee determined in the Provinces where they begin, in that the Pope intermedleth in giving Benefices before they bee voided, to the prejudice of the originall Patrons, by reason whereof young men run to *Rome* and spend their best time there, carrying gold with them, and bringing back nothing but paper, and many like confusions, which the Canons forbid, and neede reformation) addeth, that the common saying, that the secular power may not restrain or alter these courses brought in by Papall authority, should not move any man: for that, though the power of temporall Princes ought not to change any thing established canonically for the honour of God, and good of such as attend his service, yet it may and ought to provide for the common good, and see, that the ancient Canons be observed. Neither ought any man to say, that the ancient Christian Emperours did erre, that made so many sacred constitutions, or that they ought not so to have done. For (saith hee) I read, that Popes have desired them for the common good, to make lawes for the punishment of offences committed by those of the Clergie. And if any one shall say, that the force of all these constitutions depended upon Papall or Synodall approbation, I will not insist upon it, though I have read and collected foure score and six chiefe heads of Ecclesiasticall rules and lawes made by old Emperours, and many other made by *Charles the Great* and his successours: in which order is taken, not onely concerning others, but even concerning the Bishop of *Rome* himselfe, and other Patriarches, what they shall take of the Bishops they ordaine, and many like things: and yet did I never finde, that the Pope was desired to approve them, or that they have no binding force, but by vertue of his approbation. But I know right well, that some Popes have professed their due regard of those Imperiall and Princely constitutions. But though it were granted, that those constitutions had no further force than they received from the Canons, wherein the same things were formerly ordered, or from Synodall approbation, yet might the Emperour now reforme things amisse by vertue of old Canons, and Princes constitutions grounded on them. Yea, if hee should with good advice (considering the decay of piety and divine worship, the overflowing of all wickednesse, and the causes and occasions thereof) recall the old Canons, and the ancient and most holy observation of the Elders, and reject whatsoever priviledges, exemptions, or new devices contrary thereunto, (by vertue whereof, suites, complaints, and controversies, the gifts and donations of benefices, and the like things are unjustly brought to *Rome*, to the great prejudice of the whole Christian Church) I thinke no man could justly blame him for so doing. Yea hee saith, the Emperour *Sigismund* had an intention to doe, and exhorteth him, by no fained allegations of men favouring present disorders, to be discouraged: for that there is no way to preserve the peace of the Church (whatsoever some pretend to the contrary) unlesse such lewde and wicked courses, proceeding from ambition, pride, and covetousnesse, be stopped, and the old Canons revived.

From that which hath beene observed touching the proceeding of Christian Kings and Emperours in former times, in calling Councils, in being present at them, and in making lawes for persons and causes Ecclesiasticall, it is easie to gather, what the power of Princes is in this kinde, and that they are indeede supreme Governours over all persons, and in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill: which is that we attribute to our Kings and Queenes, and the Papists so much stumble at, as if some new and strange opinion were broached by us. Wherefore, for the satisfaction of all such as are not maliciously obstinate, refusing to heare what may be said, I will endeavour in this place, upon so fit an occasion to cleare whatsoever may bee questionable in this point, and will first intreate of the power and right that Princes have in causes Ecclesiasticall,

Cusanus concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 8. p. Ibid. cap. 407

fasticall, and then of that they have over persons Ecclesiasticall; and in treating of causes Ecclesiasticall, I will first distinguish the diversities of them, and the power of meddling with them. Causes Ecclesiasticall therefore are of two sorts; for some are originally and naturally such; and some onely, in that (by favour of Princes out of due consideration) they are referred to the cognisance of Ecclesiasticall persons, as fittest Judges, as the probations of the Testaments of them that are dead, the disposition of the goods of them that dye intestate, and if there be any other like. Causes Ecclesiasticall of the first sort, are either meere and onely Ecclesiasticall and spirituall, or mixt. Meere Ecclesiasticall are of three sorts: First, matters of Faith and Doctrine. Secondly, matters of Sacraments, and the due administration of them. Thirdly, the orders, degrees, and ordination of such as attend the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. Mixtly Ecclesiasticall are of two sorts; either such as in one respect belong to one kinde of cognisance, and in another to another; as Marriages, which are subject to civill disposition, in that they are politicall contracts; and to spirituall, in that they are ordered by the divine Law; or such as are equally censurable by Civill and Ecclesiasticall authority, as murders, adulteries, blasphemies, and the like. All which in the time when there is no Christian Magistrate, or when there is over-great negligence in the civill Magistrates, are to be punished by the spirituall Guides of the Church. Whereupon wee shall finde, that the ancient Councils prescribed penance to offenders in all these kindes. But when there is a Christian Magistrate doing his duty, they are to be referred, specially either to the one or the other of these; and accordingly to be censured by the one or the other: as we see the punishment of adultery, usury, and things of that nature is referred to Ecclesiasticall persons, and the punishment of murder, theft, and the like to the civill Magistrate. This distinction of causes Ecclesiasticall premised, it is easie to see what authority Princes have in causes Ecclesiasticall. For first, touching those causes that are Ecclesiasticall, onely in that they are put over to the cognisance of spirituall persons, there is no question but that the Prince hath a supreme power, and that no man may meddle with them any otherwise than as he is pleased to allow. And likewise touching those things which in one respect pertain to civill jurisdiction, and in another to spirituall, or which is equally censurable by both, there is no question but that the Prince hath supreme power, in that they pertain to civill jurisdiction. So that the onely question is, touching things naturally and meere spirituall. The power in these is of two sorts; Of Order, and of Jurisdiction. The power of Order is the authority to preach the Word, minister the Sacraments, and to ordaine Ministers to doe all these things: and this power the Princes of the world have not at all, much lesse the supreme authority to doe these things, but it is proper to the Ministers of the Church. And if Princes meddle in this kinde, they are like to *Uzziah*, that offered to burne incense, for which he was stricken with Leprosie. The power of Jurisdiction standeth first in prescribing and making Lawes; secondly, in hearing, examining, and judging of opinions touching matters of Faith; and thirdly, in judging of things pertaining to Ecclesiasticall order and ministry, and the due performance of Gods divine worship and service. Touching the first, the making of a Law is the prescribing of a thing under some paine or punishment, which hee that prescribeth hath power to inflict. Whence it is consequent, that the Prince (having no power to excommunicate, put from the Sacraments, and deliver to Satan) can of himselfe make no Canons, such as Councils of Bishops doe; who command or forbid things under paine of excommunication, and like spirituall censures; but (having power of life and death, of imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods, and the like) he may with the advice and direction of his Clergy, command things pertaining to Gods worship and service under these paines, both for profession of Faith, ministration of Sacraments, and conversation fitting to Christians in generall, or men of Ecclesiasticall order in particular; and by his Princely power establish things formerly defined and decreed against whatsoever error, and contrary ill-custome, and observation. And herein hee is so farre forth supreme, that no Prince, Prelate, or Potentate, hath a commanding authority over him: yet doe we not whatsoever our clamorous Adversaries un-

truly report, to make us odious) make our Princes with their Civill States, supreme in the power of commanding in matters concerning God, and his Faith and Religion, without seeking the direction of their Clergie, (for the Statute that restored the title of supremacie to the late *Queene Elizabeth*, of famous and blessed memory, provideth, that none shall have authority newly to judge any thing to bee Heresie, not formerly so judged, but the high Court of Parliament with the assent of the Clergie in their Convocation) nor with them, so, as to command what they thinke fit, without advising with others, partakers of like precious Faith with them, when a more generall meeting for farther deliberation may bee had, or the thing requireth it. Though when no such generall concurrence may be had, they may by themselves provide for those parts of the Church that are under them. From the power and authority wee give our Princes in making lawes, and prescribing how men shall professe and practice touching matters of Faith and Religion, let us proceed to treat of the other part of power ascribed unto them, which is in judging of errors in Faith and disorders, or faults in things pertaining to Ecclesiasticall order and ministry according to former determinations and decrees. And first, touching errors in faith, or aberrations in the performance of Gods worship and service, there is no question, but that Bishops and Pastours of the Church (to whom it pertaineth to teach the truth) are the ordinary and fittest Judges: and that ordinarily and regularly, Princes are to leave the judgement thereof unto them. But because they may faile, either through negligence, ignorance, or malice, Princes having charge over Gods people, and being to see that they serve and worship him aright, are to judge and condemne them that fall into grosse errors, contrary to the common sense of Christians, or into any other heresies formerly condemned. And though there be no generall failing, yet if they see violent and partiall courses taken, they may interpose themselves to stay them, and cause a due proceeding, or remove the matter from one company and sort of Judges to another. And hereunto the best learned in former times agreed, clearly confessing, that when some thing is necessary to be done, and the ordinary Guides of the Church doe faile, or are not able to yeeld that helpe that is needfull, wee may lawfully flye to other for reliefe and helpe; when these two things doe meeete in the state of the Church, (saith *Waldensis*) to wit, extreame necessity, admitting no delay, and the want of ability to yeeld reliefe in the ordinary Pastour or Guide, we must seeke an extraordinary Father and Patron, rather than suffer the frame, fabrick, and building of the Lord Chrilt to bee dissolved. If any man happily say that *Ambrose*, a most worthy Bishop refused to come to the Court to be judged in a matter of faith by *Valentinian* the Emperour, and asked; whenever he heard that Emperours judged Bishops in matters of faith? seeing if that were granted, it would follow, that Lay-men should dispute and debate matters, and Bishops heare; yea that Bishops should learne of Lay men, (whereas contrariwise, if we looke over the Scriptures, and consider the course of times past, wee shall finde that Bishops have judged of Emperours in matters of faith, and not Emperours of Bishops) and that therefore it cannot be without usurpation of that which no way pertaineth to them, that Princes should at all meddle with the judging of matters of faith. This objection, what shew soever it may seeme to carry, is easily answered; for first, the thing that *Valentinian* tooke on him, was not to judge according to former definitions, but hee would have judged of a thing already resolved on in a Generall Councell, called by *Constantine* the Emperour, as if it had beene free, and not yet judged of at all: whereas wee doe not attribute to our Princes with their Civill Estates, power newly to adjudge any thing to be heresie without the concurrence of the State of their Clergie, but only to judge in those matters of faith, that are resolved on, according to former resolutions. And besides this, *Valentinian* was knowne to be partiall; he was but a novice, and the other Judges he meant to associate to himselfe suspected; and therefore *Ambrose* had reason to doe as he did. Wherefore let us proceede to the other part of the power of Jurisdiction, that consisteth in judging of things pertaining to Ecclesiasticall order and Ministry. Concerning which point, first it is resolved, that none may ordaine any to serve in the worke of the Ministry, but the spirituall Pastours

7 Anno 1. Eli-
zab.

Waldens. do-
ctrin. fidei, lib.
2. cap. 80.

(Epistolar. lib.
5. ep. 32.

Pastours and Guides of the Church. Secondly, that none may judicially degrade or put any one, lawfully admitted, from his degree and order, but they alone. Neither doe our Kings or Queenes challenge any such thing to themselves; but their power standeth, first, in calling together the Bishops and Pastours of the Church, for the hearing and determining of such things, and in taking all due care, that all things bee done orderly in such proceedings, without partiality, violence, or precipitation, according to the Canons and Imperiall lawes made to confirme the same. Secondly, when they see cause, in taking things from those whom they justly suspect, or others except against, and appointing others in their places. Thirdly, in appointing some selected men for the visitation of the rest. Fourthly, in joyning temporall men in commission with the spirituall Guides of the Church, to take view of, and to censure the actions of men of Ecclesiasticall order: because they are directed not onely by Canons, but lawes Imperiall. Fifthly, when matters of fact are objected, for which the Canons and lawes Imperiall judge men depriveable; the Prince, when hee seeth cause, and when the state of things require it, either in person, if hee please, or by such other as hee thinketh fit to appoint, may heare and examine the proofes of the same, and either ratifie that others did, or voyd it; as wee see in the case of *Cacilianus*, to whom it was objected, that hee was a *Traditor*, and *Felix Autumnitanus* that ordained him, was so likewise, and that therefore his ordination was voyd. For first, the enemies of *Cacilianus* disliking his ordination, made complaints against him to *Constantine*; and he appointed *Melchisedech* and some other Bishops, to sit and heare the matter. From their judgment, there was a new appeale made to *Constantine*. Whereupon hee sent to the *Proconsull* to examine the proofes that might bee produced. But from his judgement the complainants appealed the third time to *Constantine*, who appointed a Synode at *Arle*. All this hee did to give satisfaction (if it were possible) to these men, and so to procure the peace of the Church. And though hee excused himselfe for meddling in these busineses, and asked pardon for the same: (for that regularly, hee was to have left these judgements to Ecclesiasticall persons) yet it no way appeareth, that hee did ill in interposing himselfe in such sort as hee did, the state of things being such as it was: nor that the Bishops did ill, that yeelded to him in these courses, and therefore in cases of like nature, Princes may doe whatsoever hee did, and Bishops may appeare before them, and submit themselves to their judgement; though in another case *Ambrose* refused to present himselfe before *Valentinian* the Emperour, for triall of an Ecclesiasticall cause. Neither is it strange in our State, that Kings should intermeddle in causes Ecclesiasticall. For *Matthew Paris* sheweth, that the ancient Lawes of *England* provided, that in appeales men should proceede from the Arch-deacon to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and that, if the Archbishop should faile in doing justice, the matters should bee made knowne to the King; that by vertue of his commandement it might receive an end in the Archbishops Court; that there might be no further proceeding in appeales without the Kings consent.

From the power which Princes have in causes Ecclesiasticall, let us proceede to the power they have over persons Ecclesiasticall; and see, whether they be supream over all persons; or whether men of the Church be exempt from their jurisdiction. That they are not exempted by Gods Law, wee have the cleare confession of Cardinal *Bellarmine*, and others: who not onely yeeld so farre unto the trueth, forced so to doe by the cleare evidence thereof, but prove the same by Scripture and Fathers. The Cardinals words are these: *Exceptio Clericorum in rebus politicis, tam quoad personas, quam quoad bona, jure humano introducta est, non divina*: that is, The exemption of Clergy-men in things civill, as well in respect of their persons, as their goods, was introduced and brought in by mans law, and not by the law of God. Which thing is proved, first, out of the precept of the Apostle to the *Romans*: *Let every soule be subject to the higher powers*; and addeth; *Therefore pay yee tribute*. For when the Apostle saith, *Let every soule bee subject*, hee includeth Clergy-men, as *Chrysostome* witnesseth: and therefore when hee addeth, *for this cause pay yee tribute*, he speaketh of

August. epist.
162.

Euseb. l. 10.
cap. 5.

In Henrico
2. pag. 96.

De Clericis
lib. 1. cap. 28.

Rom. 13. 1.
1 Pet. 16.

of Clergy-men also. Whence it will follow, that Clergy-men are bound to pay tribute; unless they be exempted by the favour and priviledge of Princes, freeing them from so doing: which thing *Thomas Aquinas* also affirmeth, writing upon the same place. Secondly, the same is proved out of the Ancient: 'For *Urbanus* saith; *The Church payeth tribute out of her outward and earthly possessions.*' And *Saint Ambrose* saith, *If tribute bee demanded, it is not denied, the Church-land payeth tribute.* Now if *Urbanus* Bishop of Rome, and worthy *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milaine* (than whom there was never any Bishop found more resolute in the defence of the right of the Church) say, that tribute is not to bee denied, but payed unto Princes by men of the Church: and in respect of Church-land, I thinke it is evident, there is no exemption by any Law of God, that freeth the goods of Church-men from yeelding tribute to Princes. For touching the Text, (where our Saviour saith unto *Peter*, 'What thinkest thou *Simon*, of whom doe the Kings of the Gentiles receive tribute? Of their owne children, or of strangers? And *Peter* answereth, *Of strangers*: Whence *Christ* inferreth, that the children are free) brought by some to prove the supposed immunity of Clergy-men to bee from Gods owne grant, *Bellarmino* sufficiently cleareth the matter. For first hee sheweth, that *Christ* speaketh of himselfe onely, making this argument; Kings sonnes are free from tribute, as being neither to pay to their owne Fathers, seeing their goods are common; nor to strangers to whom they are not subject: therefore himselfe being the Sonne of the great King of Kings, oweth no tribute to any mortall man. So that when hee said, the children are free, hee meant not to signifie, that any other are free, but onely that himselfe was free. Secondly, hee rightly observeth that this place would prove, that all Christians are free from tribute, if it proved any other than *Christ* to bee so; for all Christians are the sonnes of God by adoption and grace. And *Hierome*, writing upon this place, hath these words: *Our Lord was the Kings Sonne both according to the flesh, and according to the spirit, descending of the stock of David, and being the Word of the Almighty Father: and therefore as being the Sonne of the Kingdome owed no tribute, but because hee assumed the humility of flesh, it behooved him to fulfill all righteousness: but unhappy men that we are live are called after the name of Christ, and doe nothing worthy so great an honour. Hee for the great love hee bare towards us, sustained the crosse for us, and paid tribute: but we for his honour pay no tribute, and as Kings Sons are free from tribute.* These words are brought by some to prove the imagined freedome wee speake of: but first, they are so farre from proving any such thing, that *Erasmus* thinketh *Hierome* reprehended it, and disliked it as a thing favouring of arrogancie, that Clergy-men should refuse to pay tribute, which, hee saith, is contrary to the conceit of men in our time, who thinke it the height of all piety to maintaine this immunity. And *Senensis* saith, that *Hierome* speaketh not of that tribute which subjects pay to their Princes here in this world, but of that which we all owe to *Christ*, so that this is that he saith, why do not we, wretched men, professing our selves to be the servants of *Christ*, yeeld unto his Majestie the due tribute of our service, seeing *Christ*, so great and excellent, paid tribute for our sakes? *S. Austine* in his first booke of *Questions upon the Gospel*, saith, that Kings sonnes in this world are free, and that therefore much more the sonnes of that Kingdome, under which all kingdomes of the world are, should be free in each earthly kingdome: which words, *Thomas*, and *Sixtus Senensis* understand of a freedome from the bondage of sinne, but *Jansenius* rejecteth that interpretation; because *Austine* saith, the children of Kings are free from tribute, that thinketh, that *Austine* meaning is, that if God the King of Heaven and Earth had many naturall Sons, as hee hath but one onely begotten, they should all bee free in all the Kingdomes of the world: and other apply these words to Clergy-men, though there be nothing in the place leading to any such interpretation. But whatsoever we thinke of the meaning of *Austine*, *Bellarmino* saith, it cannot be inferred from these his words, that Clergy-men by Gods Law are free from the duty of paying tribute; because (as *Chrysostome* noteth) *Christ* speaketh onely of naturall children: and besides prescribeth nothing, but

Decr. 2. part.
causa 2. qu. 8.
c. p. Trib. uni.
d. In orat. de
tradend. Basi-
licis.

Math. 17. 24.

f. *Erasm.* citat.
à *Sixto Senens.*
Bibl. sanct. l. 6.
annot. 75.
Ibid.

6. *Quaest.* 13.

Secunda se-
cundæ, q. 104.
art. 6.
Lib. super
dict. annot. 76.
Com. in con-
cord. Evang.
cap. 69.

but onely sheweth, that usually among men, Kings Sonnes are free from tribute: and therefore, whereas the authority of *Bonifacius* the eighth, who affirmeth, that the goods and persons of Clergy-men are free from exactions, both by the Law of God and man, is brought to prove the contrary: Hee answereth, first, that haply the Pope meant not, that they are absolutely freed by any speciall grant from God, but only that there is an example of *Pharaoh* an Heathen Prince, freeing the Priests of his Gods mentioned in Scripture, which may induce Christian Kings to free the Pastours of Christs Church. Secondly, that it was but the private opinion of the Pope, inclining to the judgment of the Canonists; and that he did not define any such thing. So that men may lawfully dissent from him in this point. So that we see by the testimonies of Scripture and Fathers, and the confession of the best learned among our Adversaries themselves, that Almighty God did not by any speciall exemption free either the goods or persons of Clergy-men from the command of Princes, and that in the beginning they were subject to all services, judgments, payments, and burthens, that any other are subject to, and required by Christ the Sonne of God, and his blessed Apostles to be so.

But some man happily will say, that though Christ did not specially free, either the goods or persons of Clergy-men from the subjection to Princes, yet there are inducements in reason, and in the very light of nature, such and so great, to move Princes to set them free, that they should not doe well if they did not so. Whereunto we answer, that there is no question to be made, but that the Pastors of the Church that watch over the soules of men, are to be respected and tendered more than men of any other calling, and so they are, and ever were, where any sense of Religion is, or was. The Apostle Saint Paul testifieth of the *Galathians*, *That they received him as an Angel of God, yea as Christ Iesus himselfe, and that they would have even plucked out their eyes, to have done him good.* The Emperour *Constantine* honoured the Christian Bishops with the name and title of Gods, acknowledged himselfe subject to their judgement, though he swayed the Scepter of the World; and refused to see what the complaints were that they preferred one against another, or to reade their Bills, but professed, that to cover their faults he would even cast from him his purple Robe. Whence it came, that many priviledges were anciently granted unto them, both in respect of their persons, and goods. For first, *Constantine* the Great, not onely gave ample gifts to the Pastours of the Churches, but exempted them also from those services, ministeries, and imployments, that other men are subject to. His Epistle to *Anelinius* the *Proconsull* of *Africa*, wherein this grant was made to them of *Africa*, is found in *Ensebinus*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that he extended his favours to the Bishops of other Churches also, as well as to them. The words of the grant are these: *Considering that the due observation of things pertaining to true Religion and the worship of God, bringeth great happiness to the whole state of the Common-wealth and Empire of Rome: For the encouragement of such as attend the holy Ministry, and are named Clergy-men, my pleasure is, that all such in the Church wherein Caxilianus is Bishop, be at once and altogether absolutely freed, and exempted from all publick Ministeries and Services.* Neither did the Emperours onely exempt them from these services, but they freed them also from secular judgements, unlesse it were in certaine kindes of criminall causes. Wherein yet a Bishop was not to be convented against his will before any secular Magistrate, without the Emperours command. Neither might the temporall Magistrates condemne any Clergy-man, till he were degraded by his Bishop, howsoever they might imprison and restraine such upon complaints made. And answerably hereunto the Councell of *Africa* provideth, that no Clergy-man for any cause, without the discussion of his Bishop, shall be wronged and imprisoned by any secular Magistrate; and that if any Judge shall presume to doe so to the Clergy-men of any Bishop, unlesse it be in a criminall cause, hee shall be excommunicated as long as the Bishop shall thinke fit. This was all the immunity that Clergy-men anciently had by any grant of Princes, and as much as ever the Church desired to enjoy: but that which in later times was challenged by some, and in defence of the claime whereof, *Thomas Becket* resisted the King; till his blood was shedde, was of another kinde. For, whereas it was not thought fit

In 6. cap.
Quamquam de
Sentibus.

Gen 47.

Gal. 4. 14, 15.

Ruffin. l. 1. c.
2. Theodoret.
lib. 5. cap. 11.

Lib. 10. Hist.
Ecc. cap. 7.

Nouvel. Con-
stit. 79. 83. &
123.

Concil. Ma-
risconen. l. 1.
Canon. 7.

fit by the King and State of the Realme at that time, that Church-men found in enormous crimes, by the Kings Iustices, should bee delivered over to their Bishops, and so escape civill punishment, but that confessing such crimes, or being clearely convinced of them before the Bishop, the Bishop should in presence of the Kings Iustices degrade them, and put them from all Ecclesiasticall honour, and deliver them to the Kings Court to be punished: *Becket* was of a contrary minde, and thought, that such as Bishops degraded, or put out of their Ministry of the Church, should not be punished by the civill Magistrates; because as hee said, one offence was not to be punished twice. The occasion of this controversie betweene the King and the Arch-bishop, was given by one *Philip Brocke*, a Canon of *Bedford*: who being brought before the Kings Iustices for murther, used vile and contemptuous speeches against them; which though it were proved against him before the Arch-bishop, yet hee was onely deprived of the benefit of his Prebend, and driven out of the Realme for the space of two yeares, for so horrible and bloody a crime. This was one of those sixteene Articles concerning the ancient customes of the Realme, whereunto *Becket* and the rest of the Bishops did sweare, and whereof hee so soone repented againe: namely, that Clergy-men accused of any crime, should at the summons of the Kings Iustices appeare in the Kings Court, to answer to such things as to that Court should be thought to appertaine; and in the Ecclesiasticall, what pertained thereunto: and that the Kings Iustices should send to see, what was there done: and that if they should bee convicted of any enormous crime, or confesse the same, the Bishop should not protect them: than which course nothing could bee devised more reasonable. Neither is it absurd for sheepe to judge their Pastors in these cases, as *Bellarmino* fondly affirmeth. That the Councell of *Chalcedon*, and *Toledo* forbid Clergy-men to leave the Ecclesiasticall Iudges, and to prosecute their quarrels one against another before temporall Magistrates; and the Councells of *Carthage*, and *Agatha* condemn them that choose rather to be tried in Civill Courts than Ecclesiasticall, when they have power to choose; or that begin suites there without the permission of their Bishop, no way contrarieth any thing that I have said: for howsoever some things are to bee handled in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, as properly pertaining to them, either naturally and originally, or by grant of Princes; and other things concerning Church-men, not to bee brought into Civill Courts but in due sort, and with respect had to their places and rankes, yet never had they any such absolute exemption and immunity, but that in criminall causes, such as theft, murther, and the like, and in triall of the title of lands and inheritances, and the right of advocacion of Churches, they were to bee tryed in Civill Courts, and no other, whether the differences grew betweene Lay-men and Clergy-men, or Clergy-men among themselves. As likewise they were to doe homage, and sweare fealty, for such lands, honours, and Baronies, as they held of Princes. Thus wee see, how favourable Princes have beene in granting priviledges concerning the persons of such as attend the service of God. Neither were they lesse carefull to free such lands and possessions as they indowed the Church with, from such burdens, taxes, and impositions, as other temporall possessions are subject to. So that howsoever, in the Apostles times, and long after, even till the time of *Ambrose* (as it appeareth by his writings) the Church-lands paid tribute; yet afterward by *Justinian* and other Christian Emperours, they were freed from those impositions. Neither is it to be marvelled at, that Christian Princes, out of their devout and religious dispositions were thus favourable to the Church, seeing even the Heathen Princes did as much for the Idolatrous Priests of their false Gods: for wee reade in the Booke of *Genesis*, that in the time of that great famine that was in the dayes of *Ioseph*, when the people of *Egypt* were constrained, after all their money and cattell were spent, to sell their land to *Ioseph* the Steward of *Pharaoh*, in whose hands all the provision of Corne was, to buy them bread, so that all the land of *Egypt* became *Pharaohs*; yet the Priests were not forced to sell their lands, for they had an ordinary from *Pharaoh*, and they did eate their ordinary, which *Pharaoh* gave them. And when as afterwards *Ioseph* let the people enjoy their land again, which he had bought

Math Paris
in Henrico 2.
pag. 98.

De Clericis,
lib. 1 cap. 28.
x Canone 9.
y Toleranum,
3. Can. 13.
z Carthag.
Canone 9.
a Canone 13.

b Ambros. in
Orat. de tra-
dend Basilicis.
c Codice Iusti-
nian. L. sacro-
sanctis
Ecclesiis
d Cap. 47.

^a Driedo de li-
bert. Christian.
lib. 2. cap. 3.

^f Canone 19

^g Canone 46.

^h De sacr. Ec-
cles. Ministr. &
Benef. l. 7. c. 10.

for *Pharaoh*, yet so, that onely foure parts of the increase thereof should be to them-
selves, for the seede of their fields, for their meate, and for them of their households,
and their children to eate; and the fifth part should be *Pharaohs*, whose now the land
was: the land of the Priests was free from this rent and charge, as not being *Pharaohs*.
Yet were not the priviledges and immunities which Christian Princes granted to Ec-
clesiasticall persons, to prejudice other men, not to lay too heavy a burthen on them;
and therefore it was lawfull for Princes, when they saw any inconveniences, in that
too much of their land, by passing into their right and possession of Church-men, was
freed from services and charges, to stop the passing of any more into such dead hands
as would yeeld them no helpe; and Clergy-men were bound in conscience voluntarily
to contribute to all publick necessities when neede required; though the temporall
Magistrates might not impose any thing upon them as we finde it ordered in the third
Councell of *Lateran*, and in the fourth under *Innocentius* the third: yea if they should
contemptuously and presumptuously refuse to beare part of the common burdens, not-
withstanding any pretended priviledges, the supream Prince might force them to
put too their helping hand, rather than the whole state of the common-wealth should
bee shaken and indangered, or other parts and members of it too heavily burdened, as
^b *Duarenus* learnedly and excellently sheweth. This may suffice touching the exemp-
tion of Clergy-men, either in respect of their persons or goods, and the right by
which they enjoy the same. And thus have wee runne through all the different De-
grees and Orders of Ecclesiasticall Ministers, and shewed what their power, office, and
authority is, both severally, and assembled in Councils: and what power Princes have
to command unto them, or to intermeddle with the businesses and affaires more speci-
ally belonging to them.

C H A P. 54.

*Of the calling of Ministers: and the persons to whom it pertaineth to elect and
ordaine them.*

^a Heb. 5. 4.

NOW it remaineth that we first treat of the calling of Ministers; for *No man
taketh this honour upon him but hee that is called, as was Aaron*: Secondly, of
the things required in them: And thirdly, of their maintenance.

^b Lib. 1. com.
in epist. ad Ga-
lat. cap. 1.

Touching the first, which is the calling of Ecclesiasticall Ministers, Saint
^c *Hierome* noteth, that there are foure sorts of such men as are imployed in the busines-
ses and affaires of Almighty God. The first are such as are sent neither of men, nor by
men, but by Jesus Christ, as the Prophets in old time, and since the coming of Christ,
those Twelve designed immediately to the Worke of the Ministry by Christs owne
voyce, specially called Apostles. The second, such as are sent of God, but by man, as
Bishops and Ministers, which succede the Apostles, and derive their commission
from them. The third are such as are sent of men, and not of GOD, who are they
that are ordained by favour of men, not judging rightly of the quality of them that are
to serve in this calling; who yet are not simply denied to bee sent of GOD, as if they
had no commission from him, but therefore onely, because if the Ordainers had done
their duties; they should have made a better choyce, and sent other, and not these:
for being sent by men that have authority, though abusing the same, they have a true
and lawfull Ministry till they be put from it by superiour authority, else were all Mi-
nistration of Sacraments, and other sacred things voyde, performed by such as symo-
niacally, or by sinister meanes get into these holy places. The fourth are such as nei-
ther are sent of GOD, nor of men, nor by men, but of themselves, of whom our Sa-
viour Christ saith, *All that came before mee were thieves and robbers*: and of whom
Almighty GOD pronounceth, and saith by the Prophet *Jeremy*, *I sent them not, and
they ranne; I spake not to them, and they prophesied*. This evil is carefully to bee de-
clined, and therefore Christ would not suffer the Devils to speake that which was
true, lest under the pretence of truth, error might creepe in; seeing hee that
speakerh of himsele cannot but speake lyes. These are the foure sorts of them

^c Iohn. 10. 8.

^d Ier. 23. 21.

them that serve in the worke of the Ministerie; whereof the last have no calling at all, and all they doe is voyde: The third have a lawfull commission, though they obtained it by sinister meanes, and bee unworthy of it, so that they could not be put into it, without the fault of the ordainers. The first had a lawfull, but extraordinary calling, needfull onely in those first beginnings of Christianity, and not longer to continue. The second have that calling which is Ordinary and to continue, whereof we are now to speake. In this calling there are three things implied: Election, Ordination, and Assignation to some particular Church, whereof men elected and ordained are appointed to take charge.

In ancient times there was no ordination at large, without particular Assignation, and *sine titulo*, allowed, as it appeareth by the Councell of *Chalcedon*, forbidding any such thing to be done, and voyding any such Act if it should bee done, and therefore in those times the very electing and ordaining, was an assigning of the elected and ordained to the place of Charge they were to take, and a giving of them the power of jurisdiction as well as of order. But this Canon in later times grew out of use: whence ensued great confusion in the state of the Church, as *Duarenus* rightly noteth: yet are wee not of opinion, that all such ordinations are voyde in the nature of the thing; whatsoever the Ancients pronounced of them according to the strictnesse of the Canons. For seeing Ordination, which is the sanctifying of men to the worke of the holy Ministry, is a different thing in nature from the placing of them, where they shall doe that holy worke; and a man once ordained needeth not any new Ordination, when he is removed from one Church to another, it is evident, that in the nature of the thing, Ordination doth not so depend on the title and place of Charge the Ordained entereth into, as that Ordinations at large should bee voyde; yet are they not to bee permitted, neither are they in our Church. For the Ordinations of Ministers in Colleges in our Universities, are not within the compasse of those prohibited Ordinations at large, and *sine titulo*: and none other, by the order of our Church, may bee ordained, unlesse he be certainly provided of some definite place of charge and employment. And as the Ancient were thus precise in admitting none into the holy Ministry, but with assignation of the particular place of his employment; so they tooke as strict order, that men once placed should not suddenly bee removed and translated to any other Church or Charge. In the Councell of *Sardica*, *Hosius* the President of that Councell said; 'That same ill custome and pernicious corruption is wholly to bee plucked up by the rootes, that it may not bee lawfull for a Bishop to passe from his Citie to any other Citie. For the cause why they doe so, is knowne to all, seeing none is found to passe from a greater Citie to a lesser: whence it appeareth, that they are inflamed with ardent desires of covetousnesse, and that they serve their owne ambitious designes, that they may exercise dominion, and grow great. If therefore it seeme good to you all, that such an evill as this is, may be more severely punished, let him that is such a one, bee rejected from all communion, even such as Lay-men enjoy. To whom all the Bishops answered; It pleaseth us well; To whom *Hosius* replied; Though any shall bee found so ill advised, as haply in excuse of himselfe to affirme, that hee received letters from the people, to draw him from his owne Citie to another; yet I thinke, seeing it is manifest, that some few not sincere in the Faith, might be corrupted by reward, and procured to desire his translation, all such fraudes should altogether bee condemned: So that such a one should not bee admitted, so much as to the communion which Lay-men enjoy, no not in the end: which thing if it seeme good unto you all, confirme and settle it by your Decree. And the Synode answered, It pleaseth us well. Leo, to the same purpose writeth thus; 'If any Bishop, despising the meanenesse of his owne Citie, shall seeke to get the administration and government, of some more noted, and better respected place, and shall by any meanes translate and remove himselfe to a greater people, and more large and ample charge, let him bee driven from that other Chaire which hee sought, and let him bee deprived also of his owne. So that hee be neither suffered to rule over them, whom, out of a

Canone 9.

f De sacris Ec-
cles. minist. &
Benef lib. 1.
cap. 16.

g Canone 1.

h Leo epist. 74.
cap. 8.

Lib. 5. cap. 8. 'covetous desire, hee would have subjected to himselfe, nor over them, whom in pride he contemned and scorned. And the like is found in other: but as *Theodore* sheweth, it was ambition, and such other like evils, that these holy Fathers sought to stoppe and prevent, rather than generally to condemne all Translation of Bishops from one Church and Citie to another. For these changes may sometimes bring so great and evident utilitie, that they are not to bee disliked. And therefore the same *Theodore* sheweth, that notwithstanding this Canon, *Gregory Nazianzen* was removed from his Church, and constituted Bishop of *Constantinople*. And *Socrates* reporteth, that *Proclus* was removed thither from *Cyzicum*. Wherefore passing by these matters as cleare and resolved of, let us proceed to see, first, to whom it pertaineth to elect. Secondly, to whom it belongeth to ordaine such as are duly elected and chosen to the worke of the Ministry.

m D. Bilson.
perpet. govern-
ment, cap. 15.
pag. 339.

n Epist. 89.

Touching Election, wee thinke, that each Church and people, that have not by law, custome, or consent, restrained themselves, stand free by Gods Law to admit, maintaine, and obey no man, as their Pastor, without their liking: and that the peoples election by themselves or their Rulers, dependeth on the first principles of humane fellowships and assemblies: for which cause, though Bishops by Gods Law have power to examine and ordaine, before any man be placed to take charge of soules: yet have they no power to impose a Pastor on any Church against their wils, nor to force them to yeeld obedience and maintenance to any without their liking. And therefore anciently (as *Leo* sheweth) the custome was, that hee should bee chosen of all, that was to bee over all, that the wishes and desires of the Citizens should bee expected, the Testimonies of the people should bee sought, the will and liking of the noble and honourable should be knowne, and the Clergie should choose. All which things are wont to bee observed and kept in ordinations, by them that know the rules of the Fathers, that the rule of the Apostle may be followed in all things, who prescribeth, that hee who is to bee over the Church, should not onely have the allowance of the faithfull, giving witnesse unto him, but the testimony also of them that are without, and that no occasion of any scandall may be left, while hee, who is to bee the Doctor of peace, is ordained in peace and concord, pleasing unto God, with the agreeing and consenting desires of all. And in the same Epistle hee addeth, *Teneatur subscriptio Clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus & plebis*: that is, Let the subscription of the Clergie be had, the testimony of the honourable, and the consent of the order and people. *Cyprian* to the same purpose writeth thus: The people being obedient to the precepts of the Lord, and fearing God, ought to separate themselves from a sinnefull and wicked Ruler, and not intermingle themselves, or to have any thing to doe with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest; especially seeing they have power either to choose such Priests as are worthy, or to refuse such as are unworthy. And a little after in the same Epistle, hee hath these words: For which cause it is diligently to bee observed and kept, as from the tradition of God, and the Apostles, (which thing also is observed and kept with us, and almost throughout all Provinces) that for the due performance of the worke of Ordination, when any Ruler and Governour is to bee ordained, the Bishops of the same Province, which are nearest, should come together unto that people, over whom hee is to bee set, and that the Bishop should bee chosen in the presence of the people, which most fully and perfectly knoweth the life of every one, and hath perceived by their conversation what kinde of workes they are wont to doe. Which thing also wee see to have beene done in the Ordination of *Sabinus* our colleague, to wit, that upon the voyces of the whole brotherhood, and the judgement of the Bishops, which came together, and which sent their letters, expressing their opinion of him, the Episcopall dignity was conferred upon him, and with the imposition of hands hee was ordained into the voyde roome of *Basilides*. That in the time of *Chrysostome*, the people had interest in choosing their Pastours, it is evident out of his booke of Priesthood. The Fathers of the *Nicene Councell* (as wee finde in *Theodore*) write to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to the beloved brethren of

p Lib. 3.

q Lib. 1. cap. 9.

of Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis in this sort: If haply any Bishop of the Church doe fall asleepe, let it be lawfull for such of the sect of Meletius, as have beene not long since restored to the Communion of the Church, to succeed into the place of him that is dead, if so be that they shall seeme to be worthy, and the people shall choose them: yet so notwithstanding, that the voyce and consent of the Bishop of the Church of Alexandria be added to seale and confirme the same. And touching the election of Nectarius, the Bishops of the first Councell of Constantinople write thus: 'We have ordained the most reverend and beloved of God Nectarius, Bishop, before the whole Councell, with all consent and agreement in the presence of Theodosius the Emperour, beloved of God, and of the whole Clergie, the whole Citie likewise with unanimous consent agreeing thereunto. And Leo provideth and taketh order what shall be done, when they that should elect agree not: His words are these: 'When yee goe about the election of the chiefe Priest or Bishop, let him be advanced before all, upon whom the consenting desires of the Clergie and people concur with one accord: and if their voyces be divided betwixt twaine, let him be preferred before the other in the judgement of the Metropolitans, which hath more voyces and merits: but let none be ordained against their wils and petitions, lest the people despise or hate the Bishop which they never affected, and lesse care for Religion when their desires are not satisfied. And Gregory the Bishop of Rome long after, allowing the election by the people, hath these words: 'If it bee true that the Bishop of Salona bee dead, hasten to admonish the Clergie and people of that Citie, to choose a Bishop with one consent that may be ordained for them. And to Magnus about the election of the Bishop of Millaine, hee saith: 'Warne the Clergie and people that they dissent not in choosing their Priest, but that with one accord they elect some one, that may be consecrated their Bishop. By all which testimonies wee see what interest anciently the people had in the choyce of their Bishops, and how carefull good Bishops were that they should have none thrust upon them against their wils, that they should proceede to election with one accord if it might be; or otherwise, that such should be ordained as were desired by the greater part, and that all things might be done peaceably and without tumult.

But how much in time they abused this their power, it is too evident. For Nazianzene reporting the choyce of Eusebius to be Bishop of Casarea, saith, the Citie of Casarea was in a tumult, and the people divided about the choyce of the Bishop; and the sedition was sharpe, and hardly to be appeased; and that, as men distracted in many mindes, some proposing one, and some another, as is often seene in such cases, at length the whole people agreeing on one of good calling among them, commended for his life, but not yet baptized, tooke him against his will, and with the helpe of a band of souldiers that was then come to the Citie, placed him in the Bishops chaire, and offered him to the Bishops present, and mixing threatens with perswasions, required to have him ordained and pronounced their Bishop. Likewise at Antioch (as Eusebius reporteth) there was raised a grievous sedition about the deposing of Eusebius: and after, when another was to be chosen, the flame thereof so increased, that it was like to have consumed the whole Citie. For the people being divided into two parts, the Magistrates of the Citie supported the sides, and bands of souldiers were mustered as against an enemy: and the matter had undoubtedly beene tryed by the sword, if God, and the feare of the Emperour writing to them, had not asswaged the rage of the multitude. But howsoever, such was the dissention, that eight whole yeares the place was without a Bishop. When Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria was deposed by the Councell of Chalcedon, and Proterius set in his place, a mighty and intollerable sedition grew among the people for it: some affecting Dioscorus, and some cleaving to Proterius. The people opposed themselves against the Magistrates, and when they thought with strong hand to suppress the upstire, the multitude with stones, beate the souldiers into the Church, besieged them in it, and destroyed a number of them with fire: and, upon the death of Martian the Emperour, they chose a new Bishop, and brought him into the Church on Easter day. They slew Proterius, and six other with him in the Temple, and drew his body wounded and mangled along through the quarters of the Citie. The like dissention grew in the Church

Church of *Milaine* after the death of *Auxentius* the *Arrian* Bishop; but the issue was very happy: For *Ambrose*, at that time a secular Magistrate, seeing the division to be very dangerous, and threatening the overthrow of the state of the Citie, entred into the Church, and made an excellent Oration, perswading them to peace: where- with all sides were so well pleased, that with one consent, they desired to have *Ambrose* for their Bishop, who was not yet baptized: and the Emperour was carefull to satisfie their desire, and commanded, that it should bee as they had desired. * In the Church of *Rome*, after *Liberius*, *Damasus* succeeded in the Episcopall office: whom *Ursinus*, a certaine Deacon of that Church, not enduring to be preferred before him, waxed so madde, that having perswaded and drawne unto him a certaine ignorant and rude Bishop, and gathered together a company of turbulent and seditious persons in the Church of *Sicinius*, hee procured himselfe to be made Bishop against all order, law, and ancient custome. From which fact proceeded so great sedition, nay so great warre (some of the people defending *Damasus* as lawfull Bishop, and some *Ursinus*) that the places of prayer were filled with the blood of men. The people in this sort abusing their authority and power, were restrained by the decrees of Councils, and by the lawes of Princes, and their right and power to choose their paltours, many wayes limited and straitned, till in the end it was wholly taken from them. For first, the Councell of *Laodicea* forbade, that elections of such as were to serve in the holy Ministry of the Church, and execute the Priests office, should bee left to the multi- tudes. But that Councell was but particular, and could prescribe no lawes to the whole world: and therefore after this, the people swayed things very much still, and

^b *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, after this time, charged the Bishops to thrust none upon the people without their consent. And even in the *Roman* Church, the election of the people continued a long time after this decree of the Councell of *Laodicea*. For Pope *Nicholas* the second, in the Councell of *Laterane*, in the yeare of our Lord 1059. with the consent of the whole Synode, decreeth on this sort: * *Instructed and guided by the authority of our predecessours, and other holy Fathers, wee decree and determine, that when the Bishop of this universall Church of Rome dieth; first of all the Cardinall Bishops shall most diligently consult together about the election of a new, and soone after they shall take unto them the Cardinall Clergy-men, and so the rest of the Clergie and people shall come to give consent to the new election. And because the See Apostolick is preferred before all the Churches in the world, and therefore can have no Metropolitan over or above it, the Cardinall Bishops doubtlesse supply the place of the Metropolitan, and are to promote and lift up the new elected Bishop to the top of Apostolick heighth.* Yea the presence and testimony of Lay-men was not excluded in such elections a long time after: For *Gregory* the seventh was elected by the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, Clerkes, Acoluthes, Subdeacons, and Presbyters, many Bishops, Abbots, and others, both of the Clergie and Laity being present.

But Christian Princes, Kings, and Emperours, being chiefe among those of the Laity, and so having a soveraigne consent among and over the rest, in such elections as per- tained unto them by the right of humane fellowship and government, interposed them- selves in these busineses, and sundry wayes abridged that liberty, that the people in some places tooke unto them. ^b *Zozomen* noteth, that after the death of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, the Clergie and people resolved to have *Chrysostome* a Presbyter of *Antioch*, a man famously renowned throughout all the Empire, to be their Bishop. Which their resolution the Emperour confirmed by his assent, and sent and fetcht him, and called a Councell to make his election more authentick. Likewise ^b after the death of *Sicinius*, though some would have had *Philip*, others *Proclus* Pres- byters of that Church to succede, yet the Emperour by the perswasion of certaine vaine men, called a stranger thither, to wit, *Nestorius*, who afterward proved an Arch- heretick. ^c After the death of *Maximianus*, successour to *Nestorius*, the Emperour tooke order without delay that *Proclus* might be placed in the Bishops chaire by the Bishops present, before the body of *Maximianus* was buried, lest any variance and quarrelling might ensue.

Neither

Neither did the Emperours meddle lesse with the election of the Bishop of Rome, than of *Constantinople*. For (as *Onuphrius* rightly observeth) after the *Goths* were driven out of *Italy* by *Narses*, the Lieutenent of the Emperour, and the countrey sub-
 jected againe to the Empire of the East, in the dayes of *Justinian* the Emperour there began a new custome in the election of the *Roman* Bishops; which was, that so soone as the Bishop of that See should be dead, the Clergie and people (as formerly they had done) should presently choose another to succede into his place: but that hee might not be consecrated and ordained by the Bishops, till his election were confirmed by the Emperour, and till hee gave leave to ordaine him by his Letters Patents. For which confirmation a certaine summe of money was paid, which it is likely *Justinian* did, or by his authority caused *Vigilius* the Bishop of *Rome* to doe it, that the Emperour might be assured of the conditions of the newly elected Bishop, lest a factious and busie man being chosen, hee might conspire with the barbarous people that then sought to encroach upon the Empire, and so cause a revolt of the Citie of *Rome* and the Countrey of *Italy* from the Easterne Empire, the Bishop growing great, and the Emperour being farre off. Upon which constitution it came to passe that the *Romans* chose, for the most part, such a one as they thought would be acceptable to the Emperour, and of whom hee might be perswaded, that he would attempt nothing prejudiciall to the state of the Empire, the *Lombards* about that time, or presently after troubling *Italy*. This custome was continued till the time of *Benedict* the second, in whose time *Constantine* the Emperour, for the good opinion hee had of him, and love he bare to him, gave commandement, that the election of the Bishop of *Rome* being resolved on, the Bishops should presently proceede to the ordination of him, without expecting any confirmation from the Emperour. But the power of confirming the newly elected Bishop of *Rome* before hee might bee ordained, or execute the Bishoply office, was againe restore to *Charles* the Great and his successors Kings of *France*, and Emperours of the West, in more ample sort than it had beene before, by *Adrian* the first; which being againe taken from his successors by *Adrian* the third, was restored to *Otho* the first, King of the *Germans*, and Emperour of the West, by *Leo* the fifth. From which time it continued till *Gregory* the seventh, who though hee was glad to seeke the Emperours confirmation himselfe, when hee first entred into the Popedome, yet afterwards hee disclaimed it as unlawful; so condemning many of his predecessours, that had allowed and confirmed this part of Imperiall power, under great paines and curses to fall upon such as should ever goe about to violate the same. After whose times other Popes reserved the whole power of electing the *Roman* Bishop to the Cardinall alone, as wee see the manner is unto this day. Thus writeth *Onuphrius*, professing that hee carefully looked over all the ancient monuments of the *Roman* Church, to finde out the certainty of these things. Neither neede wee to doubt of the trueth of that he writeth, yet for farther prooffe, lest any man should doubt, I will produce the reports of *Historians*, and the Acts of Councils to confirme that he saith. *Platina* in the life of *Pelagius* the second saith, nothing was done in the election of the *Roman* Bishop in those dayes, without the Emperours consent and confirmation: and sheweth, that the reason why *Pelagius* was created Bishop without the command of the Emperour, was, for that they could send no messenger to him, the Citie being besieged. And touching *Gregorie* the first, hee reporteth, that when hee was chosen Bishop of *Rome*, knowing the Emperours consent necessarily to bee required in the election and constitution of the Bishop, unwilling to possesse that place and roome, hee sent unto him, earnestly intreating him to make voyde the election of the Clergie, and people: which his suite the Emperour was so farre from granting, that hee sent to confirme the election, and to enforce him to take the Pastorall charge upon him, in that most dangerous and troublesome time. Whereby wee see how farre the Emperours intermeddled in the election and constitution of the *Roman* Bishops in those dayes. It is true indeede, that the same *Platina* reporteth, that *Constantine*, admiring the sanctity and vertue of *Benedict* the second, sent unto him a sanction, that ever after all men should presently

¶ Annot. in
Platinum in
Pelagio 2.

¶ Platina in
Benedicto 2.

¶ Decret. part.
1. dist. 63. c. 22.
¶ Platina in
Adriano 3.
¶ Decret. part.
1. dist. 63. c. 23.
p See before
Cap. 46.

¶ In vita Gre-
gorii 1.

¶ In vita Beni-
dicti 2.

f Part. 1. dist.
63. c. 22.

* Plat. in Adr. 3

" Dist. 33. c. 26

* Naucier. vol.
3. Gener. 36.

presently take him for Bishop (without expecting the concurrence of the authority of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, or the Exarch of *Italy*) whomsoever the Clergy, people, and armies of the *Romans* should choose. Notwithstanding this freedome and libertie continued not long: for (as wee may reade in the *Decrees*) *Charles* the Great, and *Adrian* the first held a Synode in the Church of Saint Saviour in *Rome*, wherein met 153 Bishops, religious men and Abbots, in which Synode *Adrian* with the consent of the Bishops there assembled, gave unto *Charles* power to choose the Bishop of *Rome*, and to order the Apostolicall See, together with the dignity of being a *Patrician* or Nobleman of *Rome*, and besides decreed, that all Archbishops and Bishops in the Provinces abroad, should seeke investiture of him, and that no man should bee esteemed a Bishop, or bee consecrated, till hee were allowed and commended by the King. This Decree the Councell published, anathematizing all that should violate it, and confiscating their goods; yet did *Adrian* the third (as *Platina* reporteth) take so good heart unto him, that whereas *Nicholas* the first did but attempt such a thing rather than performe it, he in the very beginning of his Papall dignity made a Decree, that without expecting the Emperours consent or ratification, the election of the Clergie, Senate and people should bee good. But *Leo* the eight in a Synode gathered together in the Church of Saint Saviour in *Rome*, following the example of *Adrian* the first, with the consent of the whole Synode restored unto the Emperour that power and authority which *Adrian* the first had yeilded unto him, and *Adrian* the third had sought to deprive him of. The words of that Councell are these: " *Leo* Bishop, and servant of the servants of God, with the whole Clergie and people of *Rome*, doe constitute, confirme, and strengthen, and by our Apostolicall authority grant and give to our Lord *Otho* the first King of Germans, and to his successours in this Kingdome of *Italy* for ever, power to choose a successour, and to order the Bishop of this highest See Apostolick, as also Archbishops, & Bishops, that they may receive investiture from him, and consecration whence they ought to have it, those onely excepted which the Emperour himselfe hath granted to the Popes and Archbishops; and that no man hereafter of what dignity or religious profession soever, shall have power to choose a *Patrician* or a chiefe Bishop of the highest See Apostolick, or to ordaine any Bishop whatsoever, without the consent of the Emperour first had, which consent and confirmation notwithstanding shall bee had without money. So that if any Bishop shall bee chosen by the Clergie and people, hee shall not bee consecrated unlesse hee bee commended and invested by the forenamed King. And if any man shall attempt to doe any thing against this rule and Apostolicall authority, Wee decree, that hee shall bee subject to excommunication, and that if hee repent not, hee shall bee perpetually banished, or be subject to the last, most grievous, deadly, and capitall punishments. Hence it came, that when any Bishop was dead, they sent his staffe and ring to the Emperour: and hee to whom the Emperour was pleased to deliver the same, after a solemne fashion and manner, was thereby designed and constituted Bishop of the voyde place. Thus wee see how authentically, under great paines and curses, the Pope and Councell yeeld that right to the Emperour, subjecting all that ever should goe about to disanull their Decree, to the great curse, perpetuall banishment, and grievous punishments. Yet Pope *Hildebrand*, who, as if hee had beene a fire-brand of hell, set all the world in a combustion, ^{*} disanulled this Law as impious and wicked: and *Victor*, *Urbanus*, and *Paschalis* succeeding him, were of the same minde. By reason whereof there grew a great dissention betweene the Popes and Emperours: *Henry* the fourth, and after him *Henry* the fifth, challenging not onely the right of confirming the election of the Popes; but power also to conferre Bishopricks and Abbeyes by Investiture of staffe and ring, as the Popes *Adrian* and *Leo* had yeilded and granted to *Charles* and his successours; which thing also had beene enjoyed by the Emperour for the space of three hundred yeares: and the Popes on the other side thinking it unlawfull for the Emperours in this sort to bestow either Bishoprick or Abbey, and forbidding them so to doe, under paine of the great curse. But *Henry* the fifth forced Pope *Paschall* to confirme unto him the ancient right againe, and to accurse all

all such as should dislike, resist, or seeke to disanull it: which yet not long after hee reversed againe in another Councell: and in the ³ dayes of *Calixtus*, the Emperour y ^{Ibidem Gea} *reigned* his right, and the Pope allowed, that within his Kingdome of *Germany*. ele. ^{ner. 38.} *tions* should bee made in his presence, and that with the advice of the Metropolitane and Bishops of the Province hee might assist and strengthen the better part, and that the elected should receive from him all things belonging to the King by the reaching forth of his Scepter. ² *Matthew Paris* saith; the contention betweene Pope *Pas-* ^{2 In Henrico 1} *chall* and *Henry* the Emperour about the investiture of Bishops and Abbots, which the ^{pag. 62.} Emperours had enjoyed three hundred yeares in the times of threescore Popes was so ended, that both Bishops and Abbots should first sweare Canonically obedience to their Ecclesiasticall superiours, and be consecrated, and then receive institution from the Emperour by rod and ring. Thus wee see what right and interest ancient Emperours challenged to themselves in the election of the Bishop of *Rome*, and in conferring other dignities of the Church, and that the later Popes condemned that as evill and wicked, which their predecessours not onely allowed, but prescribed under great and grievous paines and curses. Whereupon ⁴ *Aventinus* noteth, that among the Popes, ^{4 Annal. lib. 4.} *Eadem facta modo superstitionis, modo pietatis; modo Christi, modo Antichristi; modo* ^{pag. 322.} *justicia, modo tyrannidis nomina accipiant*: that is, That the same facts, deedes, and things, are at one time branded with the marke of superstition, and at another time set out with the glorious title of piety; at one time attributed to Christ, at another time to Antichrist; at one time judged just and righteous, and at another time tyrannicall and unjust. ⁶ *Genebrard* (acknowledging that there have beene many vile monsters ^{6 Chronogr.} that have gotten into *Peters* chaire, and that there were fiftie Popes rather Apota- ^{1.4. saeculo. 10.} ticall and Apostaticall, than Apostolicall) layeth the blame upon the *Roman* Emperours, as if they had placed those monsters in *Peters* chaire. It is well hee confesseth that such beasts have entred into the Church of *Rome*, but if hee did not, wee would easily prove the same. For (to omit *Hildebrand*, whom some called a monster, and an enemy to mankind, who caused more Christian blood to be shed, and more grievous confusions to rent and shake in sunder the Christian world, than any hereticks or persecutors had ever done before; so that hee was forced to confesse at his death to God, to holy Church, and blessed *Peter*, that hee had grievously offended in his pastorall office; and *Joane* the Whore, because (as ⁷ *Onuphrius* thinketh) shee was ^{7 Annot. in} not Pope, but the harlot of *John* the twelfth:) the Stories mention such vile mon- ^{Platnam in} ^{Joanne 8.} ^{8 Lib. Chron.} ^{B. n. dicto 4.} ⁹ *Benedict* the fourth is highly commended, for that though hee did nothing memorable, yet hee lived an honest and a good life. But that the Emperours were the cause of the placing of these Monsters (as *Genebrard* would make us beleieve) it may not bee yeilded. For betweene the time of *Adrian* the third (who tooke the power of confirming Popes from the Emperours) and the reigne of *Otho* the first, to whom it was restored by Pope *Leo*: there entred *Formosus*, *Bonifacius*, *Stephen*, *Romanus*, *Theodorus*, *John* the ninth, *Christopher*, and *Sergius*, all, men of ill note; and *John* the twelfth, than whom the earth did never beare a more prodigious and vile monster. ¹⁰ This wretch, *Otho*, at the earnest suite of the ^{10 Otho Frising.} *Romans*, caused to bee deposed by a Councell of Bishops, and *Leo* to bee chosen. ^{genl. Chron. m.} ^{lib. 6. cap. 23.} Whereupon the power of choosing the Pope, and ordering the See Apostolick, was againe by consent of *Leo* the Pope, and the people and Clergie of *Rome*, given and confirmed to him and his successours for ever, in sort before expressed. For (as ¹¹ *Sig-* ^{11 f De regno} ^{Itallib. 7.} *gonius* saith) *Leo* rightly considered, that after the time of *Adrian* the third, the ambition of the *Romans* filled the Church with beasts, disordered these elections, and set all in a tumult; and therefore thought no meanes so fit to reforme these disorders, to repress these insolencies, and prevent these mischiefs, as to put the bridle into the Emperours hands againe. Yet not long after, the *Romans* casting off the yoake, and breaking the bands in sunder, put in *Boniface* the seventh, *Benedict* the ninth, and *Syl-* ¹² *vester*, who sold the Popedome to *Gregory* the sixth, all which Popes were so intol- ^{12 Platina in} ^{Gregorio 6.} ¹³ *Otho Frising. ^{genl. Chron.} ^{lib. 6. cap. 31.} ¹⁴ *Platina* calleth them *teterrima monstra*, that is, most vile, hideous, ¹⁴ and ugly monsters. And ¹⁵ *Henry* the second called a Councell, and deposed *Gregory* the ¹⁵ last*

De regno I-
tal lib. 8.

Ubi supra.

Platina in
Bonifacio 8. &
Walsingham
in Edwardo 3.

Vide acta
Concil. Con-
stantiensis Sess.
11. act. 6. &
Sess. 12.

In Alexan-
dro 6.
Anthropolo-
gia lib. 22.

Otho Frising-
ensis de gestis
Frederic. 1 lib.
11. cap. 1.

Vol. 2. gen.
38.
Defens. pro
libertate Eccle-
siaz Gallicanæ,
cap. 43.

Canone 6.

In Henrico 1.
pag. 56.

last of them, and placed *Twidger* a *German* in his place, who was afterwards named *Clomens*, who againe restored the right of choosing the Pope to him and his successors: for that (as *Sigonius* noteth) after the law prescribing and requiring the Emperours consent to bee had in such elections was taken away, the state of the Church was newly put in great danger. So that *Henry* the second was forced to come into *Italy*, to set things in order. And therefore it is more than ordinary impudencie in *Genebrard*, to impute all the confusions in the elections of the *Roman* Bishops to the Emperours, who were not the causes of them, but oftentimes laide them by their Princely power. Neither is it lesse strange, that hee and other dare condemne that authority in the Emperours as unlawfull, which had continued from the time of *Justinian* to *Benedict*, and was againe confirmed by *Adrian*, *Leo*, and other Popes, with their Councils of Bishops; and by vertue whereof *Saint Gregory* and other possessed the Episcopall Chaire, who are unjustly censured by *Genebrard*, as entring by the Posterne gate, in this respect. Neither have the Popes beene better, or the election freer from faction, since the Emperours were wholly and finally excluded, than they were before. For what shall we say of *Bonifacius* the eighth, of whom it is said, that he entered like a Fox, and died like a Dog; that he cozened poore *Celestinus* his predecessor, and by false practices won him to resigne the Popedome to him; and resting not contented herewith, tooke upon him to dispose of all the Kingdomes of the world at his pleasure? of *John* the three and twentieth, a vile man, and a Devill incarnate? and *Alexander* the sixth, of whom so many horrible things are reported by *Onuphrius*, *Volaterran*, and others? And touching factions and schismes, whereas there have beene thirty of them in the Church of *Rome*, never any endured so long as the last, which was since the Emperours were wholly excluded from intermedling with Papall elections. For it continued forty yeares, and could never be ended, but by the helpe of *Sigismund* the Emperour in the Councell of *Constance*. Wherefore seeing so many Councils and Popes yeelded the power of electing, or at least of allowing and confirming the Popes to the Emperours, and seeing so good effects followed of it, and so ill of the contrary, there is no reason why our Adversaries should dislike it. For seeing the people anciently had their consent in these affaires, *Frederick* the Emperour had reason when he said, that himselfe as King and Ruler of the people, ought to be chiefe in choosing his owne Bishop.

Neither had the Emperours onely this right in disposing of the Bishoprick of *Rome* and other dignities Ecclesiasticall, but other Christian Kings likewise had a principall stroake in the appointing of Bishops. For (as *Nanclere* noteth) the *French* Kings have had the right of Investitures ever since the time of *Adrian* the first: and *Dunrenus* sheweth, that howsoever *Ludovicus* renounced the right of choosing the Bishop of *Rome*, yet hee held still the right of Investiture of other Bishops, into the place whereof came afterwards, that right which the King useth, when in the vacancie of a Bishoprick hee giveth power to choose, and some other royalties which the Kings of *France* still retaine. It appeareth by the twelfth Councell of *Toledo*, that the Kings had a principall stroake in elections in the Churches of *Spaine*: and touching *England*, *Matthew Paris* testifieth, that *Henry* the first by *William* of *Warrasse* his agent, protested to the Pope, he would rather lose his kingdome than the right of Investitures; and added threatening words to the same protestation. Neither did hee onely make verball protestations, but hee really practised that hee spake, and gave the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* to *Rodolph* Bishop of *London*, investing him by Pastorall staffe and ring. *Articuli Cleri* prescribe, that elections shall be free from force, feare, or intreaty of secular powers: yet so as that the Kings license be first asked, and after the election done, his royall assent and confirmation bee added to make it good. Whereupon the Statute of provisors of Benefices, made at *Westminster* the five and twentieth of *Edward* the third, hath these words: *Our Sovereigne Lord the King, and his heires shall have and enjoy for the time the collations to the Archbishopricks and other dignities elective, which bee of his advowry such as his progenitors had, before free election was granted: sith that the first elections were granted by the Kings progenitors,*

upon a certaine forme and condition, as namely to demand licence of the King to choose, and after choyce made, to have his royall assent. Which condition being not kept, the thing ought by reason to returne to his first nature.

So that we see, that at first the Clergie and people were to choose their Bishops and Ministers; yet so, that Princes by their right were to moderate things, and nothing was to bee done without them. But when they endowed Churches with ample revenues and possessions, and disburdened the people of the charge of maintaining their Pastours, they had now a farther reason to sway things than before. And thence it is, that the Statute above-mentioned saith: the Kings gave power of free elections, yet upon condition of seeking their licence and confirmation, as having the right of nomination in themselves, in that they were Founders. Likewise touching Presbyters, the ancient^u Canon of the Councell of *Carthage* (which was, that Bishops should not ordaine Clerkes without the consent of their Clergie, and that also they should have the assent and testimony of the Citizens) held while the Clergie lived together upon the common contributions and dividend, but when not onely titles were divided and distinguished, and men placed in rurall Churches abroad: but severall allowance made for the maintenance of such as should attend the service of God by the Lords of those Countrey-townes, out of their owne Lands, and their Lands of their tenants, they that thus carefully provided for the Church, were much respected. And it was thought fit they should have great interest in the choosung and nominating of Clerkes in such places. ^{* Nouel. Conc. sit. 123. c. 18.} Justinian the Emperour, to reward such as had bene beneficall in this sort to the Church, and to encourage others to doe the like, decreed; That if any man build a Church or house of Prayer, and would have Clerkes to be placed there, if hee allow maintenance for them, and name such as are worthy, they shall be ordained upon his nomination. But if he shall choose such as be prohibited by the Canons as unworthy, the Bishop shall take care to promote some whom he thinketh more worthy. And the Councell of *Toledo* about the yeare of Christ 655, made a Canon to the same effect. ^{Conc. Tolcan. 9. Canon.} The words of the Councell are these: *Wee decree, that as long as the Founders of Churches doe live, they shall be suffered to have the chiefe and continuall care of the said Churches, and shall offer fit Rectors to the Bishop to be ordained. And if the Bishop, neglecting the Founders, shall presume to place any others, let him know, that his admission shall be voyde, and to his shame; but if such as they choose, be prohibited by the Canons as unworthy, then let the Bishop take care to promote some whom he thinketh more worthy.* Whereby wee see, what respect was anciently had to such as founded Churches, and gave lands and possessions to the same; yet were they not called Lords of such places, after such dedication to God, but Patrons only; because they were to defend the rights thereof, and to protect such as there attended the service of God: and though they had right to nominate men to serve in these places, yet might they not judge or punish them if they neglected their duties, but onely complaine of them to the Bishop or Magistrate: Neither might they dispose of the possessions thus given to the Church, and dedicated to God, but if they fell into poverty, they were to bee maintained out of the revenues thereof. This power and right of nomination and presentation resting in Princes and other Founders, can no way prejudice or hurt the state of the Church, if Bishops (to whom examination and ordination pertaineth) doe their duties in refusing to consecrate and ordaine such as the Canons prohibite; but very great confusions did follow the Popes intermedling in bestowing Church-livings and dignities, as wee shall soone finde if we looke into the practice of them in former times.

C H A P. 55.

Of the Popes disordered intermedling with the elections of Bishops, and other Ministers of the Church: their usurpation, intrusion, and prejudicing the right and liberty of others.

THe Popes in former times greatly prejudiced the right and liberty of other men, and hurt the estate of the Church of God three wayes: first, by giving priviledges to Fryers, (a people unknowne to all antiquity) to enter into the Churches and charges of other men, to doe Ministeriall acts, and to get unto themselves those things which of right should have beene yeelded to other. Secondly, by Commendams; and thirdly, by reservations and provisions.

^a In Henrico
3. pag. 672.

Touching the first, ^a *Matthew Paris* noteth, that about the yeare of our Lord 1246, the Preaching-Fryers obtained great priviledges from the Pope, to preach, to heare confessions, and to doe other Ministeriall acts, every where disgracing the ordinary Pastours, as ignorant and insufficient to governe the people of God. This new-found order of Fryers, hee saith, seemed to many discreet and wise men, to tend to the overthrow of the order of Pastours and Bishops, setled by the blessed Apostles and holy Doctors: and that, not having beene above thirty yeares in *England*, they were grown more out of order, than the Monkes of *S. Austine* and *Benedicts* order were in many ages. For such was their impudent and shamelesse boldnesse, that they came to the Synods of Bishops, Prelates, and Arch-deacons, sitting as Presidents in the middelt of their Deanes, Rectors, and other worthy men, requiring their letters of commission and priviledge to be read, and themselves to be admitted and commended to preach in their Synodes and Parish Churches as Embassadors and Angels of God with all honour. In this insolent sort went they up and down from place to place, and asked of every man, (though of a religious profession) to whom hee confessed himselfe; and if any one answered, that he made his confession to his owne Priest, they asked againe, what Idioe that was? they told him, he was never hearer of Divinity, that hee never studied the Decrees, and that he was not able to discusse any one controversie; adding, that such Priests were blinde, and guides of the blinde; and willed all men to come unto them, as men knowing to discerne betweene Leprosie and Leprosie; to whom the hard and obscure things were knowne, and the secrets of God revealed: whereupon many (especially Noble-men and Noble-women) betooke themselves to these, contemning their owne Pastors: so that the ordinary Ministers grew into great contempt, which grieved them not a little, nor without cause. But of these Fryerly people no man hath written

^b *Armachanus*
Serm. 4. fact. in
vulgari apud
crucem S. Pauli
London, Anno
1356.

better than *Armachanus*; ^b who excellently deciphereth their intollerable hypocrisie, injustice, and covetousnesse, joyned with all cunning and cozening practices and devises. Their hypocrisie he discovereth, in that though they pretended poverty, yet they had houses like the stately Palaces of Princes, Churches more costly than any Cathedral Churches, more and richer Ornaments than all the Prelates of the world, more and better Bookes than all the Doctors and great learned men of the world; Cloysters, and walking-places so sumptuous, stately, and large, that men of Armes might fight on horse-back, and encounter one another with their speares in them; and their apparell richer than the greatest and most reverend Prelates. Their injustice he sheweth in their injurious intruding into other mens Churches and charges, depriving them of their authority, honour, and maintenance: And their covetousnesse, in that they sought only to doe those things that might bring gaine; and insinuated themselves into the favour and liking of the great ones of the world, little regarding those of meane condition. Whereupon he warneth all men to take heede of them as wicked seducers, that enter into houses, and leade captive simple women laden with sinnes, bringing in sects of perdition, and in covetousnesse making merchandise of men by crafty and fained words of flattery. * This is that unprofitable, and most dangerous and damnable generation of disguised and masked hypocrites, which, like Locusts, are come out of the bottomlesse pit,

* See to this
purpose Cle-
mangis de cor-
rupto Ecclesie
statu. Gerson
contra Bellar.
Mendicantium.

pit, in these last ages of the world, eating up and devouring whatsoever is Greene and flourishing upon the earth.

The Monkes in their beginning were a people of a farre other sort: For they tooke not on them to preach or minister Sacraments, but were a kinde of voluntary penitents, according to that of Saint Hierome; *Monachus Plangentis, non Docentis officium habet*; that is, A Monke is a mourner, he is no teacher. And againe, *Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum. Clerici pascunt oves, Ego pascor. Illi de Altari vivunt, mihi quasi infructuosa arbori securis ponitur ad radicem, si munus ad Altare non deferro*: *d* Ad Heliodorum. that is, The condition of Monkes and of Clerkes is very different. Clerkes feede the sheepe, but I am fedde; they live by the Altar; but if I bring not my gift to the Altar, the Axe is lifted up against mee, and laid as to the roote of an unfruitfull tree. And therefore (as *Duarenus* noteth) in ancient times Monkes were meere Lay-men, neither were there any Priests or Clerkes found in Monasteries; but they came all, as other of the people did, to the common Temples and Churches, to bee taught, to pray, and to receive the Sacraments. Which thing hee saith, *Justinian* the Emperour plainly enough expresseth; and with him agreeth Bishop *Lindan*, who saith, that in ancient time all Monkes were Lay-men, and that they were all excluded and shut out of the Quire: when they came into the Temple and house of God, sometimes they did send for a Priest to doe Ministeriall acts among them, and in the end some of them were ordained Priests, that so they might have the Ministration of Sacraments among them, and make as it were a certaine Church among themselves, and so neither be forced to goe to other Churches, nor to borrow Priests from other. And to the same purpose *Hugo, de Sancto Victore* saith, that by speciall favour and indulgence, the divine Orders of Ministry are granted to Monkes, that they might live more quietly within themselves; not that they should exercise Prelacie in the people of God, but that they might celebrate the communion of God within their own private retiring places, which yet they say in the beginning was not so. For Monkes and men dwelling in the wilderness, are said to have had Priests assigned unto them. But (as *Duarenus* noteth) hereby the passage was opened, and all Monkes began to bee ordained Priests (though they had no government of the Church) that they might procure the more dignity to themselves; the order and degree of Clergy-men being more high and honourable than that of Monkes. Neither did they long containe themselves within these bounds after they had attained to be Priests: but got authority and jurisdiction over Churches abroad, either because they were founded within their lands, or for that it pleased the Pope to take them from Bishops, and subject them to these Monkes. At the first (as the same *Duarenus* noteth) they lived apart, in certaine abiding places, which they had in the mountaines and deserts, whence they were called not onely Monkes, but *Heremites* and *Anchorites*, though at certaine houres and set times they met. Afterwards they began to live together, and the places where they lived were called *Canobia* of the communion of life. And when certaine Ecclesiasticall persons, remaining in Cities and places of resort, and teaching the people, tyed themselves to like observations, though haply not altogether so strict as these had done, they were called *Canonici*, that is, *Regulars*, rather than *Monachi*, Monkes; of which order *S. Austine* is supposed to have beene the author. Afterwards in proesse of time, some other Clergy-men living together, and tied to the observation of rules and Canons, but not so strict as these, nor so neere to Monkish profession, were called secular Canons, and the other, for distinction sake, Canons Regular. In these societies young men were trained up, as likewise they were in all Cathedrall Churches, till the founding of the Universities, passing through all the *minor* Orders, and performing for a space the duties belonging to them, that so they might be fitted for greater employments. ¹ The Monkes had one among them, that commanded over all the rest, named *Canobiarcha*, *Archimandrita*, or *Abbas*; and for the better performance of his dutie, tooke unto him another, whose helpe he might use in the governing of those that were subject to him, who was named a Prior. This Prior either assisted the Abbot in the government of those Monkes, who lived within the bounds of the

e Hier. contra Vigilantium non procul a fine.

e De sacris Eccles. ministr. & Benef. l. 1. c. 20
f Panoplia l. 4. cap. 75.

g Erudition. Theol. de sacra fidei lib. 2. part. 3. cap. 4.

h *Ubi supra*.

i *Ibidem* c. 19.

k Vide Cassandri consulat. de Canonis.

l *Duarenus ubi supra*, c. 12.

m Canone 4.

Monastery, and was called a Prior Claustrall; or those lesser Covents that were abroad and yet subject to the Abbot, and was named a Prior Conventuall. By that hath beene said, wee see, that the profession of Monkes in the beginning was voluntary penitencie, and a retired life, not meddling with publick affaires, either Civill or Ecclesiasticall, (as appeareth by the Decree of the Councell of *m Chalcedon*) that they were meere Lay-men, that they gloried not in the perfection of their estate, as they that call themselves Religious in our time doe, but confessed, that men of action and employment, who conflicted with the manifold oppositions of the World, and declined not the battell, were more valiant Souldiers of Christ in his spirituall warfare, than themselves, who fearing their owne weakenesse did runne away. They acknowledged themselves inferiour to the whole Ecclesiasticall Order, came to the common Prayers and Sacraments with the rest of the people, and paid their Tythes, and yelded all other duties, as well as the rest: howsoever in the end they degenerated, and grew out of kinde, putting themselves into the Ministry, intruding themselves into the government of the Church, spoyling the Bishops of their Jurisdiction, and inferiour Pastours of their maintenance, by appropriating to themselves the Livings that formerly belonged to them.

But the Fryers professe an intermedling with the publick direction and guidance of the people of God, causing great confusions in the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, and are most unlike the ancient Monkes, and their beginning was but of later time. These were principally of foure sorts; but among them all the *Minorites* or *Franciscans* seemed to bee the strictest. For whereas the Monkes possessed lands in common, though none of them had any personall propriety in any thing, and the rest of the Fryers had the right of moveable goods in common, though they possessed no lands, these professed to have nothing but the bare and single use of things, without all right or claime, as I have shewed ^a before. About which profession of theirs, there was great contention in the time of *John* the two and twentieth, the folly and hypocrisie of which men (thinking perfection to consist in poverty) is sufficiently refuted by *Gerson*, ^p *John* the two and twentieth, ^{*} *Janfenius*, and other, who shew, that perfection consisteth in the vertues of the minde, that povertie or riches neither make a man better nor worse, and consequently pertaine nothing to perfection, otherwise than as the care and love of them hindereth, or the neglect of them furthereth the fervencie of love.

From this first way whereby the Pope disturbed the Ecclesiasticall Order, which was by giving priviledges to exorbitant Fryers, let us proceede to the second, which is by *Commendams*. In ancient times (saith ^a *Duarenus*) when a worthy Pastour was not presently found to bee set over a Church so soone as it was voyde, to avoyd those evils and inconveniences, which for the most part Anarchie bringeth forth, the custome was, that in the meane while the voyde Church should be commended and committed to some honest man, who being but as a Tutor and Procurator onely, should bee bound faithfully to give an account of that hee should doe. For hee was not Pastour of the Church, but appointed onely for a time to take care of it. But in time, this thing (which was at first most profitable and behoovefull, and devised to provide for Churches in vacancie,) was strangely turned to the hurt and plague of them. For they who by the Canons may not have the government of Churches or Monasteries committed to them, have both Churches and Monasteries commended unto them perpetually, and as long as they live. And such is the forme of this committing or commending in the Popes grants, that they to whom Churches are so commended, have free power not onely to dispose of such things as belong unto them, but to consume, waste, and spend them, without being subject to any account. And truly it is strange, that men of wit and understanding, who devised this fraudulent kinde of practice, found not out some fairer colour of so great and grosse a corruption, that so they might not have seemed so plainly and openly to have despised the Canons, and to make a mocke of them. Thus saith *Duarenus*. In this sort the Pope gave the greatest Bishopricks in the World

n Cap. 43.

o De Consiliis Evangelicis & statu perfect.

p In extravagant. tit. de verb. signif. & in extravag. ad Conditorem Canonum.

* Com. in concord. Evangel. cap. 100.

g De sac. Eccl. Ministr. & Benef. l. 5 c. 8.

All Commendams are not to bee condemned, notwithstanding any abuse of the same: for sometimes by reason either of the scarcity of sufficient Pastours, or the insufficiency of the Pastours maintenance arising out of one Church. More Churches than one are committed to one.

in *Commendam*, or perpetuall administration to his Cardinals, and sometimes in title also; but so, that they were called Bishops elect of such a place, and never consecrated.

The third way whereby the Pope prejudiceth the Church, is by taking on him to give Church-livings in all parts of the world to whom hee pleaseth; a thing never thought of in the first ages of the Church. For the Bishop of *Rome* had no power to ordaine Clerkes out of his owne Diocese, or Bishops out of his owne Province, the Canons providing, that a Bishop should bee chosen by the Clergie and people, and ordained by the Metropolitane and other Bishops of the Province. It is true indeede, that as Patriarch of the West hee was to confirme the severall Metropolitans subject to him, either by imposition of hands, or by sending the Pall as all other Patriarchs likewise were to doe; but in the Patriarchship of any of the rest hee might not meddle, as appeareth by the contention betweene *Rome* and *Constantinople* about the *Bulgarians*; nor within his owne precincts further than the confirming of the Metropolitans, as it is evident by the Councell of *Chalcedon*, forbidding the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to meddle in the ordinations of Bishops, and requiring him to content himselfe with the confirmation of Metropolitans, to whom yet in the same Councell, equall priviledges with the Bishop of *Rome* are given. So that it is not likely, that in those times the *Roman* Bishops challenged to themselves any such power and right, as now they doe. Nay *Duarenus* pronounceth, that there is no doubt, but that the more ancient and holy Bishops of *Rome*, contenting themselves with their own Church, left the administration of other Churches free to their owne Bishops, as rather thinking themselves Bishops of that one Citie than of the whole world; which thing haply moved a certaine Bishop (of whom *Paulus Amylius* maketh mention) to answer somewhat peremptorily to *Gregory* the eleventh, asking him why hee went not to his Church? for whereas *Gregory* fate at *Avinion*, and not at *Rome*, hee said unto him, If one should aske thee why thou goest not to *Rome*, that hath beene so long forsaken of her Bishops, thou wouldest have much lesse to answer than I have. But the later Bishops of *Rome* contented not themselves herewith; neither did they thinke it enough to bee Bishops of *Rome*, and prime Bishops amongst and before the rest, but they would needes bee universall Bishops, and therefore thought it no robbery to concurre with all other Bishops, and to prevent them if they could in giving voyde Benefices before them: And because it was not easie to prevent the Bishops in this sort, in Provinces and Kingdomes farre remote, therefore they found out a more certaine and ready way, whereby to take from them their right and power: for a custome grew in and prevailed, unknowne to former times, of certaine Papall grants wherein Benefices not voyde were commanded to bee bestowed and conferred when they should bee voyde, upon such as the Pope should thinke fit, and specially upon strangers. These were called *Gratie expectative*, and *Mandata de providendo*: and hereof the whole state of *England* complained to *Innocentius* the fourth, affirming, that by vertue of these Provisions, there were so many *Italians* beneficed in *England*, that the revenues which they had from hence was 60000 markes; which was more than the bare revenue of the Kings; and yet, as if this had not beene enough, there came one *Martine* with Commission from the Pope to wrong the poore Church of *England* a little more. This man conferred certaine Benefices actually voyde of the value of thirty markes by the yeare upon strangers, and when they died, hee put in others without the privity of the Patrons, and went about to assure to such as hee pleased the like Benefices not yet voyde, whensoever they should bee voyde; besides many other most unjust exactions, wherewith hee vexed the poore *English*, putting all such as resisted against him under the sentence of excommunication and interdiction, taking more on him than ever any Legate did (though hee came not as a Legate) to the great prejudice of the Crowne of *England*; seeing no Legate was to come hither, unlesse he were desired by the King. The Messengers that the State of *England* sent to the Pope, to make knowne their grievances and complaints

Binnus in
vita Adriani
secundi, tom 3.
Concil. part 2.
[Action. 16.]

De sacris Ec-
cles. ministr. &
Benef. l. 3. c. 1.

Lib. 9. de re-
bus gestis
Francor.

x Matth. Pari-
sienf. in Henri-
co 3. p. 639.

y Pag. 669.

z Ibidem.

a Pag. 974.

b Pag. 667.

c Pag. 687.

d Pag. 689.

e Pag. 791.

f Pag. 843.

g Pag. 848.

h Pag. 496.

i Pag. 791.

were greatly disliked by the Pope, and their message no way acceptable to him: and therefore though, dissembling the matter, hee gave them some good words, as if there should bee no more such Provisions made, but onely for some particular persons, and they not above twelve in number, yet such was the good nature of the man (as *Matthew Paris* noteth) that he would not suffer the poore *English*, though sore beaten with many stripes, once to crie or complaine. But because they published these their complaints in the Councell of *Lyons*, which was holden at the time of their coming, hee was exceeding angry, and dealt with the *French King* to make warre against the King of *England*, and either to deprive him of his Kingdome, or to make him wholly to stoope to the pleasure of the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*: which the *French King* utterly refused to doe. After these things thus past betweene the Pope and the *English*, he did worse than ever before. Whereupon there was a new meeting of the States of *England*, wherein these grievances were made manifest, and complained of: First, that the Pope was not content with his ordinary revenue of *Peter-pence*, but exacted other contributions without the Kings knowledge. Secondly, that the Patrons of Churches were not permitted to present Clerkes, but *Romans* were put into them, who neither understood the Language, nor ever meant to live here, but carried away the money out of the *Realme*. So that neither was the people instructed, hospitality kept, the Churches repaired, nor any good done: and beside, the originall Patrons were deprived of their right, one *Italian* succeeding another in the Churches founded by them, without their knowledge, and that unwelcome Messenger, *Non obstante*, too often sent unto them. These their complaints, the King, the Bishops, Abbots, Lords, and Commons made knowne by their letters and messengers to the Pope, with earnest desire of reformation and redresse; but could receive none other answer from him, but that the King of *England* had his counsell, and so had he; that the King began to kick against him, and to play the *Frederick*. And such was his displeasure, that all *English* were repelled and driven away as Schismatics. After this, new letters were againe written to the Pope, and in the end a priviledge was granted, that no Provisions should bee made for *Italians*, Cardinals, or the Popes Nephewes, before the King were first earnestly intreated to bee content with them, onely to abuse such as would be abused. For the Pope went forward still in his provisions, as formerly he had done, as appeareth by his letters to the Abbot of Saints *Albons*, and by the worthy letters of the Bishop of *Lincolne* written to the Pope about these matters, and his speeches against the Pope a little before his death. And here by the way, it is worth the noting, that *Matthew Paris* hath, that in the time of *Gregory* the ninth upon complaint of one *Robert Tewing* Patron of the Church of *Lathune*, the Popes Grant made in prejudice of his right was reversed, because it was not knowne that the Patron of that Benefice was a Lay-men when it was given by the Pope. So that if it had beene in the gift of a Clergy-man, it must have stood: so ready was the head of the Church to oppresse Church-men, and their possessions of all other were most fit for spoyle. So little respect was there had to religion in those dayes, and so were all things returned to their old *Chaos* againe: Whence it came that the hearts of all men went away from the Pope and the Church of *Rome*, whereof the one sought to bee esteemed a Father, and the other a Mother to all Churches: but the one of them proved a step-father, and the other a step-mother. Neither did the Pope like a wilde Bore make havock onely in the Vineyard of the Lord of Hostes, planted in this Island, which lay open to be spoyled by all passengers, but hee plaid his part also in all other Kingdomes of the West: though some resisted more against his intrusions than others. Touching *France*, wee read in the booke intituled, *Pro libertate Ecclesie Gallica, adversus Romanam aulam, defensio Parisensis Curie, Ludovico undecimo Gallorum Regi quondam oblata*, turned out of *French* into *Latine* by *Duarenus*, and added to his booke *De sacris Ecclesie Ministeriis*, that there being a great number of goodly Churches founded by the Kings of *France*, when the Bishops of *Rome* began to prejudice the liberties of them, the King, the Nobles, the Princes of the blood, the Clergie and Commons, assembled to resist the vexations, oppressions, & wrongs

wrongs of the Court of *Rome*, and made many good Constitutions for the repressing of such insolencies. So *Lewys*, when first the Pope began to meddle, in the yeare one thousand two hundred sixty seven, decreed, that Prelacies and Dignities elective should bee given by election: and such as are not elective by collation and presentation of Patrons: and that the Court of *Rome* should extort no money for any such thing out of the Kingdome of *France*. And when, notwithstanding this Decree, in proceſſe of time the Court of *Rome* attempted divers things contrary to the liberty of the Church of *France*, *Charles* the sixth, with the advise of his Nobles, Prelates, Abbots, Colledges, Universities, and other parts of his Kingdome, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and six, made a Constitution, whereby he restored the Church to her ancient libertie: and this Decree was published in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and seven; in which yeare *Benedict* the Pope, and his Ministers having imposed and exacted great summes of money, a new complaint was made to the King: and thereupon a Decree made, that nothing should bee paid out of *France* in the nature of *Annates* or Tenthes, and that such as had beene excommunicated for refusall of them, should bee absolved againe. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and eightene, a Constitution was made, whereby all Reservations and Apolliticall graces, as they call them, together with all exactions of the Court of *Rome* were forbidden. And when as the *Romans*, contemning all Constitutions, ceased not to trouble and confound the Hierarchy of the Church, and scattered abroad every where throughout the World their Reservations and expectative graces, (whence followed great and horrible deformitie in the Church) at last a Generall Councell was assembled for the Reformation of the Church, in the Head and members: which prohibited these Reservations and expectative Graces, restored the Canons touching Elections and Collations, and subjected all that should contumaciously resist (yea though the Pope himselfe) to due punishment. The Decrees of this Councell, *Charles* the seventh confirmed, with the consent of all Estates of his Kingdome, and this his Decree of Confirmation was called the *Pragmaticall Sanction*. But the Popes never rested till they had, if not wholly overthrowne it, yet greatly weakened it. The attempts of *Pius* the second (who being a private man in the Councell of *Basil*, set it forward what hee could) are not unknowne, as also of *Sixtus* the fourth, *Innocentius* the eighth, *Alexander* the sixth, *Julius* the second, and *Leo* the tenth, who published a Constitution, whereby the *Pragmaticall Sanction* was much weakened, though not wholly taken away; and those his new Decrees were called *Conventa*, that is, Agreements betweene the King and him. From these Decrees the University of *Paris* appealed to a Generall Councell. And thus we see how well the Popes fulfill the commandement of *CHRIST* in feeding his Sheepe, that labour so mainely the overthrow of those Canons, which being taken away, the whole Ecclesiasticall Order is confounded, whole Countries are made desolate and forsaken, Kingdomes are robbed of their money and treasure, and Churches are ruinated and subverted. For so did all good men out of wofull experience complaine in former times.

Wherefore passing by these intrusions, usurpations, and tyrannicall intermedling of Popes with things not pertaining to them, it is evident by that which hath beene said, that the Election of fit Ministers to teach the people of God, pertaineth to the Clergy and people, by the reasons and grounds of humane societies, unlesse by their owne consent, forfeiture, restraint of superiour authority commanding over them, or speciall reasons prevailing more than those generall grounds of humane fellowship, it be taken from them. As in case of founding Churches, and endowing them with lands, the Patrons have the right of presenting: and in cases of intollerable abuses, negligences, or insolencies, the Prince (as Head of the people) assumeth to himselfe the nomination of such as are to serve in the holy Ministry of the Church.

Some there are that thinke the right of the people in choosing their Pastours and Ministers to bee such, as that it may not bee limited, restrained, or taken away upon any consideration whatsoever, and that therefore there

is no lawfull election of Ecclesiasticall Ministers, unless the people choose: But the error of these men is easily refuted. For seeing the Scripture and Word of GOD giveth no such power to the people, and all the interest they have, or can claime, is but from the ground of humane fellowship, subject to many limitations, alterations, and restraints, there is no reason to thinke that necessarily the people must ever elect their Pastours. In the reformed Churches of *France* and *Geneva*, the people give no voyces in the election of Ministers, but are onely permitted, if they have any causes of dislike or exception, to make them knowne to the Pastours and Guides of the Church; and the power of judging of such exceptions resteth wholly in them. In so much, that when one *Morellius* a fantastick companion sought to bring the elections of Bishops and Ministers to be popular, and swayed by the most voyces of the people, hee was condemned by all the Synodes in *France*, as *Beza* sheweth in his Epistles. That there is no precept in the whole new Testament forcing popular elections, it is evident: And the onely example that is brought of any such thing, is that of the seven Deacons; but first there was some speciall reason, why the peoples consent was sought in the election of these Deacons, being to be trusted with the treasure of the Church, and the disposing of the contributions of the faithfull: And secondly, from one example, a generall rule may not be gathered, seeing the circumstances of things, times, and persons, admit infinite varieties; some alleadge that place in the *Acts* for proove of popular elections, where the Apostles are said to have appointed Elders or Presbyters by *ἡ κληρονομία*, because *κληρονομία* signifieth that kinde of election, that is made by the more part of the voyces of the Elders, expressing their consent by lifting up of their hands, as sometimes men shew their consent by going to one side of the place or roome where they are, whence they are said, *Pedibus ire in sententiam*. But surely these places are unadvisedly alleadged for proove of popular elections. For first, the Apostles onely are said *κληρονομήσαντες*, and consequently the election pertained to them onely, and they onely elected, for *κληρονομία* signifieth to elect, and not to gather voyces. Secondly, though *κληρονομία* doe originally signifie that kinde of election which is made by many, expressing their consent, and giving their voyces or suffrages by lifting up of their hands, yet may it be extended more generally to signifie any election of many expressing their consent by writing, by lively voyce, or by going to one side of the place where they are; yea any choyce whatsoever, though made by one alone, as it appeareth, in that the Apostles are said to have beene witnesses formerly designed and appointed by *κληρονομία*, whereas Christ onely chose them, and they were not elected by the voyces of many, or any but himselfe alone. And in Ecclesiasticall Writers the same word signifieth Ordination that is by imposition of hands, as it were easie to prove by many testimonies of Antiquitie.

C H A P. 56.

Of the Ordination of Bishops and Ministers.

FROM the Election of Ministers, whereof wee have sufficiently spoken, let us proceede to their Ordination, with which none but the Guides of the Church are trusted: and therefore, howsoever the people may sometimes elect, yet they are charged, *Not to lay hands hastily on any man, nor to communicate with other mens sinnes*. So that the moderation of all things in this kinde resteth in them, and this is all that the Scripture prescribeth touching the designing and appointing of Ministers; namely, whom, and how, they that have power of ordaining, must ordaine. Ordination is the setting of men apart to the worke of the Ministry, the commending of them with fasting and prayer to the grace of God, and the authorizing of them to performe things pertaining to God; which others, without such sanctification neither may nor can doe. Wherein the Ceremony of Imposition of hands is used: First, to expresse the setting of them apart for sacred imployment. Secondly, to let them know that the hand of God is with them, in all that they doe in his name

h. Epist. 83.

i. Actes 6.

k. Actes 14. 23.

l. Actes 10. 41.
m. Can. Apost.
cap. 1. Chryso-
stom. hom. 14.
in Acta, in illa
verba, Cum
orassent, im-
posuerunt illis
manus. Conc.
Nicen. in epist.
ad Alexandri-
nos: apud The-
odorect. hist.
Eccl. l. 1. c. 9.

a. 1 Tim. 5. 22.

and by his authority to guide, direct, strengthen, and protect them. Thirdly, to note out the person upon whom the Church by her prayers desireth the blessings of Almighty God to be powred in more plentifull sort than upon others, as being to take charge of others. This Ordination is either of Bishops, to whom the care and government of the Church is principally committed; or of other inferiour Clergymen.

Touching the Ordination of Bishops, the Councell of ^b *Nice* decreeth, that a Bishop must bee ordained by all the Bishops in the Province: and that if it seeme hard, either in respect of some urgent necessity, or the length of the wayes, that they should all meete, yet there must bee three at the least to concur in all such ordinations, the rest by their letters testifying their consent, and the Metropolitan confirming that they doe. The Councell of ^c *Antioch* in like sort decreeth, That a Bishop shall not ^c *Canone 19.* bee ordained without a Synode, and the presence of the Metropolitan; That the Metropolitan by his letters shall call unto him all the Bishops in the Province, if conveniently they may come together; if not, that at the least the greater part bee present, or give their consent by writing. And that if at any time there grow any difference among the Bishops of the Province about the person that is to bee ordained, the greater part of voyces shall sway all. In the second Councell of ^d *Carthage*, all the Bishops with one consent said: *It seemeth good to us all, that without consulting with the Primate of each Province, no man easily presume, though with many Bishops, to ordaine a Bishop in what place soever without his command: but if necessity shall require, that three Bishops in what place soever they bee with the command of the Primate shall have power to ordaine a Bishop.* And because the concurrence of the Metropolitan was to bee sought, and his presence or direction had in every ordination; therefore lest by his fault there might bee too long and dangerous delayes, it was ordered, that unlesse it were in case of necessity, all ordinations should be within three moneths after the voydance of any place: and that if by the fault of the Metropolitan there were any longer delay, he should be subject to Ecclesiasticall censure and punishment. In later times under the Papacie, they ^e permitted by speciall dispensation one Bishop ^e *Bellar. de de-* assisted with two mitred Abbots, to ordaine a Bishop, contrary to all the old *is Ecclesi-* Canons ^f *1.4. cap. 8.* requiring three Bishops at the least. The forme and manner of ordination wee finde in the fourth Councell of ^f *Carthage*, which prescribeth, That when a Bishop is to ^f *Canone 2.* bee ordained, two Bishops must hold the booke of the Gospels over his head, and that one powring forth the blessing upon him, all the other Bishops that are present must touch his head with their hands: This is the forme of Episcopall ordination.

But touching Presbyters and Deacons, the ^g Councell of *Hispalis* saith: That the Bishops alone may conferre Ecclesiasticall honour upon them, but that alone hee cannot ^g *Hispalens. canone 6.* take it from them, which yet is not so to bee understood, as if the Bishop alone without his Presbyters might ordaine Presbyters, but that hee may without the concurrence of other Bishops, give that honour of Presbyteriall order, which without them hee cannot take away againe. For otherwise the Councell of ^h *Carthage* provideth ^h *Carthagi 4. canone 3.* that in the ordination of a Presbyter, the Bishop holding his hand on his head, and blessing him, all the Presbyters that are present shall hold their hands by the hands of the Bishop. Whereas ⁱ in the ordination of a Deacon, it sufficeth that the Bishop ⁱ *Ibid. cano-* lone put his hands upon the head of him that is ordained, because he is not sanctified ⁱ *ne 4.* to Priestly dignity, but to the service of the Church. So that other Ministers are to concur in the ordination of the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, as well as the Bishop; being equall to him in the power of Order and Ministry, and his assistants in the worke of it; yet hath the Bishop a great preheminance above them in the Imposition of hands: For regularly no number of Presbyters imposing hands can make a Minister without the Bishop. The reason whereof is, because no Ordinations are to bee made *sine titulo*, that is, without title or place of employment: and none but Bishops have Churches, wherein to employ men; seeing they onely are Pastours of Churches, and all other are but their assistants and coadjutors: not because the power of

of order which is given in Ordination is lesse in them than in Bishops. So that Bishops alone have the power of Ordination, and no man may regularly doe it without them. Whereupon ordinarily, and according to the strictnesse of the old Canons, all Ordinations made otherwise, are pronounced voyde: as wee reade of one *Coluthus*, whose Ordinations were therefore voyded, because he tooke on him to ordaine, being no Bishop, but a Presbyter onely.

But seeing Bishops and Presbyters are in the power of order the same; as when the Bishops of a whole Church or countrey fall from the Faith, or consent to them that so doe, the care of the Church is devolved to the Presbyters remaining Catholick; and as in the case of necessity they may doe all other things regularly reserved to Bishops only, (as *Ambrose* sheweth, that the Presbyters of *Egypt* were permitted in some cases to confirme the baptized, which thing also *Gregorie* after him durst not condemne.) So in case of generall defect of the Bishops of a whole Countrey, refusing to ordaine any but such as shall consent to their Heresies, where there appeareth no hope of remedie or helpe from other parts of the Church, the Presbyters may choose out one among themselves to be chiefe, and so adde other to their numbers by the imposition of his and their hands. This I have proved in my^o third booke out of the authorities of *Armachanus*, and sundry other, of whom *Alexander of Hales* speaketh. To which wee may adde that which *Durandus* hath, where he saith: That *Hierome* seemeth to have beene of opinion, that the highest power of consecration or order, is the power of a Priest or Elder. So that every Priest in respect of his Priestly power, may minister all Sacraments, confirme the baptized, and give all Orders, howsoever for the avoyding of the perill of Schisme, it was ordained that one should be chosen to have a preheminance above the rest; who was named a Bishop, and to whom it was peculiarly reserved to give Orders, and to doe some such other things. And afterwards he saith: that *Hierome* is clearely of this opinion. Neither can the *Romanists* deny this, and justifie their owne practice. For their *Chorepiscopi*, or Titular Bishops, are no Bishops (as I have^a proved at large out of *Damasus*, not disputing or giving his private opinion, but resolving the point, and prescribing to other what they must beleve and practice, and yet doe they of the Church of *Rome* permit these to ordaine, not onely Sub-deacons, and other inferiour Clergy-men, but Priests and Deacons also; and hold their Ordinations to be good and of force. If any man haply say, that a Bishop when he is old, and weake, or otherwise imployed, may have a *Coadjutor*, and consequently, that it is no such absurdity to admit these Suffragan and Titular Bishops; and that therefore they may have power to ordaine, as being truly Bishops, and yet Presbyters in no case be permitted so to doe. For answer hereunto let him reade what I have written in the 29. Chapter of this Booke concerning this matter.

C H A P. 57.

Of the things required in such as are to be ordained Ministers: and of the lawfulnessse of their Marriage.

From the Election and Ordination of Ministers, we are to proceede to things required in them that are to bee chosen and ordained. "If any man (saith the Apostle) desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth a worthy worke: A Bishop therefore must be unreproucheable, the husband of one wife, watching, sober, modest, hater of strife, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre: but gentle, no fighter, not covetous, no young scholler, but well reported of, even of those that are without. The Canons of the Church require the same things, and adde some other: as that no man may be chosen and ordained a Minister of the Word and Sacraments till he be 30 yeares of age; not none that was baptized in his bed, and the like. The Papists proceed further, and not contenting themselves with the moderation of the Apostle, and the Primitive Fathers, admit none into the holy Ministry, but those that are unmarried, or being married, promise to live from their wives: and yet not so neither; if either they have

have beene twice married, or if they married with a widow. Wherefore, letting passe the things the Apostle prescribeth, and those other which the Canons adde, of which there is no question, let us come to the marriage of them that are to be admitted into the holy Ministry of the Church.

It is clearely confessed by the best learned in the *Roman* Church, that Bishops, Presbyters, and other Clergy-men, are not forbidden to marry, or being married before they enter into the Ministry, to continue in matrimoniall society with their wives, by any law of God: and therefore there is little feare of offending against God, either by admitting such into the Ministry as will not live single, or by entring into it, with purpose of marriage. ^b *Non est essentialiter annexum debitum continentie ordini sacro* (saith *Aquinas*) *sed ex statuto Ecclesie: unde videtur, quod per Ecclesiam possit dispensari in voto continentie, solemnizato per susceptionem sacri ordinis*: that is, It is not essentially annexed unto holy order, that men should containe and live single that enter into the Ministry, but by the Decree of the Church only. So that it seemeth, that the Church may dispense in the vow of continencie, though made solemne by taking holy orders. And in another place hee saith: 'that it is from the Churches constitution, that they who are entred into the holy orders of the Church, may not marrie: which yet is not the same among the *Grecians*, that it is among the *Latines*. For the *Grecians* make no vow, and doe live with their wives that they married before they entred into orders: of the same opinion is ^d *Bonaventura*, who acknowledgeth, that in the primitive Church it was otherwise touching this matter, than now it is in the Church of *Rome*, and endeavoureth to give reasons of the difference. ^e *Scotus* and ^f *Occam* are of the same judgement: and all the rest of the Schoole-men of note agree with them. And ^g *Cajetane*, a great learned Divine, and a Cardinall in our time, pronounceth confidently, that it cannot be proved, either by reason or authority, (setting aside the Lawes that are positive, and vowes which men make to the contrary) that a Priest doth sinne in contracting marriage. And that therefore the Pope with good conscience may dispense with such a one, and give him leave to marrie; though there be no inducement of publick profit, or benefit leading him so to doe. And addeth, that reason seemeth to be strong on the contrary side for the lawfulnessse of such dispensation; because (as it appeareth by *Peter Lombard* in the fourth of the *Sentences*) neither Order, in that it is Order, nor holy Order, in that it is holy, crosseth or hindereth marriage. And (as it is in the *Decrees*) Deacons in ancient times might marrie, even in the West Church: and (as it is in the same *Decrees*) they of the East Church are joyned in marriage, even after they are entered into holy Orders. Neither is that Glosse to bee admitted, which expoundeth their coupling or joyning in marriage, of the living in marriage formerly contracted: Seeing the whole course and coherence of the Text speaketh of the Contract of Marriage, as by the opposition of the practice of the West Church (the Priests whereof are said not to marry) it may bee confirmed. These are the words of Cardinall *Cajetan*. With him agreed Cardinall ^h *Bellarmino*, and confirmeth that he saith by three reasons, whereof the first is this: Priests are not forbidden by Gods Law to company with their wives, which they married before they entered into holy Orders; therefore they are not forbidden to marry after they are entred. The consequence he proveth, because if any thing bee found in marriage that cannot stand well with the sacred function and imployment of Ministers, it is the act of Matrimony and not the contract, which is a thing most honest, and is soone past. Whereupon, they that dislike the marriage of Church-men, were wont to alleadge the cares of household, and of children, causing distraction of mind, and other like things, and not the contract or Sacrament of marriage: and therefore he rightly reproveth *Clichthovens*, for that hee thinketh the matrimoniall societie of such as were married before they became Ministers of the Church, is not forbidden by Gods Law; and yet feareth not to say, that the contract of marriage ensuing after the entrance into the holy Ministry is forbidden. Wherefore leaving the consequence as good and sufficiently proved; he confirmeth the antecedent in this sort. That Presbyters are not forbidden by Gods Law to live with their wives, which they married before

^b *Secunda secundæ, quæst. 88. art. 11.*

^c *Part. 3. quæst. 53. art. 3.*

^d *In Sent. lib. 4. dist. 39. quæst. 2. & 3.*

^e *In 4. Sent. dist. 37.*

^f *Dialog. In respons. ad articulos Parisienses, Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 27.*

^h *De Clericis lib. 1. c. 8.*

ⁱ *Lib. de Continentia Sacerdotum, cap. 4.*

l Cap. Cnm
Olim. De con-
jugatis.

l Cap. 10. & d.
20. c. de Libel-
lis.

m Epist. 49.

fore they entered into the holy Ministry, it appeareth in that the *Roman Church* hath for many ages past permitted the Presbyters of the *Greeke Church* to live with their wives which they married before their Ordination; which it could not doe, if so to live were forbidden by Gods Law: That so the *Roman Church* hath allowed those of the *Greeke Church* to live with their wives, hee proveth by good authority. For in the *Decretals* it is reported, that a certaine *Grecian*, while hee was yet in the minor Orders, according to the custome of the *Greeke Church* married a wife, and afterwards when he was a Priest, begate a sonne of his lawfull wife: This Priests son was thought fitte to bee a Bishop, and chosen so to bee: the Archbishop made question, whether hee might confirme his Consecration or not, as doubting of his Legitimation: To whom *Innocentius* the third writeth thus: *Wee, considering that the East Church never admitted the vow of continencie, but that they of the East while they are yet in the minor Orders contract marriage, and when they are in the higher Orders, use that marriage which they then contracted, doe command, that unlesse any custome bee against it (in that these Grecians live among the Latines) if there bee no other Canon. call impediment, you proceede without doubting to the Confirmation and Consecration of him.* Whereby it is evident, that the Bishop of *Rome* allowed the marriage of the *Grecians*: for *Innocentius* saith, this Presbyter, after hee was a Presbyter, begate a sonne of his lawfull wife; and approveth, nay commandeth his sonne as lawfully begotten, to be ordained, if it were not offensive, because he conversed among the *Latines*. The next reason that *Bellarmino* bringeth, is, for that there is no prohibition of Almighty God found either in the old, or new Testament: And the third, for that it is said in the Councell of *Ancyra*, that Deacons, with the licence of the Bishop, may marrie after they are ordained. Whence it followeth, that they are not forbidden to marry by Gods Law; seeing Bishops may not dispence with Gods Law. And this Councell (as *Bellarmino* truly noteth) is most ancient, and approved by *Leo* the Pope.

The uttermost therefore that our Adversaries can say, is, that the Church by her authority hath forbidden the marriage of Presbyters and Bishops: wherefore let us take a view of the lawes of the Church concerning this matter: and for our more orderly proceeding in the examination of the same, let us first observe what the Church decreed touching them that being married, enter into the Ministerie. Secondly, touching them that entered being single. Concerning the first, it is evident, that till the time of *Siricius*, married men were permitted throughout the whole Church to enter into the Ministry, and to live with their wives. In the Epistles of *Cyprian* among other things, *Novatus*, ordained a Presbyter of *Carthage* by *Cyprian*, is charged, first, that hee suffered his owne father to die of hunger, and tooke no care for his buriall when he was dead. Secondly, that by violence offered to his owne wife, hee caused her to be delivered of her childe before her time; so that the childe died, and hee was guilty of the murther thereof: for which crimes hee feared to bee put from his Priestly function, and the Communion of the Church; and therefore prevented his punishment by a voluntary Schismaticall departure. Where wee see a Presbyter permitted by *Cyprian* to live with his wife, and no way blamed, for that hee had companied with her; but for that when shee was with childe by him, he had stricken her in such violent sort, that shee was untimely delivered, not without the death of the childe. Whereupon *Pamelius* hath this annotation upon the Epistle of *Cyprian*: *Many married men at that time were taken into the Clergie, because there were few others to bee had: and therefore it is not to be marvelled at, that Cyprian maketh mention of the wife of Novatus who was a Priest.* That *Tertullian* was married, it appeareth by the booke which he hath written to his wife: and that neither hee nor shee voluntarily separating themselves had vowed continencie, it appeareth by the perswasions he useth to induce her to live single, and not to marry againe after his death, in those evill and dangerous times, if haply he should die before her; or at the least, if shee could not nor would not containe, to marrie with none but a beleever. Had shee bound her selfe by vow to containe, hee would not thus have left her to her owne libertie, and if shee could

could not, nor would not containe, he was bound by the Apostles rule, not to defraude her, but to yeeld unto her due benevolence. Neither have wee these examples onely, but many more: for wee reade in *Gratian*, of the sonnes of Presbyters and Bishops, that were promoted to the Papall dignity. ^a So was *Bonifacius* the Pope, the sonne ^{a Dist 36.} of *Jucundus* the Presbyter; *Felix* the Pope, the sonne of *Felix* the Presbyter; *Agapetus* the Pope, sonne of *Gordianus* the Presbyter; *Theodorus* the Pope, sonne of *Theodorus* the Bishop, and many more hee saith there were, who being the sonnes of Bishops or Presbyters, were advanced to sit in the Apostolicall Throne. And addeth, ^a that when the sonnes of Presbyters and Bishops are said to have beene advanced ^{a Ibid.} and promoted to bee Popes, wee are not to understand them to have beene such as were borne of fornication, out of lawfull marriages, which were lawfull unto Priests before the prohibition: and in the Orientall Church are proved to bee lawfull unto them even unto this day. ^p *Socrates* saith, that in *Thessalia* there was a particular ^{p Lib. 3. c. 21.} custome growne in, that if a Clergy-man, after hee became a Clergy-man, accompanied with his wife, which hee married while hee was yet a Lay-man, hee should be put out of the Ministery of the Church. Whereas all the most famous Presbyters and Bishops also in the East, might if they pleased, but were no way by any Law constrained to refraine from the company of their wives. So that many of them even when they were Bishops, did beget children of their lawfull wives. A particular and most approved example whereof wee have in the Father of *Gregory Nazianzene*; who being a Bishop, not onely lived with his wife till death divided them, but became the Father also of *Gregory Nazianzen*, (as worthy and renowned a man as any the *Greeke* Church ever had) after hee was entered into the Priestly Office, as appeareth by his owne words reported by ^a *Gregory Nazianzen*. For after many mo- ^{a In Catm. de vita sua.} tives used by him to *Gregory Nazianzen* his sonne, to perswade him to assist him in the worke of his Bishoply Ministery, the last that hee most insisteth on, is taken from the consideration of his old age, dis-inabling him to beare that burden, and performe that worke any longer that hitherto hee had done. And therefore intreating him to put to his helping hand, hee breaketh out into these words: *Thou hast not lived so long a time as I have spent in the Priestly Office, therefore yeeld thus much unto mee, and helpe mee in that little time of my life that is yet behinde; or else thou shalt not have the honour to bury me, but I will give charge to another to doe it.* Here wee see *Gregory Nazianzens* Father was employed in the Priestly function before he was borne: and that therefore hee became the father of so worthy a sonne after he was a Bishop, or at least after he was a Presbyter. Neither was the father of *Gregory Nazianzen* singular in this behalfe. For ^a *Athanasius*, writing to *Dracontius*, (who being greatly in love with ^{a Ep. ad Dracont.} a retired and monasticall kinde of life, refused the Bishoply Office when he was chosen unto it; for that he feared he might not in that state live so strictly as formerly hee had done) controuleth this his conceit, and telleth him, that hee may in the Bishops office hunger and thirst as *Paul* did, drinke no wine as *Timothy*, and fast often as did the Apostle. So that the Bishops Office is no cause of doing ill, or doing lesse good than may bee done in other states of life; and thereupon assureth him, that hee hath knowne Bishops to fast, and Monkes to eat; Bishops to drinke no wine, and Monkes to drinke it; Bishops to worke miracles, and Monkes to doe none; lastly, many Bishops never to have married, and Monkes to have become fathers of children: and on the contrary side, Bishops to have become fathers of children, and Monkes to have lived altogether as Monkes without desire of posterity. Neither can this authority of *Athanasius* bee avoyded, as *Bellarmino* seeketh to avoyd it; namely, that those Bishops did ill, which he saith, became fathers of children. For ^a *Clemens Alexandri-* ^{a Stromat. 1. 3. p. 19. 5.} nus an ancient *Greeke* Father saith expressly, *The Apostle admitteth the husband of one wife to bee a Bishop, and that though hee be a Presbyter, Deacon, or Lay-man, if he use marriage aright, and so as not to incurre just reprehension, hee shall bee saved by the procreation of children.* ^a *Chrysostome* accordeth with *Athanasius* and *Clemens* ^{a In 1 ad Tim.} *Alexandrinus*, and saith, that marriage is in so high a degree honourable, that men ^a with

- with it may ascend into the Episcopall Chaires : even such as yet live with their wives. For though it be an hard thing, yet it is possible, so to performe the duties of marriage, as not to be wanting in the performance of the duties of a Bishop : whereunto ^a *Zozomen* agreeth, saying of *Spiridion*, that though hee had wife and children, yet hee was not therefore any whit the more negligent in performing the duties of his calling ; and of *Gregorie Nyssene* it is reported, that though he were married, yet hee was no way inferiour to his worthy brother that lived single. But some haply will object, that *Epiphanius* is of another minde, and that hee saith, ^b where the strictnesse of the Canon is observed, none but such as are unmarried, or resolved to refraine from matrimoniall societie with their wives, are admitted into the ministry of the Church. Wee deny not, but that hee saith so : But hee confesseth in the same place, that many in the Church did live with their wives in his time, and beget Children even after their admission into the Ministry. So that the strictnesse of the Canon hee speaketh of, was not generall, but in some certaine places onely, as I noted before out of ^c *Socrates*. Nay, it is evident by *Socrates*, that howsoever in *Thessalia*, *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas* this strictnesse prevailed ; yet all the Bishops of the East besides, were left to their owne libertie : and howsoever some in divers places went about to take away this libertie, yet the worthiest men the Church had, stood in defence of it, protesting, they would not suffer themselves to be inthralled in this behalfe. To which purpose, that of the famous and renowned *Synesius* is most excellent : who, when they of *Ptolemais* would needes have him to be their Bishop, (which thing hee little desired) hee made them acquainted with his present condition, and resolved purpose for the time to come. ^d *God, (saith hee) the Law, and the sacred hand of Theophilus hath given unto me a wife, I therefore tell all men afore-hand, and testifie unto all, that I will neither suffer my selfe to be altogether estranged and separated from her, neither will I live with her secretly, as an adulterer. For the one of these is no way pious and godly, and the other no way lawfull : but I will desire and pray unto God, that exceeding many and most good and happy children may be borne unto mee. Neither will I have him that is to be chiefe in ordaining of mee, to bee ignorant hereof.*
- ^e Canone 12. This libertie the Councell in ^f *Trullo* impeached in respect of Bishops, but in respect of Presbyters it continueth in all the East Churches of the world, even till this day, *Greece*, *Armenian*, and *Ethiopian* ; warranted unto them by the Canons of the Apostles. Judgement of Bishops, Decrees of Councils, and the consent of all other parts of the World. For first, the Apostle Saint *Paul* telleth the *Corinthians*, ^g *he had power to leade about a wife, a sister, as well as the brethren of the Lord and Cephas.* Which words ^h *Clemens Alexandrinus* interpreteth in this sort : *Paul* feareth not in a certaine Epistle to speake to his yoake-fellow ; which he did not leade about with him, because he had no neede of any great service. Therefore he saith in a certaine Epistle : Have wee not power to leade about a sister, a wife, as the rest of the Apostles ? but they truly, as it was meete, because they could not spare this Ministry ; attending without distraction to preaching, leade their wives about, not as wives but as sisters ; which should minister together with them, among the women which kept the houses, by whom the Doctrine of the Lord might enter into the closet of women, without reprehension or suspicion. Neither doth *Clemens Alexandrinus* onely so understand the words, but a ⁱ *Roman* Bishop also. So that our Adversaries have no reason to charge us with hereticall perversnesse, for expounding the Apostles words, of the Apostles wives. Neither can their Interpretation of faithfull women following the Apostles, and ministring unto them things necessary, any way stand with the Apostles drift and meaning : for first, it is no way to be conceived, that those Apostles which had wives, would not leade them about rather than strange women. Secondly, the word of leading about, implieth a kinde of authority, right, and interest, in those women which the Apostles lead about : which might bee verified of them in respect of their wives, but not in respect of such women as out of their devotion followed them, if any so did. Thirdly, the Apostle doth not say, *Wee have power to leade about a*

woman a sister, as they reade it, but *a sister, a woman, or wife*. Now the addition of woman to sister is idle and needlesse: seeing every sister is undoubtedly a woman; Therefore wee must understand the Apostle to say; a sister, a wife. *Hierome in* f Hier. contra Jovinian. l. 2. deed understandeth the Apostles wordes of strange women, and not of their wives: yet denyeth hee not, but that other interpret them otherwise, and translateth, and alleadgeth the wordes doubtfully, of the Apostles leading about women or wives. Besides this claime that the Apostle maketh of power and authority in this behalfe, else where prescribing what manner of men must bee chosen unto the Bishops office, hee saith, *A Bishop must bee the husband of one wife, one that canne rule his owne house, having children under obedience, with all honesty.* Now to say, they were to forsake their wives as soone as they should enter into this calling, is most absurd, and contrary to the very Law of God and nature. For it is not in the power of the man to withdraw himselfe from his wife, with whom hee is one flesh, seeing *the man hath not power of his body, but the wife.* Whereupon *Thomas Aquinas* resolveth, that a man entering into holy Orders, cannot without the consent of his wife withdraw himselfe from her; but is bound to live with her still, and to yeeld unto her due benevolence. Neither may man and wife part by consent perpetually, but for a time onely, according to that of the Apostle; *Defraude not one another except it be by consent for a time, that yee may give your selves to fasting and prayer; and againe come together, that Satan tempt you not for your incontineney.* Answerable hereunto, the *Canons* attributed to the Apostles, forbidde Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons to put away their wives uppon any pretence of religion. The wordes of the Canon are these: *Let no Bishop, Presbyter or Deacon, put away his wife upon any pretence of religion; if hee doe, let him be put from the Communion, and if hee persist, let him be removed from his Order.* This Canon (saith *Zonaras*) condemneth those sacred Ministers of the Church that put away their wives. For that such putting of them away seemeth to bee done in disgrace of marriage: as if the companying together of man and wife were an impure and uncleane thing. Whereas the Apostle pronounceth, that *Marriage is honourable and the bedde undefiled.* The *Romanists* to avoyd and decline the force of this testimony, say, that this Canon forbiddeth Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, the casting away of all care of providing for their wives, but not the forsaking of their company: but this their evasion is easily refuted. First, because there is no shew of evill in Cleargy-mens providing for the necessity of their wives, which they married while they were Lay-men: nay, it would seeme unto all men most unnaturall for them to cast off all care of them, and all men would condemne them for so doing; but in the companying with them (in the sinister judgement of some men) there is: in respect whereof some forsake their wives, under a pretence of religion: Secondly, because the Fathers in the *Sixth Generall Councell* (who no doubt understood the meaning of those Canons farre better then the *Romaanists* do) understand them; as forbidding Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, the refrayning from companying with their wives, and not the neglecting to provide for their necessities. In the Councell of *Nice* some went about to make a Law, that Bishops and Ministers of the Church should not, after their entering into the holy Ministry, company with their wives, which they had formerly married. But *Paphnutius* Bishop of a Citie in the upper *Thebaïs*, who was a most holy man, by whom miracles had beene wrought, and who for confessing the faith of Christ, had had one of his eyes pulled out though himselfe were never married, cryed out aloud, and besought them, to lay no such heavy yoke on the neckes of them that were entred into the holy Ministry: affirming, that *Marriage is honourable among all, and the bedde undefiled*: calling the company of a man with his wife by the name of chastitie: and advising them to take heede, least they did greatly hurt the state of the Church by making so strict a law, for that all cannot endure so severe a rule of Discipline: and for that also this rule haply cannot bee so easily observed by their wives. To these speeches of *Paphnutius* the whole assembly of Bishops assented. So that this controversie was ended, and each man left to his owne liberty. This of *Paphnutius* is reported by *Socrates*, *Ubi supra*, *Zozomen*

7 Lib. 1. cap. 22.
/ In vita Paph-
nutij.

Hist. Ecclef.

4 Dist. 31. c. 1.

2 De Clericis,
lib. 1. cap. 20.

7 Heret. 59.

2 Canone 10.

4 Contra Vigi-
lantium.

b As in the
councell of Con-
stantinople,
Can. 2. Egypt,
and the East, are
opposed to Asia,
Thracia, &c.
c Canone 3.

Zozomen, *Suidas*, *Nicephorus*, and alleadged by *Gratian* as true: yet *Bellarmino* & the Jesuits feare not to reject it as false, as if they knew better what was done one thousand three hundred yeares agoe, then all that ever have bin since: and the better to dis-
 credite this poore report, they charge both *Socrates* and *Zozomen* with Heresie, and
 contemne their stories. So must all goe to the ground, that standeth in their way, be
 it never so annient; and yet they are the men that plead Antiquity. But if this bee
 a fayned and counterfeit story, what are the signes of the forgery, whereby they dis-
 cerne it to bee so? Surely there appeare none; but it cannot bee true (the Jesuite
 faith) because it is contrary to the report of *Epiphanius* and *Hierome*. Touching
Epiphanius I have shewed already, that hee hath nothing contrary to this narration
 of *Socrates* and *Zozomen*: for he confesseth that Bishops and Presbyters in his time
 lived with their wives, and begat children of them, in such places where the strict-
 nesse of the Canon was not admitted. So that the Canon he speaketh of, which was
 admitted in *Thessalia*, *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas*, and was proposed and reje-
 cted in the Councell of *Nice*, was but particular and locall; which may stand well e-
 nough with the narration of *Socrates* and *Zozomen*, that the Councell of *Nice* decreed
 nothing touching this point, but left it as they found it. The like may bee said of
Hierome. For *Hierome* writing against *Vigilantius*, speaketh of certaine Bishops,
 which would ordaine no Deacons unlesse they married wives, thinking that no single
 men live chastly: who surely (if any such were found in those times) are not to be ex-
 cused. But if they onely demanded first of them that were to bee ordained, be-
 fore they ordained them, whether they would live continently, or not, and if they an-
 swered that they would not, willed them to marry before they ordained them (as *Zo-
 naras* writing on the Canons of the Apostles sheweth that they doe in the *Greeke*
 Church) they were not to bee blamed: Seeing the Councell of *Ancyra* permitted
 Deacons, protesting when they were ordained, that they would not live single, to
 marry after they were entered into Orders. But *Hierome* in opposition to the
 practise of these men, asketh what the Churches of the East, of *Egypt*, and of the
 Apostolicke See shall doe, which admit into the Cleargy, Virgines, or such as con-
 taine, or such as if they had wives, yet cease to be husbands? whereby it may seeme,
 that this Canon of Bishops living from their wives, was admitted generally, which
 is contrary to the narration of *Socrates*. But they that urge these wordes of *Hie-
 rome*, should consider; first, that he doth not say, that these Churches mentioned by
 him, admitted none to the Ministry but such as were single, or having wives, resolved
 to live no longer with them in matrimoniall society; but that they admitted such as
 had never beene married, or having had wives, ceased to bee husbands, contrary to
 their practise that would admit none, as hee saith, unlesse they saw their wives to
 have great bellies, or heard the children crying in their mothers armes. Second-
 ly, supposing that these Churches mentioned by *Hierome*, admitted none but such as
 had never beene married, or having beene married, ceased to bee husbands; hee
 plainly sheweth by the particular mention of these Churches, that there was
 no such thing generally prevayling: and so no way contrarieth the report of *Socrates*
 and the rest. Wherefore seeing neither *Epiphanius* nor *Hierome*, will by their con-
 tradiction elevate the authority of *Socrates*, *Zozomen*, and the rest, the Cardinall will
 improve their narration by another meanes. The Councell of *Nice*, hee saith,
 forbiddeth Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, to have any woman in their hou-
 ses, besides their Mother, Sister, or Aunt: whence hee thinketh it may bee inferred,
 that it did forbid every of these to have any Wife dwelling with them in the same
 house; seeing if they might have wives, they might undoubtedly have handmaidens to
 attend them. This prooffe is no better then the former: for in the Canons of the *Ni-
 cene* Councell, translated out of the *Arabian* tongue, and put into the first Tome of
 Councils by *Binnius*, out of *Alphonsus Pisanus*; (in which, as *Francis Turrian* pro-
 fesseth, in his Proeme before the same Canons, there is nothing but that which
 is approved, and worthy that great Synode of *Nice*) the Decree of the Coun-
 cell is conceived and exprest in such wordes, that it is evident it was never
 meant

meant to be extended to such Bishops, Presbyters, or Deacons, as have wives; but to such only who never were married, or are widowers. The words are these. * *We* * Canone 4.
decree, that Bishops dwell not with women, neither any Presbyter that is a widower: the
 same is decreed touching every Presbyter that is unmarried, and the Deacons which
 have no wives: and that Priests might live with their wives in those times, the 78. of
 those Canons maketh it most cleare, for it layeth a more heavy punishment upon him
 that hath a wife living, and living with him, if hee commit adultery, then upon him,
 that never was married, or is a widower. Wherefore let us passe from the Coun-
 cell of Nice, to the Councell of Gangra. ^a *Socrates* sheweth that *Eustathius* Bishop ^b Lib. 2. cap. 33.
 of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, so farre disliked marriage, that hee perswaded many women & *Sozome.* lib.
 to forsake their husbands, that he contemned married Presbyters, and condemned the 3. cap. 13.
 prayers and blessings of Presbyters having wives, which they married while they
 were Lay-men. Now it is not to bee imagined, that hee would have despised them
 if they had put away their wives, (for he perswaded to that; and many women heark-
 ning unto him, departed from their husbands) but because they retained them still; yet
 did the Councell of Gangra condemne him; adding, that if any one contrary to the A- ^c Canone 4.
 postolicall Canons, shall presume to put any one of them, that have taken holy orders,
 as Presbyters, or Deacons, from companying with their wives, hee shall be deposed.
 To this we may adde the Sixth Generall Councell holden in *Trullo*, wherein a Decree
 was passed, that such as doe enter into the Ministry being married, shall bee permit-
 ted to live with their wives. The wordes of the Councell are these: *'Because wee* ^f Canone 13.
have understood, that it hath bene delivered to the Church of Rome for a Canon, that
Deacons or Presbyters, who shall bee thought worthy to be ordained, shall professe and pro-
mise to company no more with their wives; wee keeping the ancient Canons of Apostolic
perfection and order, will and decree, that the marriages of such men, as are in holy orders,
hence-forth, and from this moment of time shall be firme and stable, no way dissolving their
conjunction with their wives, nor debarring them from companying with them at conveni-
ent times. Wherefore if any man bee found worthy to be ordained a Subdeacon, Deacon,
or Presbyter; Let him by no meanes be debarred from entring into such a degree; because
hee liveth with his lawfull wife, neither let it bee required of him at the time of his ordina-
tion, to promise to refraine from the lawfull companying with his wife; least by so doing, we
be forced to doe wrong to marriage, ordained by God, and blessed by his presence: The
Evangelicall voyce crying out aloud, the thinges which G O D hath joyned, let no man
sunder: And the Apostle teaching, that Marriage is honourable, and the bed undefi-
led: And againe saying; Art thou bound to a wife? seeke not to be loosed, &c. Thus
 doe the Fathers and Bishops assembled in this Councell, forbid and condemne the
 putting of Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons, from the society with their wives,
 alleadging the ancient Canon, use, and custome, and many excellent authorities, and
 reasons out of the Scriptures and word of G O D; shewing that no such thing can
 bee done without great injury to the state of Marriage, and without separating those
 whom God hath joyned together: and yet sodainely forgetting themselves, they
 forbidde Bishops to live with their wives; so overthrowing the auncient custome ^g Canone 12.
 and Canon, and separating those that God hath joyned together. Whereby that
 which had bene free from the Apostles times (as ^h *Zonaras* noteth) was forbidden, & ⁱ In explicatio.
 the Canon of the Apostles repealed. Yet did these Fathers (as wee see) most care- Canonum Apo-
 fully provide, that Presbyters and Deacons should not bee restrained. And indeed, stol.
 this liberty hath continued according to their Decree in this behalfe passed, ever since,
 in all the East Churches of the world. For first, touching the *Greeke* Church,
 which is principally directed by the Canons of this Councell, it is evident by ^j the Cap. 21.
 censure of the Orientall Church; upon the Confession of *Auspurge*; translated out
 of *Greeke* into *Latine*, and published by *Stanislaus Socolovius*. Secondly; the
 Sixth ^k Generall Councell testifieth; that the *Armenians* were so farre from ^l Canone 33.
 disliking the marriage of their Clergy-men, that they ranne into the other ex-
 treame. For they confined the Election of Church-men within the stocke of Church-
 men; as the Priest-hood was confined in the time of *Moses* law, and contained
 within

1 Damian. à
Goes de morib.
Æthiop.

within the tribe of *Levi*. And thirdly, *Damianus à Goes* witnesseth, that among the *Æthiopian* Christians, Cleergy-men are married: and that by dispensation of the Patriarch, after the death of the first wife, their Priests and Ministers may marry the second, though without such dispensation they may marry but once. The *Armenians* and *Æthiopians* (I suppose) have not restrained their Bishops from living in matrimonial society with their wives, more then their Presbyters and Deacons: seeing they take no notice of the prescriptions of the Sixth Generall Councell, wherein this restraint began: The *Armenians* receiving but only the three first, and the *Æthiopians* onely the first foure Generall Councils.

m, Canone. 33.

n Tom. 1. conciliorum.

o Locor. Theolog. lib. 5 cap. 4.
p De Imaginib. lib. 2. cap. 9.

q Tom. 1. anno Domini 57. num. 119. & trib. sequent.
r Tom. 2. anno 305. num. 42.
s Can. 4. & 5.

t Canone 9.

u Dist. 20. cap. de Libellis.
v Actione 4.
y Inter Epistolas Decretales.

z Can. 2. & 3.

Thus having taken a view of the course of thinges in the Church, from the beginning, and made it evident, that generally there never prevailed any restraint of Cleergy-men from companying with their wives, which they married while they were but yet Lay-men, or in the inferiour orders and degrees of Ministry: and that the greatest part of the Christian world hath ever from the beginning, even unto this day enjoyed the liberty which some unjustly sought to impeach; let us see where it was restrained or taken away, and by whom. Of the restraint in *Thessalia*, whereof *Hiliodorus* was Authour, as likewise in *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia* and *Hellas*, and of the endeavours of *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, resisted by the Bishops in the Councell of *Gangra*, I have spoken sufficiently already and have shewed, that this restraint could not prevaile, nor continue in those partes: all these Churches holding their liberty in this manner even unto this day. Therefore I will proceed to speake of the restraint, that some sought to bring into the West Church. The first restraint of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons from companying with their wives, that I doe finde in the West Church, was in the Provinciaall Councell of *Eliberis* in *Spaine*, holden in the yeare three hundred and five, twenty yeares before the Councell of *Nice*, consisting of nineteene Bishops. But I hope our Adversaries will not much presse us with the authority of this Councell: seeing themselves make so little account of it as they doe. There are some most excellently learned (saith *Binnus*, in his notes upon this Councell, that thinke it erroneous, and of no authority, and that it is to bee contemned as rejected by the Church, for favouring the heresie of *Novatius*, the conceit of *Vigilantius*, and their opinion, that would have no pictures in Churches. *Melchior Canus* saith, the thirty sixth Canon of it is erroneous: and *Bellarmino* saith, it was but Provinciaall, not confirmed, and that it erred in many things: namely, in not admitting to the Communion of the Church upon their repentance, such as in the time of persecution denied the faith, or otherwise ranne into grievous and enormous crimes and sinnes. And Cardinall *Baronius* howsoever varying in his opinion touching this Councell, yet confesseth, there is no mention of it among the Ancient, as of others; and that it was utterly suppressed, as if it had never beene, because it was ill thought of, as favouring *Novatianisme*. And therefore contrary to this Councell, the Councell of *Ancyra*, nine yeares after decreed, that they that fell in the time of persecution, and denied the faith, after condigne penance should be received to the Sacraments of the Church againe: and that Deacons protesting at the time of their ordination, that they cannot, nor are not resolved to containe, but that they purpose and desire to marry, shall remaine in the Ministry, though they marry after their ordination. This Councell was confirmed by *Leo* the fourth, and by the Councell of *Nice*, as it is in the Councell of *Florence*. So that hitherto, no restraint of Cleergy-men from companying with their wives prevailed. But almost foure hundred yeares after Christ, *Syriscus* Bishop of *Rome*, writing to the Bishop of *Tarracon*, (by whom hee understood that very many Priestes and Deacons in those parts, after their ordination, lived with their wives which they had formerly married, and begat children of them as before, and justified their so dooing by the example of the Priestes of the Law) excusing that which was done, as proceeding from ignorance, if they would acknowledge themselves in fault, and refraine for the time to come, commanded that no such thing should be any longer permitted. Whereupon the second Provinciaall Councell of *Arle*, holden in the time of this *Syriscus*, decreed, that no married man

man should be admitted into the degree of Priest-hood, unlesse hee would promise to refrain from the company of his wife, and yet permitted him to have her living in house with him. ^a *Innocentius* the first, who began his Popedom about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred and two, insisted in the steppes of *Syricius* his Predecessor, and drew some particular Bishops to concur with him. So that in some particular Councils, the lawfull society and companying of Cleargy-men with their wives, began to bee restrained. In the ^b second Council of *Carthage*, as it is usually reckoned, but indeed the last, the Legate of the Bishop of *Rome* being present, procured the Bishops to passe a Decree, that Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, should refrain from the company of their wives; falsely affirming, that the Apostles did teach so, and Antiquity practise so; contrary to that which I have before alleadged out of the Canons of the Apostles, the Council of *Gangra*, the speeches of *Paphnutius* in the Council of *Nice*, the report of *Socrates* the Historian, and the Decree of the sixth General Council, affirming the leaving of Cleargy-men to their liberty in this behalfe to bee Apostolicall and Auncient. The first Council of *Toledo* holden in the yeare of our Lord foure hundred, decreed, that Deacons which had lived with their wives, should not bee preferred to bee Presbyters, nor Presbyters to bee Bishops, though they had so done before the restraint made by the Bishops that were before them, but laide no other punishment on them. The Council of *Agatha* holden in the yeare five hundred and sixe, sheweth plainly, that at that time many Provinces tooke no knowledge of the Decree of *Syricius* and *Innocentius*; but that their Presbyters and Deacons lived with their wives still; and excuseth them in respect of their not knowing of any restraint; and continueth them in their places, onely debarring them from further promotion; and prescribing that the Decree of *Syricius* shall take place in time to come; and that such as know of it, and disobey it, shall be removed from their places. The first Council of *Turon*, holden in the yeare foure hundred foure score and two, sought to remit something of the severity of some particular Councils, wherein the Bishops directed by the prohibition of *Syricius* and *Innocentius*, had gone too farre. The words of the Council are these: *Though our Fathers, out of the authority committed to them, decreed that what Priest or Deacon soever, should bee found to beget children of their wives, should bee put from the communion of the Lord; yet we moderating their extreame severity, and by a more equall constitution mollifying and mitigating that which was too hard, have decreed: That a Priest or Deacon continuing in Matrimoniall society with his wife, and not ceasing from the procreation of children, shall not bee lifted up to any higher degree, nor offer sacrifice unto God, nor minister to the people: but let this be enough for them, that they are not put from the Communion.* Thus wee see, that within a short time after the publishing of these Decrees, the Bishops were forced out of due consideration to remit something of that severity, that some other set on by *Syricius* and *Innocentius* had used, till at length the execution of these Decrees was in a manner wholly neglected as unprofitable, and too heavy a burthen for the Ministers of the Church to beare. Whereupon we shall finde, that in all the Provinces of the West, the Presbyters and Deacons of the Church were married, at that time that *Hildebrand* climed up into the Papall Chaire, and had beene long before. Priests in those times (saith *Aventinus*) had wives publicly, as all other Christians; and begate sonnes and daughters of them, as it appeareth by the instruments of donations made to Churches, and Abbaies, wherein these Priests wives, together with their husbands, are brought as witnesses, and are stiled by the name of *Presbyterisse*. Yea so generall and so well settled was the marriage of Cleargy-men in those times, that when *Hildebrand* began to restraine and forbid it, the whole Nation of Cleargy-men rose up against him, called him Monster, and enemy of man-kinde, and pronounced him to bee Antichrist. And such was the resistance against this rash and inconsiderate attempt of the Pope, that hee could by no meanes prevaile, though hee caused so great confusions, tumults and disorders in the Christian world, as the like had never beene seene in any of the bloody persecutions, that were in the time of the Primitive Church: and was forced

Epist. 3.

Canone 3.

Canone 1.

Canone 9.

Canone 2.

Lib. 5. Annal.
Boiorum. pag.
564.

forced to confesse a little before his death, that he had caused grievous scandals in the Christian world. The circumstances of the whole narration found in the Histori-
 2. Naucles. vol. 2. generat. 36. ans are these. So soone as the Decree of *Hildebrand* was published, presently the whole faction of Cleargy-men was enraged against him: crying out that hee was an hereticke, and a man damnably erring in his judgement, who forgetting the speech of our Lord, that saith, *All men receive not this word; Let him that can receive it, receive it*: and of the Apostle who saith, *Let him that cannot containe, marry; for it is better to marry then to burne*, would by violent inforcement constraine men to live after the manner of Angels; and while he denied, and sought to restrain the ordinary and accustomed course of nature, loosed the reins, and gave free liberty to whoredome, and uncleannesse: protesting, that if he should goe forward to urge the execution of this his Decree, they were resolved rather to forsake the Ministry, then their marriage. And that then hee, before whom men did stincke, should see, whence Angels are to be had, to undertake the government of the Church and people of God. Notwithstanding all this resistance, and these earnest protestations, *Hildebrand* went forward, urged the matter, and reprov'd the Bishops as carelesse and negligent. The Arch-bishop of *Mentz* fearing the Popes displeasure; and yet considering, that it would bee no easie matter to alter a custome so strongly, and by so long tract of time confirmed, proceeded moderately in those parts, where hee had to doe: giving those of the Cleargy halfe a yeares respite, to advise themselves, praying and beseeching them to resolve to doe that willingly, which of necessity they must doe. But after the time expired, which hee had given unto them, hee called a Synode, and was earnest with them, that without all further delay or excuse, they would presently, either abjure their marriage, or put themselves from serving any longer at the Altar. They on the contrary side alleadged many reasons to perswade him, not to urge them to any such extremities: and when they found, that neither intreaty, and humble petition, nor weight of reason would prevaile, but that though professing himselfe unwilling thus to urge them, yet he was forced so to doe by the Popes mandate; and that therefore he must have no denyall, but that they must yeeld; they went out of the Councell-house, as if it had beene to deliberate, and resolved among themselves either never to returne, or otherwise so to returne, as to pull him out of his chaire, before hee should pronounce so cursed a sentence against them, and to take away his life from him; that so his unhappy end might be a warning to all posterities, that no succeeding Bishop might ever dare to attempt, so to wrong and dishonour the Priestly degree and order. The Archbishop by the meanes of some, that wished well unto him, understanding of this conspiracy, to prevent the tumult, which hee saw to be unavoidable, if he did not speedily give them some satisfaction and contentment, sent unto them, besought them to be quiet, and to returne into the Synode; and promised, that as soone as any opportunity should bee offered, hee would doe his best endeavour to perswade the Pope to desist from these courses: These things were done in the year 1074. The year following, the Arch-bishop againe urged by the Pope called another Councell at *Mentz*, to which the Popes Legate came, bringing his letters and mandates, and requiring him to urge them presently, to yeeld, and if they should refuse so to doe, to punish them with the losse of their degree and order, which thing when hee was about to doe, presently all the Cleargy-men which sate round about, rose up, and so refused, and rejected that he said, with words, and by the violent moving and shaking of their hands, & gesture of their whole bodies, shewed themselves to bee so moved against him, as that hee feared ever to goe out of the Synode alive; and so at last, overcome with the difficulty of this attempt, hee resolved to desist from meddling with this matter any more, which hee had so often to no purpose taken in hand, and to leave it wholly to the Pope to doe what hee would. These were the vaine attempts of the *Romanistes* for the restrayning of lawfull Marriage, which though they prevailed not at the first, according to the wishes of the wicked Pope, yet caused the most horrible confusions in the Western Church, that ever had beene: for Lay-men taking occasion hereupon, despised their Priests, medled with the Mi-
 nistration

nistration of Holy thinges, ministred the Sacrament of Baptisme, annoynted men
 with the filthe which they tooke out of their eares, instead of oyle; did many things
 most disorderly, and committed sundry intollerable outrages. And therefore it is
 most strange that *Bellarmino* should so forget himselfe as he doth; For whereas all
 stories impute these confusions, prophanations and contempts of sacred things to the
 restraint of marriage, and the disgracing of it, so hard is his forehead, that he blusheth
 not to write, that the marriage of Ministers would hinder the due and reverent ad-
 ministration of Sacraments; and that experience shewed it, in that in *Germany*, in the
 time of *Gregory* the Seaventh when Priests began to marry wives, there grew so great
 contempt of the Sacraments, that Lay-men began to administer them, as *Nauclerius*,
 and others report. In which speech of his, there is no word true: for neither did
 Priestes begin to marry in *Gregories* time, but had beene ordinarily married long be-
 fore, as *Nauclerius* testifieth, saying, it was an old and confirmed custome, that was
 not easily to be altered, which *Gregory* sought to take away when hee went about to
 forbid the marriage of Priests: So that they did rather cease to marry in his time then
 begin. Neither doth any story impute the confusions, prophanations, and contempts
 of Sacraments and sacred things in those times to the marriage of Priests, which was
 publikely allowed long before, without any such evill ensuing, as *Aventinus*, and
 others doe testifie, but to the restraint of it. And therefore it was not the begin-
 ning (as *Bellarmino* untruely saith) but the ending of Priests marriages in *Gregories*
 time, that brought in so many and hideous evils into the Christian world. Thus ha-
 ving seene with how bad successe *Gregory* the Seaventh began this restraint in other
 parts of the Christian world, let us take a view of our owne Countrey, and see what
 footing it had here. *Henry Huntingdon* an auncient Historian and of good credite,
 reporteth that before the time of *Anselme* Bishop of *Canterbury*, the marriage of
 Presbyters and other Ministers of the Church, was not forbidden in *England*; and that
 when he forbad it, howsoever hee pleased some, for that there seemed to be greater
 purity in single life, then in the state of Marriage; yet this his prohibition seemed to
 other to be very dangerous: fearing that whiles he sought to bring men to that, which
 is above the reach, and without the compasse of humane frailty, hee would occasion
 many grievous and scandalous evils. But howsoever, this his endeavour tooke not
 place by and by, for the same Authour reporteth, that after that time one *John Cre-*
mensis, a Cardinall came into *England*, and went about to restraine the Marriages of
 Church-men: So that it appeareth, that *Anselme* had effected nothing. This wor-
 thy Cardinall (as hee reporteth) held a Synode at *London*, and in the same made a ve-
 hement and bitter speech against the marriage of Presbyters; asking if it were not an
 impure and unfitting thing for a Minister of the Church to rise up from the side of an
 harlot; (for so it pleased him to terme the lawfull wives of Church-men) and to goe
 to the Altar to consecrate the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Bloud. But see the
 judgement of God, saith *Huntingdon*. The Impure Cardinall that had thus inveighed
 against Marriage, the night following was taken in bed with an Harlot, though hee
 had said Masse, and consecrated the blessed Sacrament in the morning; which thing
 was so evident that it could not, and so foule; that it was not fit to bee concealed, and
 hee addeth, that if any *Romane* Prelate or other dislike this his most true report, hee
 were best to take heed hee follow not the example of *Cremensis*, least the like disho-
 nour come unto him as did unto *Cremensis*, who being at first received in very glo-
 rious manner, was in the end cast out with disgrace; and who despising lawfull mar-
 riage, feared not to commit most filthy whoredome. Hereupon it seemeth, the
 matter of restraint of Presbyters marriage had no good successe at that time; which
 appeareth also in that after this time in a Councell it was referred to the King, and he
 was authorised & appointed to punish such Presbyters and Ministers of the Church,
 as hee should finde married, but he notably deceived the Popes Agents, that thus au-
 thorised him; for hee tooke money of such as were found to be married, and suffered
 them so to redceme their libertties, which grieved them not a little: yet did they in
 the end so farre forth obtaine their desires, and the tyranny of Antichrist so farre pre-
 vailed

De Clericis
lib. 1. cap. 19.

Ubi supra.

Ubi supra.

Lib. 7.

Math. Paris. in
Henrico. 1.
pag. 67.

Math. Paris.
in Henrico. 1.
pag. 68.

Constit. O-
thonis de ux-
oris à Benefi-
ciis amovendis.

De sacr. Eccl.
ministr. & be-
nef. lib. 4. c. 8.

Heb. 13. 4.
Socrat. l. 1. c. 8.

In 1 ad Tim. 3
De Roman.
Pont. l. 4. c. 10.

Syricii ad Hi-
mericum. c. 7.
Innocen. ad
Victorium. c. 9.
& in ep. ad Ex-
uperium. c. 1.

Canone 1.

Can. 33 & 18

vailed, that Presbyters durst no longer bee knowne publikely to be married, but were forced to take another course: for as it appeareth by the ^a Decrees of *Otho*, in the time of *Henry* the Third, many contracted matrimony secretly, and when in proceſſe of time children were borne unto them for their good when they saw it fit, they would take order it might be proved they were married, and their children borne in marriage, either by witnesses, or publicke instruments, either while they lived, or after their death. Whereby it is evident, that howsoever the impure *Romanists* sought to keepe Cleargy-men from marrying, and to force them by the censures of the Church, and other extremities to put away their wives, yet at that time they durst not pronounce their marriages void, nor their children illegitimate; for if they had, these men would not so carefully have provided to bee able to make proove of their marriages for the good of their children. So that though there wanted not instruments, set a worke by the Pope some hundreds of yeares past, that sought to restrain the marriage of Cleargy-men, yet was not their restraint like unto that of the *Romanists* at this day, for they did not so restrain Cleargy-men from marrying, or living with their wives, as to pronounce their marriages to be void, neither did they separate those that God had joyned together, but if they would marry, or continue with their wives, which they had formerly married, they permitted them so to doe, and onely put them from the ministry. Presbyters in former times (saith ^a *Dnaenus*) if they tooke wives in those places where marriage was forbidden, were put from the ministry, or perhaps where more severity was used, were excommunicated; but their marriage was not voyded; yet is it not to be denied, but that *Syricius* and *Innocentius* spake very unreverently of the state of marriage, endeavouring to prove that Presbyters are not to bee suffered to marry, because to live in marriage is to live in the flesh, & they that live in the flesh cannot please God. How absurd and inconsiderate this kinde of reasoning is, every man (I thinke) will easily discern: for whereas the ^a Apostle, and after him ^a *Paphnutius* in the Councell of *Nice*, pronounce that marriage is honourable among all, & the bed undefiled: and *Chrysostome* affirmeth, that it is so honourable, that men may be lifted up into the Bishops chaires with it; with what face can these men say, that to live in marriage is to live in the flesh, in such sort as not to please God. ^a *Bellarmines* evasion, that they speak not of marriage simply, but of forbidden marriage, such as that of Priests is, when they say, to live in marriage is to live in the flesh, & that therefore they say only, they who live in unlawfull & forbidden marriage, live in the flesh, & cannot please God, will not serve the turne. For they speak not of unlawfull & forbidden marriage, but goe about to prove, that marriage is to be forbiddē & denied to Presbyters, by a reason takē frō the nature of it, & something in it, or consequent of it, in respect whereof it cannot stand with the holinesse of the degree and calling of Presbyters and Ministers. So that they say simply, to live in marriage, is to live in the flesh: and that therefore the holy Ministers of the Church, who may not live in the flesh, must bee forbidden to marry; their words being a reason moving them to prohibite marriage, & not taken from the prohibition, as it will easily appeare to any one that will take the paines to view the Epistles of the *Romane* Bishops (if yet they have not beene corrupted, as many other things of like nature have.) But howsoever wee censure these sayings of the Popes, it is most certaine, that those particular Bishops of the West, who upon misconceit, sought to restrain Presbyters from living with their wives, yet never proceeded so far as either to pronounce their marriages unlawful, or to dissolve them till of late. And therefore they were most contrary in their judgements to the lewde assertions of Papists; who thinke and teach, that the marriages of Church-men are adulteries, & feare not to say, that it is worse for a man to take a wife to live with continually, then to joyne himselfe unto harlots: which prodigious assertion, all men in former times, even they who were most averse from the marriage of Cleargy-men would have detested. If a Presbyter (saith the Councell of ^a *Neocaesarea*) will marry a wife, let him bee put from his order, but if hee commit fornication or adultery, let him be driven further, and put to pennance. Whereupon the Councell of ^a *Helliberis* before-mentioned, agreeth, prescribing that such as commit adultery shall be put from the communion of the

the Church for ever: and likewise the Councell of *Arverne*. Some other indeed, Canone 12.
 there were that proceeded a little further, and put them from the communion of the
 Church, that would live in Matrimoniall society; but the Bishops in the Councell of
Turon thought good to moderate that extremity, and onely to keepe them from fur- Turonens. 1.
 ther promotion and sacred imployment: and with them the Bishops in the fifth Coun- Canone 2.
 cell of *Orleans* agree. So that these Bishops though inconsiderately restraining mar- Canone 4.
 riage, yet durst not pronounce the marriages of Church-men voyde, as our Adver-
 saries now doe; neither did they (for ought I can read) force men to make any vow of
 continence. For though some of them required a promise of living single, yet was it
 no vow; seeing a promise made to men is farre different from a vow, which is a pro-
 mise made to God. And many of them (as it may seeme) urged such as they admitted
 into the Ministry to no such promise at all: but received them in such sort, that they
 should so long be imployed, as they would refraine, & that if they pleased to marry, they
 should still enjoy the Communion of the Church, but should not be imployed in sacred
 function any longer. Touching the promise which some required, the second Coun-
 cell of *Toledo* prescribeth, that at eightene yeares of age they of the Cleargy shall Canone 1.
 resolve to marry, or promise to containe; & that at twenty they shall be made Subdea-
 cons. The Councell of *Ancyra* provideth, that if Deacons shall protest when they are Canone 10.
 ordained that they will not live single, but will have wives, they shall be permitted to
 marry, and yet keepe their places. But if professing that they will containe, they be-
 take themselves to former or new marriages, they shall enjoy the Lay-communion, but
 shall be put out of the Ministry and Cleargy. Whereby it appeareth, that there was
 no uniforme observation in the promise of continencie, that was required: seeing the
 one of these two Councils requireth it at eightene yeares of age, of such as were not
 yet Subdeacons, and the other leaveth such as were to bee Deacons to their owne
 choyce at the time of their ordination: nor that this promise was thought to make
 void the ensuing marriage; seeing such as contrary to promise, returned to the state of
 marriage, were permitted to enjoy the communion of the Church as Lay-men, though
 in some places they were put out of the Ministry and Cleargy. I say in some places,
 because it appeareth by the *Councell of Toledo*, appointing that such shall have but Concil. Tolet.
 the places of Lectors only, that they were not wholly deprived of the honour of Clear- 1. Canone 4.
 gy-men in all places. Afterwards indeed in the *Ninth Councell of Toledo*, the Bi- Canone 10.
 shops finding that all their former indeavours prevailed not, though they voided not
 the marriages of Cleargy-men, nor judged them to be adulteries as our Adversaries do,
 yet they adjudged such as should be borne of such marriages to a kind of bondage, and
 deprived them of that possibility of inherance, which formerly they might have had.
 But this was but the particular Decree of that Provinciaall Councell, and so could
 binde none but those few Churches in those partes. Neither did it. For long after
 heere in *England*, (as I have shewed) the Ministers of the Church were publikely
 married without any such wrong done either to them or their children. And long
 after the restraint of *Gregory* the seaventh, when this Decree of single life had in some
 sort prevailed, they did still secretly marry, and when they saw cause for the good of
 their children, made prooffe of their marriages. Neither is it to be marvelled at, that
 some particular Synodes in the West, set on by the Bishop of *Rome*, went about in some
 sort to restraine the lawfull Marriages of Church-men: (lawfull I say, both by the law
 of God, and the resolution, allowance, and practice of the greater part of the Christian
 Churches) seeing they forbade those, which even in the judgement of our adver-
 saries themselves, I thinke cannot bee denied to have beene lawfull. If the widdowe
 or relict of a Presbyter or Deacon, shall joyne herselfe to any one in marriage (saith
 the first Councell of *Orleans*) let them after chastisement bee seperated, or if they Canone 15.
 persist in the intention of such a crime, let them bee excommunicated. Wherewith
 the *Epaunine* Councell agreeth, and the second Councell of *Bracar*, saying: *If any* Canone 32.
widdow of a Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon take an husband, let no Cleargy-man, nor no re- Canone 29.
ligious woman banquet with them; neither let her ever communicate, onely at the time
of her death, let the Sacraments of the Church bee administred unto her. Likewise,
 the

Canone 32. the Councell of *Antisiodorum*, decreeth to the same effect. Neither can it be answered, that these Councils forbid the widdowes of Presbyters, Deacons, and Sub-deacons to marry, because during the life of their husbands, upon some voluntary parting, they bound themselves by promise to live continently. For the Councell of *Marisconen*.
 2. Canone 16. decreeth, that if the wives of Sub-deacons, Exorcistes, or Acoluthes, shall after their death, joyne themselves in marriage the second time, they shall be separated, & thrust into the houses of Nunnes. And yet these might lawfully live with their husbands, even in the judgment of them that made this decree. Neither were they any way induced necessarily to promise to containe.

Annal. Boiorum. lib. 5. pag. 565. & 571.

Bernard. de Conversione ad Clericos. c. 29.

Salvianus de Divina providentia lib. 5. citat. ab Espen. c. 20. lib. 1. de Continentia. cap. 12.

Sigebertus in Chronico, Anno 1074.

Thus having seene, where, when, and by whom, the forbidding of the lawfull marriage of Presbyters entred into the Church, in what sort it was urged at the first, how afterwards, what contradiction it found, and how farre forth in the end it prevailed; it remaineth that wee proceed to see what good followed upon it. Where first *Aventinus* telleth us, that after the constraint of *Hildebrand*, under the honest name of Chastity, the greatest part every where, without checke of punishment, committed whoredomes, incests, and adulteries, and that the Law of single life, which offended the good, was exceeding pleasing to impure companions, who now for one wife might have fixe hundred Harlots. Neither is this the private conceit of *Aventinus* alone, but all good & wise men beare witnes with him, that he speaketh the truth; & say as much as he. *Bernard* speaking of the state of the Cleargy in his time, saith, "Many, not all truely, but yet many undoubtedly, who neither can bee hid they are so many, nor care to bee hid they are so shamelesse; many surely seeme to have made the liberty in which they are called, to serve as a fit occasion to satisfie the flesh; abstaining from the remedy of Marriage, and powring forth themselves into all manner of sinfull wickednesses. And in the same Chapter hee saith, That if wee digge downe the wall, according to the wordes of the Prophet *Ezekiell*, wee shall see horrible things in the house of God. For after whoredomes, adulteries, and incests, there are found the passions of ignominy, and the workes of impurity and filthinesse. Would to GOD (*saith hee*) those thinges that are most unnaturall, were not committed: that neither the Apostles needed to write of them, nor wee to speake; and that no man would beleve that so abominable lust did ever possesse the minde of man. Were not those Cities, which were the Mothers of this impure filthinesse, long since condemned by the judgement of God himselfe, and consumed with fire? Did not the fire of hell, impatient of delay, prevent the time, and in a sort before the time, consume that cursed Nation? Did not fire, brimstone, and the stormie tempest, consume the very earth and ground it selfe, as privie to such confusions, as should never so much as once be thought of? Was not all the whole land and ground it selfe turned into an horrible Lake? Surely, five heads of the Monster *Hydra* are cut off: but woe is unto us, innumerable moe are risen up. Who hath reedified those Cities of villany? who hath enlarged the walles of impurity? and who hath spread out those venomous branches? Woe, woe! the enemy of man-kinde hath scattered every where round about, the unhappy reliques of that sulphureous burning, and hath sprinkled the body of the Church with those execrable ashes, and hath filled some of the Ministers of the Church, with that filthy, stinking, and impure running soare. *Salvianus* in like sort, in his booke of divine Providence, hath these wordes. "It is surely altogether a new and strange kinde of conversion, that some men talke of, lawfull thinges they doe not, and unlawfull thinges they commit. They refraine from marriage, but refraine not from Rape. What doest thou O foolish perswasion? God forbid sinne, not marriage: your deedes agree not with your profession. You should not be the friends of enormous crimes, who professe to doe the workes of vertue. It is a posterous thing that you doe, it is not conversion but aversion. You that have long since (as the same is) forsaken the worke of honest marriage, cease at the last, from sinfull wickednesse. With these agree the Historians generally, reporting that innumerable evils followed the prohibition of the marriage of Cleargy-men, published by Pope *Hildebrand*; that few lived continently, though some counterfained so

to doe for filthie lucre's sake, and for ostentation; and that many joynd both perjurie and adultery together: and not contenting themselves with an ordinary degree of wickednesse, multiplyed their whoredomes and adulteries exceedingly.

Whereupon wee shall finde, that many of the best learned, most judicious, and worthiest men, the Church had in latter times, wished the law of single life to be taken away, even as many resisted it when it was first made. *Durandus* in his booke

* *De modo celebrandi Concilij*, proveth by many reasons, that it were fit that the li-

bertie of marriage were againe restored to Priestes in a Generall Councell. In the Councell of *Basill*, when exception was taken against the choyce of *Amedeus Duke*

of *Savoy*, (whom many thought fit to bee Pope) for that hee had beene a married man, and had children, it was answered by some of good esteeme, that that was no

exception, and that haply it were much better that Priestes were permitted to live in marriage, then restrained. For that many of them might be saved in chaste marriage,

which now perish in their filthie and impure single life. *Aeneas Sylvius* a great man in that Councell, who was afterwarde Pope, and named *Pius* the second, in an

Epistle to a friend of his, who was in the holy orders of the Ministry of the Church, and yet desirous for the avoyding of fornication, to marry a wife, writeth

thus: *Wee suppose that you are not ill advised, if when you cannot containe, you seeke a wife, though that should have beene thought on before you had entered into holy Orders.*

But we are not Gods, neither can we fore-see things to come. Wherefore seeing things are come to this passe, that you cannot resist the law of the flesh, it is better to marry then to

burne. Yet cannot the Pope be perswaded to dispense with you; but he standeth resolved to hold his severe course still, and thinketh it not fit to grant that to one, which may be hurtfull

unto many. If therefore you desire safely to marry, you must expect some other Pope, who may be more inclinable and yeelding. And of this *Aeneas Sylvius*, afterwards named

Pius the second, *Platina*, and *Sabellicus* report, that hee was wont to say, That they had, no doubt, reason to leade them so to doe, that forbade the Marriage of Cleargy-

men, but that there was much greater reason now to leave it free againe. *Baptista Mantuanus* saith, that many thought the Lawes against marriage to bee evill; that they

which made those Lawes, had not sufficiently considered what the nature of man can beare, that *CHRIST* never put so unpleasant a Yoake upon the neckes of men; that

this burden, too heavie for the shoulders of men to beare, hath brought forth many monstrous effects: that it was a shew of Piety, but indeed too great beldnesse, that

laid this burthen upon the shoulders of men; that it had beene more safe to have gone that way wherein the divine Law directeth us, and to have trode in the steppes of

the Auncient Fathers, whose life was better in marriage, then ours that is single. *Ioannes Antonius* saith, in the time of the Primitive Church, it was lawfull for

Presbyters, and such as were entered into holy Orders, to have wives, so that they refrained from companying with them, upon the dayes wherein they celebrated:

that afterwarde in the Westerne Church, they that were entred into holy Orders were commanded to containe: which commandment (hee saith) yeelded matter

to ensnare the soules of many men, and therefore hee verily beleeveth, that as the Church brought in this precept of continencie, so the time will come, when the

same Church will reverse and revoke it againe: which revocation shall be agreeable to that of the Apostle, who saith, *Concerning Virgins, I have no commandment, but*

I give advice. With *Antonius* agreeth *Panormitanus*, who proposing the question, whether the Church may give leave to Presbyters to contract marriage, or to live in

marriage, as the *Gracians* doe, answereth, that hee beleeveth it may: and that he is assured it may in respect of them, who are not tyed by vow implied or expressed.

Which hee proveth, because continencie in secular Cleargy-men is not of the substance of order, nor prescribed by the Law of *G O D*. For that otherwise the *Gre-*

cians should sinne, and no custome could excuse them: seeing no custome is of force against the Law of *G O D*. Nither doth hee onely thinke, that the Church

hath power thus to doe, but professeth, hee thinketh it were behoovefull, and for the good and salvation of the soules of men, that such as are willing to containe,

and

* Rubric. 46.

fol. 35.

p Aen. Sylv. de
gest. concil. Bas.

9 Ep. 307. ad
Joan. Frundt.

r In Pio. 2.

(Ennead. 10.

l. 6. pag. 731.

† Pastorum l. i.

† Tit Qui Cle-
rici vel volen-
tes matrimonia
contrahere pos-
sunt. Citat. ab
Andr. Frisio.
l. 4. de Ecclesiā.

x 1 Cor. 7. 25.

y De Clericis
conjugatis, cap.
cum olim.

^a Citat. ab Andrea Frisio. de Ecclesiâ, lib. 4.

^a De Invent. Rerum. lib. 5. cap. 4.

^b Citat. à Chemnitio in examine Trident. Concil.

^c In Declamatio de laudib. Matrimonij.

^d Ubi suprà.

^e In Consultatione de Sacerdot. Cælibatu. * Æneas Sylvius writing to Petrus Noxetus hath these words. Adhuc cavi ne me sacer ordo involveret. Timeo enim continentiam, &c. Epist. 50.

and to lead a life of higher perfection, should be left to their owne will, and that such as are not willing to containe, should by the Decree of the Church be set free to contract marriage. ^a *Alfonsus Vervecius*, as *Andreas Frisius* telleth us, discovering the words of *Paul*, (*For the avoyding of fornication, let every one have his owne wife*) saith, they containe no precept, but a concession or graunt: and affirmeth, that by vertue of this graunt, every one that cannot otherwise avoide fornication, may marry a wife. And after certaine remedies prescribed to be observed & used by Presbyters, that they may avoyde fornication, at last, confidently giveth counsell to him, who having tryed all those meanes cannot containe, rather to marry a wife, and so to provide for his owne salvation, then to commit fornication, and so cast himselfe head-long into eternal death: but yet perswadeth such a one to doe nothing without seeking the Popes consent, hoping that he will dispense in such a case; seeing the power he hath, was given him for edification, and not for destruction. 'I dare confidently say, (saith ^a *Polydore Virgil*) that it hath beene so farre from being true, that this inforced Chastity hath excelled that which is in marriage: that no sinfull crime hath brought greater disgrace to the order of the Ministry, more evill to religion, or made a greater and deeper impression of sorrow in all good men, then the staine of the impure lust of Priestes. And therefore haply, it were behoovefull for the Christian commonwealth, and for the good of them that are of that sacred order and ranke, that at the last a publike Law might bee made to give leave to Priestes to contract marriage. 'Wherein rather they might live honestly and holily without infamy, then in most filthy manner defile themselves with this sinne of Nature. And Bishop ^b *Lindan* saith: Surely even at this day, it is lawfull to take chaste and honest married men into the order of Priest-hood: which (in my judgement) might much better be done in some Provinces of *Germany*, then to set over them certaine most impure companions, or any longer to endure and tollerate Knaves, Apostataes, and Sacrilegious Pastours. With these agreeth ^c *Erasmus*, affirming, that in his conceipt, hee should not ill deserve, nor take the worst course for the furthering of humane affaires, & the right informing of the manners of men, which should procure liberty of marriage (if it might bee) both for Priestes and Monkes. And therefore *Sigismund* the Emperour, a little before the Councell of *Basil* began, published a reformation of the Cleargy, in which among other things this was one, that forasmuch as more evill commeth by the forbidding of marriage then good, it were better and more safe to permit Cleargy-men to live in the state of marriage according to the custome of the Orientall Churches, then to forbid them so to doe. In the Councell of *Trent*, the Orator of *Bavaria* moved to the same purpose. And ^d *Chemnitius* reporteth from *George* the Prince of *Anhalt*, and *Adolphus* Bishop of *Mersberch* his uncle, would often say, before ever *Luther* began to stirre, that if there were a Councell, hee would bee a perswader, that Cleargy-men might be permitted to marry: and professed that hee knew, that many for the quiet of their consciences secretly contracted marriage with those women which they kept under the name of Concubines. And surely even the Popes themselves were content to winke at things in this kinde. *Georgius Cassander*, a man of infinite reading, excellent judgement, and singular piety and sincerity, and therefore so much respected and honoured by *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* the second, that they held him the fittest man in the world to compose the controversies in religion, & sent for him to come unto them for the same purpose, is clearly of opinion that howsoever some in ancient times forbad the marriage of Cleargy-men, yet now it were fit and necessary that that law were abrogated: first, because it is found by wofull experience to bee the cause of many grievous evils: secondly, for that the severity of Discipline, and strictnesse in all courses of life, that was in use when this Law began first to bee urged, is cleane gon, or much decayed, even in the opinion of all. So that that which was fit in those times, may now bee most unfitte. Thirdly, for that many godly and learned men are thereby ^e discouraged from entring into the Ministerie, refusing to binde themselves to the observation of this law of single life, whereby the Church looseth the benefit of their labours; few young men, indeed religious

religious and pious, applying themselves to the study of Divinity: but such onely for the most part, as seeke nothing but rich and good livings; that intend a dissolute course of life, and resolve afore-hand, to wallow in all impurity of lust; (besides some few, who inconsiderately before they know themselves, fall into the snare.) Neither doth hee onely thinke it fit, that married men bee admitted into the Ministry; and suffered to company with their wives, according to the custome of the Orientall Churches, but is of opinion also, that they may be permitted to marry, after they are entred into holy Orders, yea though there were no allowed example of any such thing heretofore; seeing the prohibition is but positive, and many positive constitutions have beene abrogated. But indeede there are not onely examples of men marrying after entering into Orders: but also of the Churches allowing the same. For touching Subdeacons and Deacons, there can be no question; seeing the Councell of *Ancyra*, which was most ancient and confirmed by *Leo* the Pope, as *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth, decreed, that Deacons, with the Bishops leave, might marry wives after their entrance into holy Orders. ^a In the time of *Gregory* the Seaventh, and before, as it appeareth by the stories of those times; Priests did marry after Orders: and when hee went about to forbidde them so to doe, hee was condemned by the whole Nation of Cleargy-men, and deposed in a Councell of Bishops: being justly disliked as for other thinges, so for this his Antichristian and vile attempt. Neither did those men, which desired a Decree to bee passed, to give the liberty of marriage unto Church-men, of whom I have spoken, desire onely the permitting of married men so to continue, but of such as are not married for to marry, as it easily appeareth by their discourses. And surely howsoever there might bee some reason of expedience, rather to admit married men to enter into the Ministry, and to continue in the same state, then to suffer such as come into it unmarried, to marry afterwards: yet if the one be lawfull as (as *Bellarmino* rightly noteth) the other cannot be unlawful. For if any thing be found in marriage, that cannot stand with the sanctitie of the Ministry, or the due execution of it, it is not the contract, which is a thing most seemely and honest and soone past, but the act of it, and the cares accompanying that state of life. The manner, custome and observation of the *Greeke* Churches, is described by *Zonaras* in his explications of the Canons of the Apostles: where he saith, that Presbyters, Deacons, & Subdeacons before they be ordained, are asked whether they will live single or not: and if they answer that they will; they are presently ordained. But if they answer, that they will not: they are permitted to take them wives first: and then are ordained after marriage. So that they give them leave to marrie after they have chosen them, though before they ordaine them: but if refusing to marry before ordination (when they are willed to resolve what they will doe) they marrie afterwarde, they are put from the Ministry, but not from their wives.

* By that which hath beene said, it is most cleare and evident, that the marriage of Ministers is justifiable by Gods Law, by the Canons and practice of the greatest part of the Church, and by the judgment of sundry of the greatest and worthiest of the World, in whose places, where it seemed to be most disliked, in all ages, even till our time: yet there remaineth still no doubt, touching the lawfulness of their Marriages that by vow had promised the contrary. Concerning which point, two thinges are to bee observed: first, whether their marriage bee voyde, that vowed not to marry. Secondly, whether they doe sinne, that upon any occasion, or change of the state of things, doe contrary to such their vow. Touching the first of these two points, to wit, that the marriages of such as had vowed the contrary, are not voyde, wee have the judgement of sundry the best learned among the Fathers. For first, *Cyprian* speaking of Virgins hath these words: *Quod si ex fide Christo se dicaverunt; pudice, & caste sine ulla fabula perseverent. Ita fortes & stabiles premium virginis expectent, si autem per severare nolunt, aut non possunt, melius est nubant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant*: That is: if by faith they have dedicated themselves to *CHRIST*, let them chastly, and with all honest shamefastnesse, without lying, or falshood so continue, and resolute

f Canone 10.

g De Clericis,

lib. 1. cap. 18.

h Vide supra.

i Ubi supra.

* For farther prooffe hereof see the first booke of *Claudius Eppencæus de Continentiâ.*k *Cyprian* l. 1. Epist. 11.

(De Monach.
l. 2. c. 34.

m Aug. de bono
Viduitatis.

n Epist. 70.

and constant, let them expect the reward of Virginitie: but if they will not, or cannot persevere, it is better that they should marry, then that by their sinnes they should fall into the fire. Which wordes are cleare enough for prooffe of that which wee defend. Yet *Bellarmino* and some others seeke to avoyde them; making as if *Cyprian* did onely say, that if Virgins that are to resolve, and are yet free, thinke they cannot containe, it were better for them to marry then to burne. But this evasion serveth not the turne: for *Cyprian* speaketh of such as have already dedicated themselves to God, willing them to persevere; and yet saith, if they will not or cannot containe, they were better to marry then to burne: and therefore he thinketh marriage after a vow made to the contrary to be good, though he that voweth without constant purpose of performing, is not without fault. *Pamelius* writing on this place of *Cyprian* hath these wordes: If *Cyprian* by a certaine indulgence permitted such Virgines upon whom the vaile was not yet put, to marry rather then to burne, let no man marvel at it: seeing their marriages, if they doe marry, are not dissolved by any Canons, but they are onely enjoyned penance. Saint *Augustine* agreeth with *Cyprian*: for, speaking of the marriages of such as had vowed the contrary, hee hath these wordes: *They who say, that the marriages of such men are not marriages, but rather adulteries, as it seemeth to mee, doe not acutely and diligently enough consider what they say: but a certaine likenesse and shew of truth deceiveth them. For, because they are said to chuse CHRIST to bee their Husband, which out of a certaine love of Christian sanctity, refuse to marry, there are some that argue and say, that if shee be an adulteresse which marryeth to another man while her husband liveth, as the LORD himselfe defined in the Gospell, then so long as CHRIST liveth, over whom Death hath no more dominion, shee must needs bee an adulteresse, which having chosen him, to bee her husband, marryeth unto any mortall man: They truly which thus say, seeme to bee moved, by some reason, that is not to be condemned: but they little consider, how great absurdity followeth upon that which they say: for seeing a woman may laudably (even while her husband liveth) with his consent vow continency unto CHRIST; according to the argument of these men, no woman may so doe; least (which once to thinke is impious) she make CHRIST himselfe an adulterer, to whom she marryeth, her husband yet living. After this refutation of their reasons, hee goeth forward to shew the absurd consequences of their opinion. By this inconsiderate opinion (saith hee) of them that thinke the marriages of women, false from an holy purpose, if they doe marry, to bee void, not a little evill is brought forth: for from hence it cometh, that women are separated from their husbands, as adulteresses, and not wives. And while they thus separate them, and force them to containe, they make their husbands truly and indeed adulterers: when as (these their wives yet living) they marry. Thus doth *Augustine* resolve, that marriages after vowes made to the contrary, are lawfull and good; though the not performing of vowed continency, is a sinne (as hee thinketh) more grievous then adultery, not for that the marriage of such is to be condemned, but because the inconstancie in not performing that was purposed, and the violating of the vow are condemned. *Non susceptio à bono inferiori, sed ruina ex bono superiori*: not for that they doe a lesser good, but because they fall from a greater. Lastly, not for that they afterwards married, but for that they violated their first faith of continency. Which thing that the Apostle might briefly insinuate, hee would not say, that they have damnation which marrie after the purpose of a more high degree of sanctity: not for that they are not to be disliked that so doe, but least their marriage it selfe might seeme to be condemned; but when he had said, they will marry, hee by and by addeth, Having condemnation, and expresth why; Because they have broken their first faith. That it may appeare that the Will which fell from a former purpose, is condemned and reprov'd, whether marriage follow or not. If any man doubt whether Saint *Augustine* were the Author of this booke, *De bono viduitatis*, wherein these things are found, as some doe; and consequently, whether hee were of the opinion wee have recited, or not: hee may easily know, that this is Saint *Augustines* judgement, whether this be his booke or not; by his Epistle to one *Bonifacius*, who had vowed a monasticall retired*

retired, and single life, and yet afterwards did marry; whom hee telleth, hee cannot now, as otherwise he would, exhort to that kind of life, which he had formerly vowed, because of his wife; so that he thought not his marriage void, or that he was to be separated from his wife. His words are these: *Thy wife bindereth mee that I cannot exhort thee to this kinde of life; without whose consent it is not lawfull for thee to containe,*

&c. And else-where speaking of certaine women, who abode not in that which they had first vowed, which had a desire of marriage, but married not for feare of disgrace, he saith; *It were better for them to marry then to burne: that is, then to bee wasted with the secret flame of the conscience in lust.* And *Hierome* also is of the same opinion.

For speaking to a certaine virgine that had privately vowed virginity; and that could not endure the straight keeping of her mothers house, he hath these words: *If thou be a virgine, why dost thou feare carefull and diligent keeping? If thou be corrupted, why dost thou not openly marry? This is as a board to swimme out on after shipwracke. So shouldst thou temper that which thou beganest ill, by using this remedy. Neither truly doe I say this, for that I take away repentance after sin, (that so that which is ill begun, may still continue) but for that I despaire of drawing of you from that ill company into which you are entered.*

And in his Epistle to *Demetriades* he hath these words: *The ill name and report of some that behave not themselves well, disgraceth and dishonoureth the holy purpose of virgins; and obscureth and blemisheth the glory of the Heavenly and Angel-like family: who must bee plainly and peremptorily urged and required either to marry,*

if they cannot containe, or to containe if they will not marry. To these we may adde *Epiphanius*, who indeed maketh it *xeiua*, that is, a thing evill; and such as God will judge and punish, to forget, neglect, and not to performe a vow made to God; but not *nequeua*, that is, a thing that casteth men into the condemnation of hell fire, and plunged them into everlasting destruction as to live in adultery: Who defendeth, that it is better to descend to that state of life, which is lawfull and honourable, with one fault of breaking the vow passed to the contrary, and with teares of repentance to wash away the impurity of that one fault of inconstancy, and so to be saved, then to live in sinne continually and so to perish.

So that, though he thinke it a fault for a man to promise a course of continencie to GOD by vow, and not to performe it; yet hee thinketh it better for a man after this one fault committed, which may bee repented of and forgiven, to marry, then by living in continuall adultery, to adde one sinne unto another, and to plunge himselfe into endlesse destruction.

Hugo de Sancto Victore maketh two constructions of the wordes of Saint *Austine* before alleadged. Whereof the one is, that hee speaketh of secret vowes, whereof the Church can take no knowledge; because there is no witnesse of them; and that Saint *Austines* meaning is, that marriages after such vowes, are to be reputed good by the Church. The other is, that the Church in the time of *Austine*, allowed marriages, after a vow made to the contrary, but that now the same Church (for considerations her moving) hath determined otherwise, and by her authority made them voyde.

The former of these constructions is too weake and cannot bee allowed. For, that *Austine* thinketh marriage is lawfull and good, after knowne vowes made to the contrary, it is evident by his Epistle to *Bonifacius*, whom he blameth for breaking his vow, whereof himselfe and *Alipius* were witnesses, and yet alloweth his marriage; as also for that in the place interpreted by *Hugo*, hee sheweth that some who were of another judgement, (as indeed we finde *Innocentius* Bishop of *Rome* to have beene) dissolved marriages after vowes made to the contrary, which they would not, nor could not have done, if those vowes had beene altogether secret and unknowne.

Neither doth that he saith in the 2^d place, any better avoid the cleare evidence of Saint *Austines* judgment, then the first. For no difference of times, and conditions of men and things, can so change the nature of vowes and marriages, as that a vow at one time should make void an ensuing marriage, and not at another.

Others therefore there bee, who goe about to avoyde the evidence of the authorities of *Austine* and the Fathers brought to prove the validity of marriage, after vowes made to the contrary, by making a distinction of vowes. These men therefore make 2 sorts of vowes: naming some *simple*,

and

and

and

and

De Sancta Virginitate. cap. 34.

Hieron. Epist. 47. de suspecto Contubernio vitando.

9 Herefi. 61.

Erudit. Theol. de Sacram. fidei. lib. 2. part. 11. cap. 12.

Epist. 2. ad Vitricium. cap. 12.

*In secundam
secundæ quæst.
38. art. 11.*

*De Mona-
chis, l. 2. c. 34.*

and other *solemne*; and affirme that the latter do debarre men from marriage, and void their marriages if they do marry; but that the former do so debarre them from marrying, that they cannot marry without some offence, and yet if they do, their marriage is good and not to be voided. The Divines of the Church of *Rome* (as *Cajetane* rightly noteth) differ much in opinion, about the difference of these vowes. For some of them thinke, that they differ in such sort, as that one of them is a promise onely, and the other a reall and actuall exhibition; & that the solemnity of a mans vow consisteth in a reall and actuall exhibition of himselfe, and putting himselfe into such an estate, as cannot stand with marriage. But this opinion (as hee rightly noteth) cannot bee true; seeing there is no such repugnance simply, and in the nature of the thinges, betwene the Order of the holy Ministry and Marriage: as appeareth in that the Ministers of the *Greeke* Church (as tyed by no vow) are judged by all to live in lawful Marriage, notwithstanding their Ministry; and also in that the entering into no religious Order, voydeth marriage, unlesse it bee approved by the Church. There is therefore (as he sheweth) another opinion, that it is not from different nature of the vowes, that the one voideth marriage contracted, and the other doth not; but from the authority of the Church, that will have marriage after a vow made in one sort to be voyd, and not in another. The latter of these two opinions *Bellarmino* saith, *Scorum*, *Paludanus* and *Cajetane* follow: and (as *Panormitan* reporteth) the whole schoole of Canonists. And these do answer to the authorities of the Fathers, denying marriages to bee voyde after a solemne vow, that they are to bee understood to deny them to be voyde by Gods Law, and that there was no Law of man then passed to make them voyde, when they lived, that they knew of, and that therefore they might rightly be of opinion in those times, that no vowes made insuing marriages to be voyde; seeing no vowes doe voyde marriages by GODS Law, and there was no Law of man in their time making marriage voyde in respect of a vow made to the contrary. So that even in the judgment of many of the best learned of our Adversaries themselves, marriage after a vow is not void by Gods law, but only by the positive Constitution of the Church, which will have it so to bee. But against this positive Constitution two things may be alleadged: first, that it began from that erroneous conceipt, which *Aufine* refuteth in his booke *de bono viduitatis*: as it appeareth by the Epistle of *Innocentius*, grounding his resolution for voyding of marriages in this kinde, upon that very reason of their beeing espoused to Christ, which have vowed unto GOD that they will live continently. Secondly, that the Church hath no power simply to forbid any man to marry, whom Gods Law leaveth free: seeing single life is one of the things that men may be counselled and advised unto, but cannot bee prescribed and imposed by commandment: that the Church may keepe men from marriage, if they will injoy some favours, as wee see in Colledges and Societies, or that She may by her Censures punish such as unadvisedly, and without just cause, shall breake their vow and promise, we make no question: but that Shee may simply forbid any one to marry, how faulty and punishable soever otherwise, wee utterly deny. Neither is the reason that is brought to prove this power to be in the Church of any force. For though it were granted, that the Church by her authority for respects best knowne to her selfe, may forbid a man to marry with some of those with whom God permitteth him to marry; yet will it not follow, that Shee may absolutely forbid any one to contract marriage, seeing parents to whom it pertaineth to direct the choyce of their children, may forbid them to marry with such as they justly dislike, and yet they may not simply restraie them from marrying. So that though it were yeilded, that the Church for causes best knowne to her selfe, may forbid marriage with moe then the Law of God doth: and that in such sort, as to void it, having greater power in this behalfe then naturall parents: yet would it not follow that shee may simply forbid any one to marry, and void his marriage if he doe: whereas the Law of God voideth it not. And so we see, that as marriage after a solemne vow is not void by the Law of God, so the Church hath no power to make any law to make it void.

But because though it be so, yet it may seeme, that no man that had vowed the contrary

can marry without sinne, it remaineth, that wee proceed to consider and see whether there bee any cases, wherein a man, that vowed the contrary, may marry without offence to God. First, touching this point, the Schoolemen generally resolve, that the Pope may dispence with a Priest, Deacon, or Sub-deacon to marry, though he have solemnely vowed the contrary by entring into holy Orders; because the duty and bond of containing is not essentially annexed unto holy Orders, but by the Canon of the Church onely. ^a *Aquinas*, and they of that time thought he might not dispence with a Monke to marry. For that single is essentially implied in the profession of a Monke, and cannot be separated from the same, as it may from the office and calling of a Priest. But since that time the generall opinion is that he may; because though single life cannot be separated from the profession of a Monke, yet he that is a Monke may be freed from that profession that hee hath made, and cease to be a Monke. Neither is this onely the opinion of the Schooles, but the practise of Popes hath concurred with the same. For (as ^b *Petrus Paludanus* reporteth) a Pope revived a Monke, who was next in blood, and to succeed in the Kingdome of *Arragon*, and dispensed with him to marry a Wife for the good of that Kingdome. ^c *Cajetane* saith, the like is reported in the stories of *Constantia*, daughter and heire of *Roger* King of *Sicily*; who was a religious woman, and of fiftie yeares of age, and yet by the dispensation of *Celestinus*, was called out of the Cloyster, and permitted to marry with the Emperour *Henry* the Sixth, who begat of her *Fredericke* the Second. And ^d *Andreas Frisius* reporteth out of the Histories of *Polonia*, that *Casimirus*, sonne of *Mersistaw* King of *Polonia*, was a Monke, and ordained a Deacon, and yet when after the death of *Mersistaw* his father, there was none to sway the Scepter of that Kingdome, (whence many mischiefs followed) *Benedict* the Ninth gave him leave to marry a Wife; making him to leave his Cloyster, his Vowes, and Deaconship, that so there might be a succession in that Kingdome: So that there is no question, but that for a common good, men may bee dispensed with to marry, that have solemnely vowed the contrary. Yea ^e *Cardinall Cajetan* proceedeth further, and saith, that the Pope may dispense with such to marry as have vowed the contrary, not onely for the publike benefit and good of the whole, or Common wealth, but for the greater good of the parties that have vowed. ^f *Hugo de Sancto Victore* disputing what vowes they are that must bee kept, pronounceth peremptorily, that the vowes of fooles are to be broken, and not kept; & defineth all those to bee the vowes of fooles, that either are made *de malo*, or *de bono male*: That is, for the doing of some ill, or for the doing of some good, but not well. For example, if one vow to kill a man, as they did in the *Actes*, that ^g bound themselves by a vow neither to eate nor drinke till they had killed *Paul*; such a vow is *de malo & malum*; That is, it is for the doing of an evill thing, and it selfe is evill. *In quo prima culpa fuit vovere, secunda foret, si impleretur, proficere*: that is, in which kinde it was ill to vow, and it would be worse to performe: and therefore such vowes are not to be kept. Neither are they onely the vowes of fooles, that are made for the doing of some evill, but they also that are made for the doing of good, if they be not well and rightly made, are to bee reckoned among the vowes of fooles that are to be broken. Now that vow is not well made, which though it be touching something that is good, yet it is touching that which either one may not lawfully doe, or it is not expedient for him to doe: One may not doe, as if a woman vow continency without the consent of her husband: Which it is not expedient to do, as if a man in fasting or any other worke purpose the doing of that which is above his strength and ability. All these vowes of fooles, as well of the second, as of the first kinde, may bee broken without seeking any dispensation. For a dispensation is then needefull when the vow is good and advisedly made, and yet (in some particular case that may fall out) not to bee kept. In which case either the whole is remitted, or some other thing equivalent is by way of commutation enjoined. Wherefore let us consider what is to be thought of the vowes of single life, made by men of the Cleargy in latter times. Touching which ^h *Andreas Frisius* rightly noteth, that if the vowes of children in respect of their want of judgement, and the vowes of them that are constrained, bee

^a Secunda secundæ, quæst. 88. art. 1.

^b In 4. sent. dist. 58.

^c In secunda secundæ loc. cit.

^d Lib. 4. de eccl.

^e Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 27.

^f Erudit. theol. de sacr. fid. l. 2. part. 12. c. 4.

^g Act. 23. 12.

^h Ubi supra.

In Consult. de
Czlibatu Sacer
dorum.

De vitâ spiri-
tuali.

Erud. Theo-
log. de Sacra-
ment. fidei lib.
2. part. VI. c. 12.

little to be regarded, because they are not voluntary, there is little respect to be had to those vowes of single life, that men made in latter times; seeing for the most part they desired not that they vowed, but some other thinges; in respect whereof they doubted not to vow that, they had neither purpose nor desire to performe. It was the hope of honour, wealth, ease, and a voluptuous life, that drew the most part of them to make promise of that which they never had any love unto, and some other of a better minde, finding that they could not otherwise enter into the Ministry of the Church, ranne into it, before they considered of the great waight of the burthen which they put upon their shoulders. It cannot bee denied (saith *Cassander*) but that they did ill, and ensnared the consciences of men, who admitted young men not yet knowne to themselves, into the Ministry; and when they found the burden of single life too heavy, which yet together with the honour of their calling they were forced to take up, rather dissembled, and in a sort approved any impurity in them, when they would remit any thing of their owne law, or suffer them to marrie, without consideration of the difference of times, manners, and course of life; which have made thinges not onely hard, but impossible to bee performed, that were in the time of greater severity of discipline (as *Gerson* rightly observeth) not so hard. So that from this hard Law, and the violent urging of it, many grievous and most abominable scandals in the Church have proceeded. Wherefore seeing in the judgement of the best Learned of the Fathers, marriages are good notwithstanding vowes made to the contrary; I thinke wee may boldly resolve, that howsoever they did ill, that made inconsiderate vowes of single life, which they never meant to performe; yet they did not ill, that out of consideration of their owne infirmity chose rather to marry, then continually to displease God by wallowing in all impurity. *Hugo de sancto victore* bringeth in the secret thoughts of men bound with such vowes, soliciting and urging them in this sort: Thou canst not resist so violent a passion, nor indure the heat of such burning desires, which have proclaimed warre against thee, not for this day, or the next, or the third, or fourth alone, nor for the space of a moneth, or a yeare, they will never leave thee, they will not spare thee, they will give thee no peace nor rest, so long as thou shalt live upon the earth, and carry about with thee this mortall flesh, they will alwayes oppresse thine intention, and avert thy cogitation, that thou shalt never bee able to lift up thy minde with liberty, or thy will with purity unto God. See therefore what thou doest: Thou loosest this world, and gainest not the other. It were better for thee at least to avoide these present torments, then wholly to perish, and no where to see or enjoy any good. God doth see that thou sufferest these thinges unwillingly, that thou art drawne to that thou wouldst not, and givest consent but by constraint. It may be he will have respect to the violence of thy passion, that he will take pittie on thee, and pardon thy excesse; especially seeing the Apostle saith, it is better to marry then to burne; and againe, for the avoyding of fornication, Let every one have his owne wife; it is better to use the lawfull remedy for this infirmity, then sinfully still to burne in lust. Whereunto hee bringeth in the inconsiderate votary, answering thus. The Lord knoweth that I cannot containe. When I thought I could, I willingly resolve so to doe, and would willingly still continue in the same will and resolution, if I could indure it. But I can no longer abide the heate of these burning desires. Wherefore I resolve to doe that which onely remaineth, which is to marry a wife, and so to support my weakenesse and infirmity: Sorry truly, that I am forced to come downe from the heighth of that good I aspired unto; but yet despaired not, because I descend to those thinges that are lawfull. I had rather, *in inferiori bono salvari, quàm in summo periclitari*, that is, I had rather be saved, contayning my selfe within the limits of the lower degrees of good, then to endanger my selfe in the highest: and if it be a fault that I descend, and performe not that I purposed, I will repent of this my fault, and by all due satisfaction pacifie and appease my God; nothing shall seeme hard unto mee, so that I may avoid this passion, and decline this death, *in quâ vivens teneor*, that is, in which I am holden though I live. These reasons he saith must needs prevaile, and cannot be resisted, if marriage after
a VOW

a vow made to the contrary be lawfull; if the Church may not dissolve it, and if satisfaction may be attained by men living in it, as I have sufficiently proved they may: and therefore our Adversaries rashly condemne such as in our time have married, notwithstanding their vows. If a man (saith *Erasmus*) shall undertake to carry a burden to certaine place, and after finding his inability to performe it, shall desire to be excused, and that some lighter burden may be laid upon him, hee is much better to be allowed, then hee that goeth on in that hee undertooke, and fainting by the way hurteth himselfe, and disappointeth him that set him on worke: and in like manner hee is rather to be approved, that prayeth to be eased of the over-heavy burden of single life, and resolveth to live honestly in marriage, then he that will still live single, though never so wickedly, whatsoever *Pighius* and *Eckius* prate to the contrary: who feare not to preferre a Priest that liveth in adultery, before him that marrieth a wife. Besides all this which hath beene said, seeing single life is not simply good, and to be desired, but respectively to certaine endes, therefore they that chose to live single, and intended not the glory of God, the good of his Church, and the more opportunities of doing good without distraction, did not make any lawfull vow; seeing a vow must be of that which is good, and properly of the better good; and consequently were not tyed to the keeping of it; it being resolved, that the vowes of fooles, that is, such as are made without respect to the right end, without due consideration of their owne strength, and a free and voluntary purpose of performing that they promise, are not to be kept. Whence it will follow, that the most part of the vowes men made in latter times, not intending the right end, are not to be kept.

C H A P. 58.

Of Digamie, and what kinde of it, it is that debarreth men from entering into the Ministry.

H I T H E R T O we have proved the lawfulness of Ministers marriage, and sufficiently shewed that no Law of GOD or the Church forbiddeth it, and that no rash and inconsiderate vow hindereth it; if men cannot containe: Now let us proceede to see, whether they be any more restrained and limited in their marriage then other men. Some there be who thinke they are, and teach, that they must marry but once onely; whereas other may lawfully marry, as often as they please. And further, they suppose, that if any man have beene twice married, or have married a Widow, hee may not be admitted into the Ministry. The ground of which conceit is that of the Apostle, where hee saith: *A Bishop must be the husband of one wife*: But the meaning of the Apostle is, that he, who is to be chosen a Bishop, must not have more wives then one at one time. So that the Digamie the Apostle condemneth is not the having of two or more wives successively, but the having of more then one at the same time. Of which it is that *Iustine Martyr* speaketh, when expounding that saying of our Saviour: *Hee that marrieth her that is forsaken, committeth adultery*, hee concludeth that they, who according to mans law runne into Digamies, by our Masters judgement are found to be sinners. And therefore *Chrysostome* expoundeth the text of the Apostle as meant of Polygamy, which is the having of many wives at once. His wordes are these: The Apostle saith not this as making a Law, that none without a wife may be made a Bishop, but appointing a measure of that matter. For it was lawfull for the Jewes to be joyned in the second marriage, and to have two wives at once. Thus doth he interpret the Apostles words, though he were not ignorant that some followed another interpretation. And therefore *Bellarmino* untruly denyeth, that any of the Ancient followed this interpretation, but *Theodoret*. And the *Rhemistes* confesse that *Chrysostome* so interpreteth them, but they say, that writing upon *Titus* hee followeth the other interpretation; but surely it were strange if hee should so soone forget himselfe. Let us heare therefore what he saith, that so wee may the better discern whether he dissent from himselfe

Ubi supra

1 Tim. 3. 2.

6 Apologia. 2.

c In locum Timothei praedict. & in Titu.

d De Clericis, lib. 1. cap. 23.

e Annotations upon that place.

himselfe, and interpret the wordes of the Apostle to *Titus* as they would have him, or not. His wordes are these: The Apostle purposeth utterly to stoppe the mouthes of heretickes which condemne marriage, shewing that marriage is without fault, and so pretious, that with it a man may bee preferred even to the holy seate and chaire of a Bishop. Also with this saying hee chastizeth unchaste persons, while hee suffereth them not after their second marriage to bee taken to the government of the Church. For hee which is found not to have kept his benevolence towards his wife, which is gone from him, how should hee bee a good teacher of the Church? Nay rather to what crimes shall hee not daily bee subject? for you all know, that although by the Lawes such second Marriages are permitted, yet that thing is open to many accusations. Therefore hee will have the Bishop to give no occasion to them that are under him. These are the wordes of *Chrysostome*. Neither can any man doubt, that will advisedly consider them, but that he speaketh of a second marriage while the first wife liveth, but is gone away (for so are the wordes, and not defunct or dead, as our Adversaries translate for their advantage,) and not of a second marriage after the death of the first wife. For if he did, he would not condemne them that marrie the second time as unchaste and wanton, or make them subject to any crimes. With *Chrysostome* agreeth

f Theod. in loc.
Tim praedict.

Theodoret: his wordes are these; The preaching then began, and neither did the *Gentiles* exercise Virginity, nor the *Jewes* admit it, for they esteemed the procreation of children to be a blessing. And therefore for as much as at that time they were not easily to be found which exercised continencie, of such as had married Wives he commandeth them to be ordained which had honoured Temperancie. And concerning that saying, the Husband of one Wife, I thinke certaine men have said well. For of olde time both *Greekes* and *Jewes* were wont to be married to two, three, or more Wives at once. And even now when the Imperiall Lawes forbid men to marry two Wives at one time, they have to doe with Concubines and Harlots: They have said therefore that the holy Apostle saith, that he that dwelleth honestly with one onely Wife, is worthy to bee ordained a Bishop. For, say they, hee doth not reject the second marriage, who hath often commanded that it should be used. For a woman (saith he) is bound by the Law, so long as her husband liveth; but if her husband be dead, she is free, that she may marry with whom she will, onely in the Lord, &c. For if hee have thrust away his Wife, and be joynd to another, he is worthy to be reprehended, and is justly subject to accusation: but if force of death have disjoynd to his first Wife, and Nature urging, have compelled him to be joynd to a second Wife, his second marriage is proceeded not of his will, but of casualty. These things considered (saith *Theodoret*) I admit the interpretation of those which have so understood the place. Neither doe *Chrysostome* and *Theodoret* onely thus interpret the wordes of the Apostle, but *Theophylact* also. The Apostle (saith he) prescribeth, that hee who is to be chosen a Bishop, must bee the husband of one Wife, because of the *Jewes* to whom *Polygamy* was permitted, that is, to joyne marriage with many together. And *Hierome* maketh mention of this Interpretation. The Apostle (saith hee) was of the *Jewes*, and the first Church of Christ was gathered out of the remaines of *Israell*. He knew it was permitted by the Law, and ordinary among the people, by the example of the *Patriarches* and *Moses*, to beget children of many Wives: which thing also was permitted unto the Priests, and therefore hee commanded that the Priests of the Church should not take unto themselves the like liberty, or have two or three Wives at once: but that they should have one onely Wife at one time. And though he rather incline to another interpretation, yet in his Commentary upon *Titus*, hee mentioneth this againe, without any signification of dislike, and saith, We must not thinke that every one that hath beene but once married, is better then he that hath beene twice married, but that (indeed) he may better exhort to one onely marriage and continencie, that can bring forth his owne example in teaching. For otherwise if a young man marry a Wife, and shee die within a little while after, and after her he marry a second, which within a short time he looseth also, and then continue continent, he is to be preferred before him that liveth with one Wife

g In eund. loc.

h Hier. ad Occ.
anum.

till his old age. So that oftentimes, if he that hath bene but once married, be preferred before him that hath bene twice married, his happinesse is chosen rather then his will. And as sundry great and worthy Divines did so interpret the Apostles wordes as to condemne *Polygamie*, and not to exclude from the Ministry men twice married; so the practise was according thereunto. For howsoever many urged the other Construction of the Apostles wordes, and excluded men twice married from the holy Ministry; yet others did not so. And therefore *Tertullian*, who was a *Montanist*, and condemned second marriage, in his book of *Monogamie*, interpreting the Apostles wordes, of such as had married the second wife, and speaking bitterly against the Catholikes of those times, saith: the Holy Ghost fore-saw there should come some that should affirme all things to be lawfull for Bishops. For (saith he) how many are there among you that governe the Church, which have married the second time: insulting against the Apostles, and not blushing when those wordes are read under them. *Hierome* was of opinion, that men twice married might be chosen to be Bishops or Presbyters, if they married both, or one of their wives before they were baptized. Which was the case of very many in those times: seeing, (besides those who were converted from *Paganisme*) many that were borne of Christian parents put off their baptisme a long time. So that some were elected Bishops before they were baptized, as we read of *Ambrose*. *m Ruffinus lib. 2. cap. 11.* Hereupon he saith, the number of such as had bin twice married, & yet were admitted into the holy Ministerie, was exceeding great. His wordes are these. *All the world is full of these Ordinations: I speake not of Presbyters, nor those of inferiour degrees: I come to Bishops, whom if I should goe about particularly to name, I shall muster together so great a number as will exceed the multitudes of them that were at the Councell of Ariminum.* And it appeareth by the Epistle of *Innocentius* to the Bishops of *Macedonia*, that they thought as *Hierome* did: that such as were not twice married after Baptisme might be admitted into the Ministry, how often soever they had bene married before. It is true that *Innocentius* was of another minde, and *Austine* likewise: But *Hierome* who is wont to spare no man that crosseth his conceipt, calleth them Hypocrites, and telleth them that they are like the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, that did straine at a Gnat and swallow a Camell, that tished Mint and Anni-seede, but let passe the weightier things of the Law: because they admitted such into the Ministry, as had kept Harlots before their Baptisme, and yet rejected such as had bene married, for that sinne is washed away in Baptisme, and nothing else. *Rem novam audio* (saith hee) *quia peccatum non fuit, in peccatum reputabitur.* That is, it is a new and strange thing that I heare, because it was no sinne to have a wife, therefore it shall be reputed for a fault and sin. Whoredome, impiety against God, parricide, incest, and the sin against Nature, are purged and washed away in the Baptisme of Christ: but this, that a man hath had a wife, sticketh fast unto him still. So are the filthy stowes preferred before the honorable and undefiled marriage-bed. Let the *Pagans* heare what the Harvestes of the Church are, out of which our Barnes are filled. Let the *Catechumens* (who are not yet baptized) heare likewise, and let them take heed they marry no wives before baptisme, neither enter into the state of honest marriage, but let them give themselves to all impurities: only let them take heed of the name of marriage, least after they shall beleeve in Christ, this may prejudice them, that sometimes they had not Concubines, nor Harlots, but lawfull wives. *Zonaras* in his exposition of the Canons of the Apostles, followeth the opinion of *Hierome*, and so doth *Sedulius*, *Scottus*, and *Anselme*, as *Sixtus Senensis* reporteth. And this opinion was very generall, as it appeareth by *Ambrose*, who though he disliketh it, yet saith exceeding many did approve it. *p Bibliotheca Sanctæ. lib. 6. annot. 318. & 325. 9 Lib. 10. Epist. 82.*

So that to resolve this point: we see some understood the wordes of the Apostle as meant against *Polygamie* only, or the having of many wives at once, & not successively: and that accordingly many were permitted to governe the Church that had bin twice married: & that of them that understood the wordes of the Apostle, as meant of the not having of more wives then one successively: some excluded only such as had more then one wife after baptisme: others, all that had bin twice married, either before or after. But we shall find that they who generally excluded all them, that had bin twice married from entering

* August. de bo-
no Conjugali.

f Bonaventura
in 4. sent. dist.
25. quæst. 3.

* In duab. Epist
Citat. ab Eras.
mo in vita Hie-
ronymi.

* Aug. confess.
lib. 4. cap. 2 &
lib. 6. cap. 15.

* Hieron. ad
Occasum.

entring into the Ministry, had no good reason leading them so to doe. For neither is he alwayes better, that hath beene but once married, then he that hath bin twice married, as I have shewed out of *Hierome*; neither can he alwayes better exhort to continence; for how can hee exhort others to live continently, and not to marry the second time, or after the death of their wives, that himselfe in his widow-hood committed Adultery, or lived as a whore-monger? seeing the Apostle willet both men and women, rather to marry the second, third, or fourth time, then to burne in lust, and to commit adultery or fornication. There is therefore a third reason yeelded of this pretended prohibition of marrying a second wife, after the death of the first: which is mysticall, and taken for a kinde of Sacramentall signification; which must be found in them, that are to be admitted into the holy Ministry of the Church. And surely either this reason must prevaile, or none: for if it were some morall defect and imperfection, that debarreth men twice married from entering into the Ministry; or for that it is a signe of incontineny to have beene twice married; it might be washed away in Baptisme, as well as Whoredome, and other Crimes, which yet these men deny. Let us see therefore what force there is in this Reason of mysticall signification. The marriage of the Fathers in the time of the olde Law (saith Saint *Augustine*) by their many wives, expressed and figured those Churches, out of the many Nations, People, and Kinreds of the world, that were to joyne themselves unto Christ in Spirituall marriage at his comming: but the marriage of Christians, figureth specially that perfect unity that shall bee in Heaven, of all faithfull and holy ones, both with Christ, and amongst themselves. This is *Augustines* reason, and this the Schoole-men urge. But it is strange that men of Learning should stand so confidently upon so weake a ground. For if the expressing of the unity betweene Christ and the Church his Spouse, by the undivided unity that is betweene one man and one woman, be necessarily required in him that is to be chosen a Bishop or Presbyter; then of necessity every one that desireth to be a Bishop or Presbyter, must marry a wife, that so his marriage may expresse the Spirituall marriage betweene Christ, and the Church. Nay, seeing Christ never withdraweth himselfe from his Church, but daily begetteth sons and daughters of her unto God; each Bishop must have a wife, and company with her continually; that so by the matrimoniall unity that is betweene him and his wife, he may expresse the unity, that is betweene Christ and the Church. This answer hereunto is, that as Christ is a Husband, so hee is a Virgin; and that therefore a man may beare an expresse resemblance and representation of Christ, by Virginitie, as well as by Marriage. So that it sufficeth if either he bee a Virgin, or have beene but once married, that is to be thought capable of Ecclesiasticall honour. But this answer will not serve the turne: For though a man be no Virgin, (as *Hierome* professed of himselfe, that hee was not; and as it is evident *Augustine* was not, in that he had children borne unto him;) yet it is not necessary, in the judgement of our Adversaries, that such a one should marry a wife, to make himselfe capable of Ecclesiasticall honour. Whence it followeth, that there is no necessity of Representing either the Virginitie of Christ, or his matrimoniall Conjunction with the Church, by the Virginitie or marriage of such, as are to be admitted into the holy Ministry. Besides this, it is not enough to expresse the Unitie betweene Christ and the Church, that a man marry but one wife; but it is required also, that he defile not himselfe, by being joyned unto harlots; but that hee keepe himselfe intirely to his owne wife. For so it is, betweene Christ and his Church; who not onely hath no other wife or spouse, but the Church of the faithfull; but also so intirely loveth her, that hee giveth no part of his love to any stranger. So that he, that marrying but once, hath either before or after such marriage, committed adultery or fornication, doth not expresse the unity that is betweene Christ and the Church. And yet our Adversaries that are so peremptory against such as have beene more then once married, set open the doores to let in both Whoremongers and Adulterers into the Church, and house of God. And therefore the wordes of * *Hierome* may rightly be applyed unto them. That they ricke Mint and Annisseed, and omit the weightier things of the Law; and that they straine at a Gnat

and swallow a Camell; rejecting them as unworthy that have not offended, and admitting such as have; justifying the sinner, and condemning the Innocent. But that wee may perceive the weakenesse of this mysticall Reason, wee must observe that our adversaries admit none into the Ministry that have beene married, unlesse either their wives bee dead, or by consent of their wives they resolve to containe, renouncing that power and interest the man hath over the body of his wife; and so (indeed) ceasing to bee husbands. So that if their Presbyters; and other Cleargy-men have resemblance of CHRISTs marriage with the Church in respect of their marriage, it is while they are no Cleargy-men, but meere Lay-men. Now howsoever it may be required of them that are to bee admitted into the Ministry, that they have not beene scandalous before their enterance: yet I thinke it is not required, that they have beene cleare representations or figures of CHRIST; but this is to be looked for afterwards, when they supply his place. Wherefore wee may assure our selves that this was not the reason that moved those to debarre men twice married, from entering into the Ministry that so did: but partly a mis-understanding of the Apostles words; partly for that as *Duarenus* noteth, though often marrying bee permitted, both by Gods Law and mans Law: yet the olde Fathers did not greatly like it, as arguing immoderate incontinencie in them that so doe.

x De sacr. eccl. minist. & ben. lib. 4. c. 8.

Whereupon we shall finde that in auncient times they were all put to penance that married the 2^d time, though Lay-men, and never intending to enter into the Ministry. The wordes of the^r Councell of *Neocæsarea* are these: Concerning such as often take, *Can. 3. & 7.* them wives, and such as are often married, it is ordered that they shall observe and fulfill the time of the penance which is prescribed unto them: yet so as that their conversation and faith may shorten the time. And the same Councell forbiddeth a Presbyter to bee present at the marriage-feast of them that are the second time married; seeing it is prescribed that they must bee put to Penance that marry the second time. And asketh what Presbyter that is, that will for a marriage feast consent to such marriages. And another Canon forbiddeth such marriages to be blessed in the Church. The Councell of *Laodicea* provideth in this sort, touching them that marrie the second time: *Referente Ambrosio in 7. c. 1. ad Cor. & in 3. i. ad Tim. Aug. serm. 243. de temp. l. 1. c. 2. de Divin. officiis, cap. 19. a Canone 1. b Apud Gratian, part. 2. caus. 31. q. 8. c Canone 8.* Concerning them that (according to the Ecclesiasticall Rule) are freely and lawfully joyned in the second marriage, and have not secretly so joyned themselves: It is fit that for some short time they give themselves to prayer and fasting: which being past by a kinde of Indulgence, they may be restored to the Communion. The^r Author of the unperfect worke, that goeth under the name of *Chrysostome*, proceedeth a little farther in this sort: The Apostles (saith he) commanded to enter into the second marriage, for the avoyding of fornication. For according to the precept of the Apostle, it is lawfull to take a second wife: but according to the rule and prescription of Truth it is (indeed) Fornication. This conceipt grew so farre, that the Councell of *Nice* was forced to make a Canon that the *Catharists* should not be received into the fellowship of the Church, unlesse they would communicate with such as fell in the time of persecution, & with such as had beene twice married: whereby it appeareth that some rejected them, as though they might not have beene received into the Church, no not after Penance.

So that to conclude this point touching *Digamie*, it is not the having of more wives than one successively, that the Apostle condemneth: but the having of more wives at once. Three reasons are brought by our Adversaries to prove the contrary: but they will be found too weake if we examine them. The first is, that *Polygamie*, or the having of many wives at once, was not in use in the Apostles time, & that therefore the Apostle had no reason to forbid it: but this may easily be refuted by good authorities, *Your Master* (saith *Iustine Martyr* speaking to the Jewes) *even to this day, suffer every one of you to have foure or five wives:* and in his *Apologie* he understandeth by *Digamie*, the having of more wives then one at one time, and not successively: for hee saith, they which according to mans Law doe enter into *Digamie* or second marriages, are sinners, according to the Doctrine of our Teacher and Master. And *Theodoret* saith: *In former times both Jewes and Gentiles tooke unto them in marriage many wives.* *f In loc. Tim. Their*

d In Triphone
e In Apol. post.

f In loc. Tim.

g Rhemenfes
in locum Titi.

h In huac lo-
cum.

i Lib. 3. cap. 15.

k Herefi. 79.

l Herefi. 61.

m De bono vi-
duitatis.

Their second reason is this. The Apostle requireth that a widow must have beene the wife of one husband : and his meaning must needs be, that she must not have had more husbands then one successively. Therefore when hee prescribeth, that a Bishop must be the husband of one wife, his meaning is, that he must not have had more then one wife successively, the forme of speech being the same. That when he speaketh of widdowes, he meaneth that they must not have had more husbands then one successively, they prove, because howsoever Men have sometimes had more wives then one, at the same time ; yet Women never had more husbands : and hereupon they charge us, with intollerable impudencie, violent wresting of the Scriptures ; and bringing such an interpretation of the Apostles wordes, as never came into any wise-mans cogitation before, when wee say, hee repelleth such from entering into the order of widdowes, as have had two husbands at once, and not such as have beene twice married. But if it please them to give us leave, wee will shew them, that they are too violent, and say they know not what. For wee thinke, nay we know it hath beene heard of, that a woman should have two husbands at one time: yea that both amongst *Jewes* and *Gentiles* in former times women forsaking their husbands, or forsaken of them without just cause, have married againe : which the Apostle might justly condemne, and debarre such as had so done, from entering into the order, and ranke of sacred Widdowes. Neither is it hard to shew, that our interpretation hath beene thought of, and approved more then a thousand yeares agoe, by men of as great wisdom, as our great masters that thus insult over us. For *Theodoret* upon these very words of the Apostle, writeth thus. Hereof also, it is manifest that he rejecteth not second marriages, but decreeth that they live chastly in matrimony: for hee which before hath established the second marriage by law, hath not here forbidden her which hath beene twice married to obtaine bodily reliefe. And *Theophylact* likewise saith: The Apostle requireth Monogamie of her, that is to be admitted into the company of widdowes: that is, that shee have beene coupled but to one husband at once, as a signe of honesty, chastity and good manners. Concerning these Widdowes, two things are to be considered. First, how and in what sort they were imployed by the Church. Secondly, how farre forth they were tied not to leave the Church-service and to marry againe. Touching their service, it was first and principally, about women that were to be baptized, for their instruction, and the addressing of themselves to that Sacrament and the sacred Rites of the Church accompanying the same: as appeareth by the Constitutions of *Clement*, it being more fit for them, to have private and often access unto them, then for men. Which thing also *Epiphanius* sheweth, calling them by the name of *Diaconesses*. Secondly, the attending, and taking care of the sicke and impotent. Touching the second point, we suppose that these widdowes, (being of great Age, destitute of all outward supports, seeking reliefe of the Church, and dedicating themselves to the service thereof) did by this very act, professe and make knowne their purpose of continuing in the state of Widdow-hood, and performing such service, as to them any way appertained. And therefore the Apostle condemneth them, that after such profession made, waxed wanton against Christ, sought to put themselves out of the holy Ministry & service they had dedicated themselves unto, & to returne to Secular courses of life againe. These according to the judgement of *Epiphanius* were subject to *αἰσχος*, that is, just dislike and blame, and were to be condemned for their levity, and inconstancie; but not to *κατάκριμα*, that is to the condemnation of eternall death and destruction, if declining adultery and other like uncleanness, they choose rather to marrie, then to defile themselves with such impurities. And *Augustine* resolveth that their marriage, (notwithstanding any profession they seeme to have made to the contrary) is not to be condemned as evill, or to be dissolved: but that onely their breach of promise made to God and his Church, and their falling from their purpose, is to be disliked and condemned. Thus doe these learned and holy Fathers resolve, touching such widdowes as the Apostle speaketh of. And *Peter Lombard* upon these words of the Apostle in like sort, adding: that they breake their first faith even that they professed in baptisme, in that violating so solemne a promise, and turning away so scandalously

lously from the calling they had voluntarily put themselves into, they seeme to forget and cast from them the very faith and profession of Christians. So that it is cleare, and not denied by us, that these widdowes made a kinde of promise and profession of continuing in widdow-hood, when they were admitted to the Almshouses and service of the Church: and that it was a fault not to be excused, to shew themselves inconstant in this respect: yet such was the tenderesse of the Church in ancient times, knowing the weakenesse of the sexe, as not to cast any snares upon them, or to tie them by the bond of any solemne benediction or consecration to a necessitie of continuing in such an estate. But shee thought good to leave them to their owne deliberations and resolutions: so that, though they were wont to put a kinde of sacred vaile on such virgins, as voluntarily devoted themselves to God; yet *Gelasius* forbiddeth any Bishop to attempt any such thing, as the vailing of a widdow: If widdowes (saith he) out of the mutability of their mindes, having made a kinde of profession of not marrying againe, shall returne to marriage, it shall be at their perill in what sort they will seeke to pacifie God: seeing (according to the saying of the Apostle) they have broken their first faith. For as (it haply they could not containe, according to the Apostle) they were no way forbidden to marry; so having deliberated with themselves so to do, they ought to keepe their promise of continent living made to God, but we ought not to cast any snare upon such; but onely to exhort them to doe that which is fit, by the consideration of the eternall rewards and punishments, that God hath prepared for men, according to their workes, that so we may cleare out selves, and make knowne what we thinke, and they may be left to give an account of that they doe, knowing best their owne intention. This was the Decree of this Pope, and some other were of the same judgement, who admitted widdowes to no benediction, but that of Penitencie: nor suffered no other vayle but the vayle of Penitents to bee put upon them. But it seemeth this course was not holden afterwards: succeeding Bishops degenerating from the wise and discrete moderation of their Godly predecessors, and laying heavier burthens on mens shoulders then was fit.

Epist. 9. ad Episc. Lucaniz.

Vide Binnium tom. 2. Concil. pag. 115. annot. in Toletan. 44

CHAP. 59.

Of the maintainance of Ministers.

HAVING briefly runne through all those things that concerne the different degrees, orders and callings of them Almighty God imployeth in the Ministry of holy things: it remaineth, that in the last place I come to speake of the maintainance of them. That an honourable intertainment is due to the Ministers of God, and disposers of his heavenly Treasures, there neither is, nor can be any doubt: The light of Nature, the sence of Piety, and the Presidents of the *Jewes* and *Gentiles* before Christ, and all Christian Kingdomes, Nations, and People since, most clearely convincing it. *Who goeth a warfare at any time (saith the Apostle) at his owne charge? Who dresseth a Vineyard and tasteth not of the fruit of it? Who attendeth and feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of it?* It is an Axiome most cleare and evident in the light of Nature, that *The labourer is worthy of his hire*, and the detaining of his wages is one of the finnes that erie so loud, that he that sitteth in heaven heareth them. If this bee true in them that are employed in any service, businesse or worke in the world, for the good of men; how much more in respect of them, that labour to procure their spirituall and eternall good? *It is a small thing (saith the Apostle) that we should reape unto carnall things that have sowne unto you spirituall things: therefore let him that is instructed in the word, make him that instructed him partake of all his goods.* The *Galathians* thought themselves so much bound to the blessed Apostle Saint *Paul*, (by whose ministerie they were converted from Idolatry to serve the true and living GOD) that they would have plucked out their eyes, to have done him good: perswading themselves, they were no way able to make recompence unto him, for all the good hee had done unto them. And the Apostle

1 Cor. 9. 7.

Ibid. vers. 11. Galat. 6. 6.

Galat. 4. 14.

• Philem. 29.

is bold to tell *Philemon*, 'that hee oweth himselfe unto him. This thing is so cleare and evident, that I suppose no man will contradict any part of that which hath beene said; yet notwithstanding it is not to be dissembled, that *Wickliffe* and some others, let fall some inconsiderate speeches, out of an immoderate dislike of the abuse of things in the *Romane Church*: wherein all piety, care of Religion, and performance of all pastorall duties being neglected by the most part of men: nothing was sought after, but riches, honour, and greatnesse, accompanied with excesse and riotous expences, to the great scandall of the World. For the opinion of *Wickliffe* was, that the Ministers of the Church ought to make no such claime to tithes, possessions, or lands, or any other reward of their labours, as may bee pleadable in any temporall court of Justice; as each man doth to the things that are come to him by inheritance from his Fathers; or by his owne purchase, but that they should content themselves with the title of originall Justice; by vertue whereof, that is due to every good man that is fitting to him, & answerable to his condition, merite, and worthinesse. This opinion of *Wickliffe* proceeded from a dislike of some-thing he conceived to be amisse, but knew not how to reforme. And the censure of *Gerson* upon this and the like Articles was right and good, that they who proposed them, had cause of offence at many abuses, by them reprehended: but that to goe about to reforme things out of order by such a course as those Articles imported, was to cast out one Devill by another: whereupon hee sheweth that a golden meane is to be followed, betweene that immoderate flattery, that gave too much to the Pope and his Clergy, and caused them to forget that they were men, and to encroach upon the right and possession of all other men; and that vile detraction, that diminisheth the honour and reputation; and taketh away the reward of worth and learning, to the ruine of the Church, and bringing in of all Barbarisme and confusion. Wee say therefore, that this position is to be rejected, as contrary to the cleare evidence of Heavenly Trueth, the light of Nature, and the practise and Judgement of all the world; whether wee respect *Jewes*, *Pagans*, or *Christians*. For is it so, (the Apostle himselfe disputing and determining the case) that the Ministers of God, by the rules of the Law of Nature, and that given by *Moyse*, have more right to a maintenance, fitting to their worth and callings, than the labourer hath to his hire? And are not all Christian Princes and Magistrates bound, to force by their Lawes such as with-hold that which is thus due. Nay, may not the Church by her censures make them that are instructed to minister out of their temporall goods to such as instruct them? Surely there is no doubt but they may. Which duty being done, the Minister hath as good right by positive Law, to that maintenance that is fitting for him; and may as lawfully sue for it in any court of *Mundane Justice*, as any other may for that which by any right of this World pertaineth to him. This (I thinke) will bee much gaine-said: For all men will graunt, that a competencie of maintenance is due by the prescript of Gods Law, and the Law of Nature: and that Princes must take order that it be yeilded. But the onely thing that is questionable, is, whether God have determined of this competencie, or left the judgement and determining thereof unto men.

In the Olde Law, himselfe from Heaven declared what hee thought to bee a fit allowance for his servants the Priests and Levites; which we shall finde not to have beene sparing, but very liberall. For, besides the Tenths of all the things that the rest of the Tribes possessed and enjoyed, he gave them Cities to dwell in, and fields adjoyning to the same. Touching Tithes in the booke of *Leviticus* it is thus written; 'all the Tithe of the Land, both of the seed of the ground, and of the fruit of the Trees, is the Lords, it is holy to the Lord: and of every Tisbe of Bullocke, and of Sheepe, and of all that goeth under the rod, the Tenth shall be holy unto the Lord. And as God prescribed and commanded this Rent of the Tenth to bee paid unto him out of all that men possessed by any right derived from him; so by his Prophets he did exact it when it was unpaid. • Malach. 3. 10. 'Bring (saith the Lord of Hosts by his Prophet *Malachie*) all the riches into the store-house, that there may be meat in my house, and prove me now herewith, if I will not open the windowes of Heaven unto you, and powre you out a blessing without measure; I will rebuke

the dewen for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruit of the ground, neither shall your vine bee barren in the field, saith the Lord of Hostes, and all Nations shall call you blessed, for you shall bee a pleasant Land. And touching Cities for the Priests and Levites to dwell in; God spake unto Moses his servant in this sort: Command the children of Israel, that they give unto the Levites of the Inheritance of their possession, Cities to dwell in: Yee shall give also to the Levites, the Suburbs of the Cities round about them; so they shall have Cities to dwell in, and their Suburbs shall be for their Cattle, and for their substance, and for all their Beasts: and the Suburbs of the Cities which yee shall give unto the Levites, from the wall of the Citie outward, shall be a thousand Cubites round about: These Cities, by Gods owne appointment, were forty and eight. Besides this standing Rent of Tithes, which God commanded his people to pay unto the Priests and Levites, and these Cities, which they were to give them to dwell in; hee made them yet a more plentiful and ample allowance out of his owne immediate Revenue, and the presents that were daily brought unto him. For whereas the people (after they were entred into the land of Promise) stood bound to make some acknowledgment, that they had received all of Gods hands, & therefore were to give unto him, the best, first, and principall of all that they were blessed with, even the first of the fruites they gathered; The Levites by Gods appointment had their parts in these first-fruits: Nay, as wee may reade in the booke of Numbers, God gave these first-fruits which the people offered to him, to the Priests, saying unto Aaron, and his sonnes, *All the fat of the oyle, and all the fat of the wine, and of the wheat, which they shall offer unto the Lord for their first fruits, I have given them unto thee: and the first ripe of all that is in their Land, which they shall bring unto the Lord, shall be thine.* This Allowance did God make them, out of his set Revenue of first fruits; and yet was not unmindfull of them, when any other presents were brought unto him. So that they, *Who attended on the Altar, were (indeede) partakers of the Altar.* Thus wee see in what sort God did provide for his servants the Priests and Levites, in the time of the Law. Numb. 35. 2. &c.

Wherefore now it remaineth, that, passing by that Addition, that was out of those Offerings, which were proper to those times, we come to see, whether the same kind of provision by Tithes (which GOD then prescribed) remaine still in force, by Vertue of any Law of GOD, or not. Here we shall finde a great and maine Controversie betweene the Schoole-men and the Canonists. For the Schoole-men (for the most part, nay all, if we may beleve Bellarmine) doe thinke, that Tithes are not due since the comming of CHRIST, by any Law of GOD or Nature. The Canonists resolve the contrary, and are so peremptory in their opinion, that they doe (almost) condemne such of Heresie, as thinke otherwise. *Aquinas*, one of the greatest Rabbins amongst the Schoole-men, determineth the Question in this sort. The Precept concerning the paying of Tithes in the time of the old Law, was partly Morall, Naturall, and Perpetuall; & partly Judiciall, applyed to the condition of that people, and so to continue no longer by force of Gods prescription, then that state should continue. In that it prescribed a sufficient large, and honourable maintenance, to be yeelded to them that attended the holy things of God, it was Naturall and Morall, and is to continue for ever; but in that it prescribed such a proportion, as a fit and competent maintenance, namely the Tenth part out of every mans increase, it was not Naturall, but Judiciall, applyed & fitted to the condition of that people. For the whole Nation of the Jewes being divided into thirteene Tribes, and the Tribe of Levi, that served at the Altar and in the Temple, having no Inheritance or Possession amongst the rest, but God himselfe being the inheritance of them of that Tribe, that they might have in some proportionable sort, as good an estate of maintenance as any of the rest, hee gave unto them the Tenth of all that the rest had. If it be said, they were not the Tenth part of the people, but the Thirteenth; and that therefore to make them equall with the rest, GOD should have given them the Thirteenth part only, and not the Tenth: hee answereth, that therefore GOD gave them something more then each of the rest of the Tribes had; First, for that he knew all that he allowed them Numb. 18. 12.
1 Cor. 9. 13.
De Clericis, lib. 1. cap. 2.
Secunda secundae. quest. 107. art. 1.

them would not be duely and exactly paid unto them, but that they should loose some part of that which hee meant unto them: which by this over-plus of Allowance, he would make up unto them againe. Secondly, for that hee would have their allowance to be something better then that which others had, they being more neare unto him then the rest. Thus doth he make the particular determination of the tenth, to be judicall, fitted to the condition of that people; and neither Morall nor Ceremoniall: and yet saith, that as all things that were done in that state, and by that people, figured some thing that was afterward to come to passe: so this paying of the tenth of that each man possessed, though it were a judicall constitution, and not ceremoniall, yet figured the perfecting of all things by Christ the Sonne of God. For in that the number of ten, is the uttermost extent and perfection of numbers, beyond which no man goeth in numbring; by giving the tenth part (that signifieth perfection) to God, and keeping nine (expressing imperfection) to themselves, they professed their owne wants, defects, and imperfections, and the desire, hope and expectation they had, that God, (in whom onely perfection is found) would in his good time perfect all things by Christ his Sonne. How aptly these things are delivered by *Thomas*; let the Reader judge. There are other that likewise insist on the number of ten, as being the uttermost extent of number, but to another purpose. For they say in that the people of God gave unto him the tenth of all that they possessed, which is the uttermost bound, and extent of all the things they had, they did thereby expresse the desire they had, that this tenth part, as being the bound and limit of all the rest, (in a sort included within it,) should sanctifie the rest; and that in respect of the blessing, which God hath promised unto that, which is given unto him, it should be as a wall of defence, for the safe-keeping of the rest. And yet neither *Thomas*, nor these, make the paying of the tenth to bee Ceremoniall, in respect of these significations, for then no such custome might be used amongst Christians, as some ignorant men have taught in our age, out of this false conceipt. But *Thomas* supposeth the paying of the tenth, in the particular determination to bee judicall, and the other thinke it Naturall and Perpetuall. For (say they) seeing something is to bee yeilded to GOD out of that which wee have, and the number of tenne is the bound of all the things we have, or can have, at least one of tenne is to be payed unto God, for an acknowledgement of our obligation unto him, and for the maintenance of his service, and those that attend the same. For if wee may passe the number of ten, which is the bound of our possessions, and yeeld no one part thereof as an acknowledgment to God, we need not to pay any thing to him at all.

Gen. 14. 20.

This opinion is strongly confirmed, in that *Abraham* paid tithe to *Melchizedech*, (who was a Priest of the high God, and blessed him in the name of the Lord) of all that he possessed, before any law written, or any particular prescription that we reade of touching the same. Whereby hee shewed (as it may more then probably be concluded) that tithes are due by the law of nature. Neither did *Abraham* onely by his fact, shew the naturall duty of paying tithe, but *Jacob* also confirmed the same by the vow hee made; That if God would prosper his journey, and bring him backe in safety, the Lord should be his God, and ⁹ he would offer unto him the tenth of all that hee should give him. But some man perhaps will say, that this vow of *Jacob*, proveth rather the contrary: namely, that he was not bound to pay tithes: for men doe

Gen. 28. 22.

vow such things as they are not bound unto, by any Generall law of God or Nature. And therefore Cardinall *Bellarmino* saith, It had bin an impious thing, for *Jacob* in this conditionall sort, to have vowed the paying of tithe, if by the generall law of GOD, and Nature, hee had beene bound thereunto. But surely this saying of the Cardinall is impious, and injurious to the holy *Patriarch*, who never was charged with any impiety, in respect of this his vow: neither can bee (as I suppose) and yet necessarily must be, if this inference of the Cardinall be good. For it is the first commandement in the law Naturall and Morall; Thou shalt have no other Gods but mee: and the holy *Patriarch* was bound by a generall Obligation of the law of Nature, to take the Lord for his God, and yet he voweth conditionally, That if the Lord will be with him,

De Clericis,
lib. 1. cap. 23.

keepe

keepe him in his journey, and bring him safe backe againe, *he shall be his God*, and he will serve him: which if the Cardinall say true, he could not doe without Impiety. [Vet. 21.]

But let us passe by this over-sight, and see what is to be resolved touching this point. It seemeth by the fact of *Abraham*, and vow of *Jacob*, before the Law, by the prescription of the same in the time of the Law, and by the judgement and practise of Christians since the time of the Gospell: that the duty of paying Tithes is naturall and perpetuall. How doth our Righteousnesse (saith *Origen*) exceede the Righteousnesse of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, if whereas they doe not taste of the fruits of the earth, before they offer the first-fruits to God, and set out the Tithes for the *Levites*, we doe no such thing, but so use, or rather abuse the things which God hath given us, *Ut Sacerdos nesciat, Levita ignorat, Altare non sentiat*; That is, in such sort, that the Priest shall not know of it, the Levite shall never heare of it, and the Altar of God never feele it, or have any sense of it. Saint *Hierome* saith, *Quod de Decimis, Primitisque diximus, quae olim dabantur à populo Sacerdotibus & Levitis, in Ecclesia quoque populis, intelligite quibus praeceptum est, non solum Decimas & Primitias dare, sed & vendere omnia quae habent, & dare pauperibus: quod si facere volumus, saltem Indaeorum imitemur exordia, & pauperibus partem demus ex toto, & Sacerdotibus & Levitis honorem debitum deferamus: quod qui non fecerit, Deum fraudare, & supplantare convincitur.* That is, understand that which I said of Tithes and first-fruits, which of old were given by the people to the Priests and Levites, concerning the people of the Church also, who are commanded not onely to give Tithes and first-fruits, but to sell away all that they have, and to give to the poore: which if we will not doe, at the least let us imitate those beginnings of the *Iewes*, that wee may give a part of all to the poore, and yeeld due honour to the Priests and Levites: which who so doth not, is convinced to defraude and deceive God. Heere wee see *Hierome* is of opinion, that Christians stand bound at least to performe as much touching the matter of tithes and first fruits as the *Iewes*: and that he maketh the not paying of tithes to be a sinnefull defrauding of God: but that which he addeth of selling all and giving to the poore, is not to be understood as meant generally, but onely in some cales that may fall out. With *Hierome*, *Augustine*, or the Authour of the Sermons *De tempore*, whosoever he was, agreeth, saying, *Audi indevota mortalitas, nosti quia Dei sunt cuncta quae percipis, & de suo non accommodas omnium Conditori?* That is: Heare O mortall man, voyde of devotion, thou knowest that all the things that thou enjoyest are Gods, and wilt thou present him with nothing that made all, &c. Hee vouchsafeth to require onely the Tenth, and the first-fruits, and thou denyest him: what wouldest thou doe if hee should challenge nine parts, and leave thee but the Tenth? For why might not God say, the men that serve thee are mine, I made them: the Earth that thou tillest is mine, the seed thou sowest is mine, the Oxen are mine that thou weariest in thy worke: yea, the showres of raine, the blasts of winde, and the heate of the Sunne is mine: all the things which cause thy increase are mine: and thou onely puttest to thy hand: therefore the Tenth onely is due unto thee, and the rest is mine? but God (who is rich in goodness) hath not given thee so sparing a reward of thy labour; for behold hee is content thou shalt have nine parts, and exacteth onely the Tenth: and thou most unthankfully, perfidiously, and falsly with-holdest it from him, and therefore in his wrath he often depriveth thee of those nine parts that thou mightest have had, destroying and bringing to nothing all that which thou hopedst to reape, by immoderate droughth or raine, by haile, frost, or some other meanes, as seemeth best unto him. But whatsoever we thinke of the Author of these Sermons, it is certaine Saint *Augustine* did urge a necessity of paying the Tenth at least of all that men possesse. Set out (saith he) some certain thing out of thy renewes, increase, or gain, if thou wilt the Tenth, though this be too little: for the *Pharisees* paid tithes of all that they possessed: and yet, *If our Righteousnes exceed not theirs, we cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.* And if we urge you to the paying hereof, saith he, think not that we seek your wealth, but your wel-doing. With *Augustine* agreeth *Chrysostome*. The first Councell of *Hispalis* (as we reade in *Ivo*) urgeth the paying of tithes as commanded by God, & pronounceth that hee [Aug. in Psal. 146.]
[In Math. 23.]
[Ivo. part. 2.]
[c. 174. in 3 tom. concil. p. 954.]
[apud Bin.]

b Canone 17.

c Canone 5.

d Canone 14.

e Canone 9.

f Cap. 38.

g Homil. 48.

h Canone 13.

i Linwood Provincial. lib. 1. de consuetudine.

k De Clericis, lib. 1. cap. 25.

maketh a prey of thinges holy unto God, and is as a theefe and a robber, that payeth not Tithes of all that he possesseth; and that all the curses which God powred out on *Caine*, that made no good division, but gave the worst to God, and kept the best to himselfe, should be powred upon him. The first^b Councell of *Orleans* sheweth that Tithes were payed at that time: and the second^c Councell of *Mariscon* saith, The law of God providing for the Priests and Ministers of the Churches, commanded the people to bring into the holy places, the Tenth of their increase, for an hereditary portion; that so being hindered by no labour, they might in due sort attend the worke of the holy Ministerie: which law the whole multitude and heape of Christians, hath kept inviolably for a long time. The Fathers assembled in the^d Councell of *Forum Iulij*, after they have alleadged the mandate of Almighty God in the third of *Malachie*, adde, that God himselfe pronounceth, that his wrath and indignation abideth upon the Nation or People, which fulfilleth not this his commandement with an intire heart, and a good will: and after recitall of the blessings and curses that follow them that keepe or breake this commandement; If yee beleve not us, or despise us (say they) because we are men, beleve God himselfe in his threats and promises; and whosoever thou art, that professest thy selfe a Christian, *De suis, non de tuis, da Domino; quia omne quod sumus, vivimus, & habemus, ejus est, & de ipsius benignitatis suscepimus manu:* that is, give unto God of his owne, not of thine; seeing all that we are, live, and have, is his, and we have received it at the hand of his goodnes. The fourth^e Councell of *Arle* decreeth thus; let every one offer to God the Tenth & First fruits of all the increase of his labour, as it is written, *Thou shalt not be slow to offer thy Tithes and first fruites unto God.* The Councell of *Mentz* under *Charles* the Great, prescribeth in this sort: Wee admonish and command that no man neglect to pay Tithes unto God, which God himselfe appointed to be given, because it is to be feared, least as each man shall with-hold from God that which is due unto him; so God for his sinne should take from him those thinges that are necessary, and which hee would otherwise suffer him to enjoy. Which agreeth with that of *Augustine* in his booke of his 50 *Homilies*, where he saith: Our Ancestours did therefore abound in wealth, and had plenty of all things, because they gave Tithes to God, and Tribute to *Cesar*: *Modò autem, quia discessit devotio Dei, accessit indictio fisci, nolumus partiri cum Deo Decimas, modò autem totum tollitur, hoc tollit Fiscus, quod non accipit Christus.* That is, But now because devotion giveth nothing to God, the Officers of Princes call for our Treasure, to fill their Coasars; we will not so part and devide with God, as to give him the Tenth, and therefore all is taken from us by men, the Exchequer seazeth on that, which Christ could have no part of. The Councell of *Tribur* alleadgeth and alloweth the saying of the Authour of the Sermons *De tempore* before cited, and addeth these words. If any man aske why Tithes are payed, let him know that they are therefore payed, that God being pleased with this devotion, may give more largely the thinges wee have neede of. The perswasion of the necessity of paying Tithes was so deeply imprinted in the mindes of our Forefathers, that when they were ready to die, there was no account concerning things in this world, they more carefully sought to perfit, than this; and therefore, after they had taken order for satisfying all that they could any way finde to be behinde, in this kinde; they were wont, (least happily something there might be that came not to their minde) to appoint that the second best of those moveable thinges they had, should be brought after them to the Church when they went to be buried, as a recompence, if in any thing they had done wrong in paying their Tithes; and this thing thus brought after them, was named a *Mortuarie*.

Thus we see, the fact of *Abraham*, and Vow of *Jacob* before the giving of the Law; the prescription of Almighty God in the time of the Law; the Resolution of learned and worthy men, and the practise of the Church since the comming of Christ, prove strongly, *That Tithes are perpetually and for ever due*; yet the Schoolemen, and such as follow them, are of another opinion. ^k *Bellarmino* goeth about to prove that Tithes are not due by Gods law, in this sort. They are neither prescribed in the old Law, nor

nor in the new (saith hee) therefore they are not due by Gods Law. That they are not prescribed in the new (he saith) it is cleare, but proveth it not. But that Tithes are to be paid, may bee proved by necessary consequence out of that which is prescribed in the new Testament. That they are not prescribed in the old, he cannot say; all the bookes of the old Testament being full of Mandates, Threats, Promises, and Encouragements to move men to pay Tithes. But hee saith, the precepts that are found in the old Testament, requiring and urging men to pay Tithes, were judiciall, not Morall and Perpetuall. That they were not morall, hee endeavourerh to prove, because there was no Law concerning the paying Tithes before the time of *Moses*. If hee speake of a written Law, it is true there was no such before *Moses*, neither touching Tithes, nor any thing else: but if he speake of a Law simply, we say there was a Law before *Moses*, which moved *Abraham* to pay Tithes; and that as (presupposing the knowledge of the Creation of the world in fixe dayes, and Gods rest in the seventh) Reason convinceth us, that one day in seven must bee a day of Rest from our owne workes, affaires, and businesses, that we may spend it in divine thoughts, meditations, prayers, and praises of God: So in like sort, the number of Tenne, being the uttermost extent, limit, and bound of all numbers, it being presupposed, that something is to be given to God, out of that wee possesse, the very light of Reason will make us know, that we ought not to passe the number of Tenne, but that one oftene (at the least) is to be yeelded unto God out of all that wee possesse; and that not the worst, (for wee doe not so deale with mortall Princes) but the best, the first and principall. Which is confirmed unto us, in that the *Gentiles* and people that knew not God, but by the light of Nature, and such Traditions as they had receiyed from the Patriarches, did pay Tithes as well as the *Iewes* did, and the *Christians* doe. The prooffe hereof, the Reader may finde at large out of divers Authours in a Treatise of Tithes, written not long since, and in *m Iansenius*. But some man (perhaps) will say, that this confirmation is too weake; for that many among the *Gentiles* were Circumcised as well as the *Iewes*, and that yet it followeth not from thence, that Circumcision was prescribed & imposed by the Law of Nature; so that the custome, practise, and observation of the *Gentiles* paying Tithes, will not prove that it is a naturall duty to pay Tithes. But they who bring this Objection, should know, that there is a great difference betwene these two Observations of the *Gentiles*; For the one was but in some certaine parts of the world onely, and among such people as were descended of *Abraham*, or by Leagues, Compacts, and Perswasions were induced by them to be Circumcised. But the paying, vowing, and offering of Tithes to their supposed gods, was generally amongst all the *Gentiles*, *Romans*, *Grecians*, and *Barbarians*. Wherefore we may resolve, that the prescription of Tithes, was not meerely Judiciall, and fitted to the State of the people of the *Iewes* (as *Bellarmino* out of *Aquinas* would have it) but that it was Naturall, and from the beginning. And surely it is worth the noting, how strangely he forgetteth himselfe, and so runneth into grosse contradictions in this point. For first, to make it seeme probable, that this prescription was but meerely Judiciall, hee saith: "The intendment of God, in prescribing Tithes was, that there should be a certaine equality amongst the parts and Tribes of his people; and that therefore he allotted the Tenth to the *Levites*, who were almost the tenth part of his people; and yet after hee saith, "The *Levites* were not the sixtieth part of the people: and proveth the same out of the first and third of *Numbers*. So that it cannot bee imagined that the reason of allowing this proportion to the *Levites*, was for that they were little lesse than the tenth part of the people, that so they might have at least as much as the rest, if not a little more: especially seeing it may easily be proved, that the Cities and Suburbs that were allowed unto them, by God himselfe, besides the first-fruits, and that part of the Sacrifices which they had, was as much as the possessions of any Tribe, though they had had no Tithes at all. So that the possessions of the *Levites* and *Priests* being more than the thirteenth part of the whole land, (whereas they were not the sixtieth part) and all the Tithes, First-fruits and a part of the Sacrifices, being assigned unto them besides, it is most cleare & evident, the intendment of God in allowing Tithes

M. Carleton
of Tithes.
Comment.
in Concord.
Evang. cap. 48.

De Clericis,
lib. 1. cap. 23.

Eod. capite,
Dubio 4.

unto the *Levites*, was not the equalling of them and the rest. But to conclude this point, if we had neither the fact of *Abraham*, the vow of *Jacob*, the custome of the *Gentiles* before *CHRIST*, nor any other reason to perswade us, that Tithes are due by Gods Law; yet this very prescription in the time of *Moses* Law, would prove sufficiently, that *Christians* must yeeld the Tenth (at the least) of all their increase towards the maintenance of the Ministers. For seeing the Ministerie of the Gospell is much more glorious then that of the Law, and the Obligation of the people unto them stronger, there can bee no doubt made, but that *Christians* are bound to give the Tenth of their increase (at the least) towards the maintenance of them that attend the service of God: and consequently, that God hath not left it to men to determine what is a competent allowance for his servants (as some thinke:) which thing may easily be proved, if any man shall make any question of it. For seeing they of *Levies* Tribe had so large an allowance, whereas yet the most part of them were but ordinary *Levites*, and imployed in meane services, the Priests being (in comparifon) but a few, and attending but by courses once in 24 weekes: there is farre greater reason, that the Ministers of the Church that attend more holy things, and that continually, (whose Education out of their owne Patrimonie hath beene chargeable unto them, and whose profession of Learning and Knowledge is such, that the very furnishing of them with Bookes, is a matter of great expence) should have a more plentiful allowance made unto them than the *Levites*. Neither is there any kinde of Provision for Ministers fitter than this by Tithes. For if they have their allowance in money, the prices of things often rising, it may bee too short; neither will they have so sensible a fellow-feeling of the blessings of God, or his punishments the people taste of, if they have their allowance certaine, and no way subject to those different courses of Times that others have. And therefore wee shall finde, that howsoever in the very first Times, *Christians* were forced to supply the necessities of their Ministers by other meanes, before things were settled; yet so soone as there was any quiet establishment of things, they embraced this course of providing for Ministers by Tithes, as of all other the best.

These Tithes (before there was that perfect distinction and division of Parochiall Churches, that now is) they payed to the Bishop and Cleargy joyntly. Whereupon we shall finde, that at first, as all Lands, so all Money, Tithes, First-fruits, and other Contributions made to the Church, were in the hands of the Bishop and Cleargy joyntly, but of the Bishop principally, as more eminent then the rest; and that he was bound to^p divide all into foure parts, whereof one served for his owne maintenance, another for the Cleargy, the third for the Reparations of the buildings and houses belonging to the Church, and a fourth for the Reliefe of the Poore, and the entertainment of Strangers. And therefore at the first the Cleargy was maintained out of a common dividend, and the portion allowed to each man was named * *Sportula*, and they that lived by these allowances, *Sportulantes*. In which sense *Cyprian* writing of some that he had designed to be Presbyters, hath these words: ⁹ *Presbyterij honorem designasse nos illis jam sciatis, & ut sportulis ijsdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, & divisiones mensurnas aequatis quantitatibus partiantur. sessuri nobiscum provectis & corroboratis annis suis.*

^p Gelas. ep. 9 ad Epist. Lucaniz. Vide Gratian. part. 2. decreti caus. 12. q. 2. * This word importeth no base but an honorable allowance. ⁹ Cyp. ep. 66. & 34.

But this course continued but a while: for afterwarde as there was a division of Parochiall Churches, with particular assignation of severall Presbyters to take care of them; so likewise of the tithes of the increase of the lands & possessions of such as were within those limits, the Bishop & Cleargy of the Citie, or of the chiefe Church, living in common of such landes, renewes and possessions as had bin given to the Church, and the tithes and offerings of them that received Sacraments, and resorted ordinarily to be thought in the Cathedrall Church; till in the end, as the Inhabitants of the country abroad, so they of the Cities likewise were put to Parochiall divisions, and none but the Bishop, Cleargy, and such as pertained to them, resorted ordinarily to the Cathedrall or great Church, but to other divided from it; and then was there no more tithe payde to the Bishop and Cleargy of the Cathedrall or chiefe Church, but to the inferior

our Churches onely, the Bishop and his Cleargy, of the Mother Church, living of such lands as were given unto them: which also in proceſſe of time they divided. So that the Biſhop had his diſtinct poſſeſſions, lands, and revenewes, proper to himſelfe; and likewise they of the Cathedrall Church.

So that to conclude this matter, as tithes are payable by the lawes of God, & men, for the maintenanc of Gods ſervice, and them that attend the ſame: ſo before there was any particular diviſion of Parochiall Churches, and while each citie and the places adjoining made but one Church, they were due, and of right to be payed, by men living within thoſe limits, to the Biſhop and Cleargy joyntly, who by a joynt care, were to governe and teach the people of ſuch places. But after Parochiall Churches were divided, each man was, and is to pay the tithes of the things he poſſeſſeth, within each pariſh, to that particular Prebyter that ruleth the ſame. And therefore it is an error to thinke as ſome doe; that before the Councell of *Lateran*, men might pay their tithes to what places and perſons they pleaſed; and that by the decrees of that Councell, they were firſt limited to the place of their habitation. For the thing that was ordered in the Councell of *Lateran*, was not the limiting of the dutie of paying tithe to one certaine and definite place, as if men had bin free before to pay them to whom and where they liſted, but whereas men dwelling in one place, and having lands, livings, and poſſeſſions in another, thought they might pay the tenth of the increaſe of ſuch things as they had in other places, to the Miniſter of the place where they dwelt, and of whom they received the Sacraments: The Councell decreed that the Tithes of ſuch lands, as men had lying elſewhere, ſhould not be paid by them, in the places of their habitation, but where the land lyeth; and perſonall tithes in the place of their abode, where they are partakers of the holy things of God, and not elſewhere: Then which nothing could be more juſt and reaſonable. Neither did the Councell of *Lateran* alone, take order for this matter, but the Councell of *Mentz* cited by *Gratian*, provideth likewise, that if any man give away ſuch places, as he had proprietie in, or other things, the tithe ſhall not be alienated from the Church, it did formerly belong unto.

But that men were alwayes bound to pay the Tithes of ſuch things as they poſſeſſe; within the place of their habitation, to the Miniſters of the ſame, it may eaſily be proved, in that, very Auncient Councils doe provide; that no man ſhall pay the tithes of ſuch things as he hath within the limits of any place, but to that Church in which all they that inhabite there reſort for Baptiſme, and ſpirituall inſtruction. We decree (ſaith) *Anaſtaſius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, that if any man ſeek to withhold the Oblations and Tithes, which the people ought to yeeld unto the Church, or give them away from that Church, where they of the places, where ſuch Tithes ariſe, doe uſually receive the Sacrament of Baptiſme, to any other without the Biſhops conſent, let him be accuſed. It hath ſeemed good, not onely to us, but to our Anceſtours, (ſaith *Leo* the Fourth) that the people ſhall pay their Tithes, where they and their children are baptiſed, and no where elſe. The Councell of *Wormes* provideth, that if any man with the Biſhops conſent build a new Church within his owne land, the Auncient Church ſhall not be prejudiced, but all accuſtomed Tythes ſhall bee ſtill paid unto it. The Councell of *Ticin* ſaith, there are certaine Lay-men, who having Churches or Oratories within the compaſſe of their owne lands and poſſeſſions, pay not the tithes to thoſe Churches, where they are partakers of the benefit of Baptiſme, Preaching, Impoſition of hands, and other Sacraments of Chriſt: but give them to their owne Churches, or their owne Clearks, as they liſt: which is contrary to the law of God, and the ſacred Canons. And therefore the Councell of *Mentz* in the time of *Arnulphus*, decreed, That Auncient Churches ſhall not be deprived of their tithes, or other poſſeſſions, and that the things that formerly did belong unto them, ſhall not be given to new Chappels, or Oratories.

The firſt wrong that was offered unto Churches, in depriving them of their tithes, that prevailed, was in favour of Monkes, who having their Maſſion houſes within the precincts of Pariſhes, and lands belonging to the ſame, which for their proviſion they held in their owne hands, and uſed for their owne benefit, reſted not till they obtained

In indice in
appendicem
Concil. Lateran.
menſ. 3. de Pa-
tionib. 39.
& 40.
Part 2. cauſa.
16. qu. 42. c. 1.

Cirrus. part.
2. cauſa. 16 qu.
1. cap. 55.

Ibid. cap. 45.

Canone 47.

Habetur To-
mo. 3. Concil.
apud Binnium.
pag. 656.

Cap 13.

^a Indice in ap-
pendicem.

^b Cabilonenf.
2. Canone 19.

^c Hier. ad Heli-
odorum de lau-
de vitæ solita-
riz.

of the Pope and other Bishops to have them Tithes-free. The Councell of Lateran under *Alexander* the Third ordaineth, *That religious men shall pay no Tithes out of such their landes as they till themselves.* But if they shall rent any, they shall pay Tithes as others doe: and likewise if they let any landes out unto Countrey-men to be tilled, they shall pay Tithes out of them; yea if they shall get new landes, after their foundation and confirmation of their Priviledges, they shall pay Tithes, though they keepe them in their owne hands. But this exemption of Religious men, (though very prejudiciall to the Church) stayed non heere, but prevailed yet further, to the great hurt of the Church: and therefore wee reade, that some sought to exempt their Farmers also from paying Tithes: which the Bishops assembled in the Councell of *Cabilon* disliked and commanded that both Bishops and Abbots should permit their Tenants to pay Tithes in the places where they received the Sacraments: and that they should keepe the Tithes of such fieldes and Vineyardes, as they held in their owne occupation, to themselves. Thus we shall finde that this Monkish generation first robbed the parochiall Churches, within the boundes whereof their houses and possessions were, of a great portion of Tithes due unto them, by their priviledges and exemptions: and that after they had tasted the sweetnesse of this robbery, they went forward, till they had subjected those Ministers and their Churches to themselves, to whose Jurisdiction they were formerly subject; And got the Tithes that others payed to parochiall Churches, to bee appropriated to themselves, that at first by priviledge exempted themselves from paying Tithes; forgetting that of *Saint Hierome*; *Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum, Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor, illi de Altari vivunt, mihi quasi infructuosa arbori securis ponitur ad radicem, si munus ad Altare non deferro; nec possum obtendere paupertatem, cum in Evangelio anum viduam, duo qua sola sibi supererant ara, mittentem laudaverit Dominus, mihi ante Presbyterum sedere non licet; illi si peccavero, licet tradere me Satana in interitum carnis, ut Spiritus saluus sit.* That is, the condition of Monkes and the condition of Cleargy-men differ very much. Cleargy-men feede the Sheepe of *CHRIST*, but I am fedde; they live by the Altar, but if I bring not my gift to the Altar, the Axe is laid unto mee as to an unfruitfull Tree; neither can I pretend Poverty, seeing the Lord in the Gospell praised the Widow that cast in two Mites, which was all that shee had; I may not sit in the presence of a Presbyter, but if I offend, he may deliver me to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit may be saved.

But as these idle bellies, and evill beasts, by the favour of Popes and Prelates, got into their hands the portion which God appointed for his servants the Ministers of his Churches; so in the end growing odious to the world, for that professing mortification, and a voluntary penitentiall course of life, they abounded in wealth and surfetted upon pleasures, more then any secular men in the world, they were devoured of others, who seized upon their houses, tooke from them their renewes, and together with their other livings, led captive that portion of tithes, they found in their possessions; and hold it (in sort) as the former usurpers did, even to this day. So that wee may truly pronounce, that the Cloysters of Monkes are guilty of all that horrible Sacriledge, that hath layed waste so many Churches, spoyled so many Christians of the comfort of Godly Pastors, that otherwise they might have enjoyed; & brought the Cleargy into that meane estate, that now it is come unto. For it is not to be imagined, that ever any Lay-man would once have entertained a thought of receiving Tithes, (that as consecrated things to God, and holy unto him) were to bee put into the Store-house of his Temple, if they had not found them, (who by the original of their order, and institution, were to pay, and not to receive Tithes) possessed of them, and spending them in most vile and shamefull manner. Neither shall we ever finde (as I thinke) the Lay-men inherited this portion of the Lord, in sort as now they doe, till the suppressing of the houses of these irreligious Monkes; which were become cages of uncleane Birdes, and dens of theeves and robbers. It is true indeed that *Dnarenus* hath, that the right of receiving sacred Tithes, *Clementine*, was by certaine Princes, with the consent of the whole Cleargy, made over to Knights and

^d De Sacris Ec-
cles. ministr. &
benef. l. 7. c. 1.

Marshall

Marshall men for defending the Church and people of *CHRIST* against the enemies of Religion. But this was for the good and benefit of the Clergy, and in their right; and not as now it is, by absolute title of inheritance, and Fee-simple, but freehold. The beginner of this kind of assignation of tithes to lay-men for defence of the Church, was *Charles Martell* as *Duarenus* saith, and the third Council of *Lateran* reversed and voyded it more then foure hundred yeares since.

From tithes, (which the Lord God, possessor of Heaven and earth, appropriated to himselfe, as his owne particular portion from the beginning, though all were his) let us proceede to see what the devotion of men gave unto him since the appearing of *CHRIST* his Son in the world. Touching which point, first we shall find in the sacred story of the Evangelists, that many ministred unto *CHRIST* out of their substance; and that he had a Bagge wherein he kept the things which the faithfull ministred unto him; and out of the same supplied his owne necessities, and the wants of others, as Saint *Augustine* observeth. So that he did not live so as to have nothing, or to begge, (as some heretofore have thought) whose error Pope *Joh* the two and twentieth long since condemned. Here was the first patterne of Church-goods, and treasure, as *Augustine* noteth. After the death, resurrection, and returne of *Christ* into Heaven, such was the devotion of the beleivers in the beginning; that many of them sold their possessions, and brought the price thereof, and laid it downe at the Apostles feet. Which communication of the goods of the first Christians, though it exceeded to the benefit of all, yet was there a speciall respect therein had to the Apostles; to whom they would have nothing to be wanting, and to whose disposition all was committed. The reason why they rather sold their possessions, and turned their lands into money, then gave them to the Apostles for the reliefe and maintenance of themselves, & others, was, (as some thinke) for that the Church was soone after to be removed from those parts, and to be dispersed amongst the *Gentiles*, which made them little regard to have lands and possessions in *Judea*.

But after these times when the Christians were dispersed throughout the world, & Churches established amongst the *Gentiles*, they thought it better to give lands unto the Churches, for the maintenance of the Ministry, reliefe of the Poore, & entertainment of Strangers, then money; as being a more sure, certaine, & settled Indowment, & consequently fitter for Churches established. Of which change we may read in the epistle attributed to *Vrbani* Bishop of *Rome*, about the yeare two hundred twenty sixe. And though the first course of giving all that men possessed to the common benefit, soone ceased, & was never practised (for ought we read) amongst the *Gentiles*; yet great was the devotion of Christians, turning from *Gentilisme*; in those first ages of the Church, while the blood of *Christ* lately shed, was yet warme in mens hearts: so that they gave many goodly and ample Indowments & Possessions to the Church. Whereupon we shall finde, that the Church had very anciently goods and lands, as well as treasure. For the Council of *Ancyra* holden in the yeare 314, voydeth the sale of such things, as the Church made by Presbyters when there was no Bishop; and leaveth it in the choyce of the Bishop when he is chosen, if he please, to resume the things themselves againe. The Council of *Antioch* in the yeare 340, maketh mention of the fields, lands, & possessions of the Church, & taketh order how they shall be disposed. *Agri Ecclesie* (saith *Ambrose*) *solvunt tributum*: that is, the fields and lands of the Church pay tribute. *Constantine* the Emperour made a Law, that it might bee lawfull for such as pleased, to leave their goods unto the Church. And *Lucinia* a rich and wealthy Matron, gave her goods by will unto the church of *Rome*, when *Marcellus* was Bishop. *Hilary* Bishop of *Arle* (as *Prosper* reporteth) not onely possessed such things as the Church had formerly, but greatly increased the possessions of it, receiving the inheritances of many, who gave that they had to the Church. Thus did the devout Christians of the Primitive Church religiously give, & the godly Bishops take such temporalities as were given unto them. And therefore the concept of *Wickliffe* (if that bee true that is imputed to him) and some other, cannot well bee excused, who thought that *Constantine*, and other Christian Emperours sinned in giving, and *Sylvester* and other Bishops

Bishops in receiving temporall goods and possessions.

n Vol. 1. gene-
rat. 11. p. 505.

o De potest Ec-
clesiast. confi-
derat. 12.

p De sacris Ec-
clesi. minist. &
Benef. lib. 7.
cap. 5.

q Sub Alexand
3. cap. 4.

It is true, that great was the superfluitie of Church-men in latter times, and their state such as made them forget the things that most concerned them: whence grew that saying, *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit Matrem*: That is, religion brought forth riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother. *Naotene* reporteth, that there was a common conceipt amongst many, that when *Constantine* first began to endow the Churches, with lands & possessions, a voice was heard from Heaven saying, *Hodie venenum Ecclesia est immissum*: that is, This day is poyson powred into the Church: and in proceſſe of time, temporall Princes (finding that the indiscreet devotion of men, giving more then was fit to the Church, prejudiced the state of their Kingdomes, & common-wealths) made statutes of *Mormaine*, to stay men from putting any more of their lands and possessions into such dead hands, as would do them no service. But such is the infelicity of the sonnes of men, that commonly they run out of one extremity into another: and while they seeke to avoyd one evill they fall into another as bad or worse. The abuse of the riches and wealth the Church had in the time wherein *Wickliffe* lived, made him so farre dislike the present state of things: that hee thought the contrary would right all againe: as the manner of men is, when they goe about to straighten a thing that is crooked, to bow it as much the other way. But *Gerson*, a right good religious & wise man bringeth in an even & just moderation, to interpose it selfe betweene these extremities, that neither men give so much to the Church, as to make her set her feete on the neckes of Emperours, nor yet bring her to want and contempt, which hath beene the course of some men in our times; the unhappie sequells of whose proceedings, we see already in part; and it is to be feared, that posterity shall feelee the smart of it in more grievous sort then we doe.

But to returne to the matter whence we are a little digressed. These Lands, which devout and good people gave unto the Church, were at first possessed joyntly by the Bishop and Cleargy: but in proceſſe of time, a division was made, and either knew distinctly their owne, and had power to dispose of it; so that they did nothing prejudiciall to the inheritance of their Churches, or tending to the hurt of them that were to succeed them. For (to restraine them from doing any such thing) the Bishop was forbidden by the lawes of the Church, to let any thing belonging to his See, without the confirmation of his Cleargy, and the Ministers abroad, to alienate, exchange, or demise any thing without the consent of the Bishop, and Patrons, or founders of the Churches. Otherwise, both the Bishop might dispose of himselfe alone, of that portion that belonged unto him, and the Ministers of their Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, and Glebe-landes, without the Bishops intermedling with them. Onely three things were due to the Bishop out of the livings of inferiour Ministers. For first, as *Dna. noteth*, the Ministers of inferiour Churches, were to give yearely a certaine tribute or pension unto the Bishop; which Tribute or Pension was called *Cathedraicum*, *quod Cathedra*, id est, *honoris Episcopalis, debeatur*. Secondly, when the Bishop goeth to visite his Diocesse, and the Parishes abroad, the inferiour Ministers are to give him entertainment, and provide for him: which is called *Procuratio*; *Quia Ecclesia Episcopum procurant*, i. *curant, alunt & timentur, sicut pueri dicuntur procurari a nutribus*: That is, Procurations, because the Churches abroad, must take care, provide and procure, all things necessary for the Bishops lodging, diet and entertainment. But because in these visitations some Bishops grew too chargeable, therefore the Councell of *Lateran* limiteth what company a Bishop shall have with him, when hee goeth to visit. Thirdly, in former times, the fourth part of the Tithes due to inferiour Churches, and the fourth part of such things, as by Will men gave to them, was by the Ministers of these Churches, to be paid unto the Bishop, which thing is now growne out of use. Neither is there any other thing payable, and due to the Bishop from inferiour Ministers, but Procurations onely.

Thus were Church-lands, and tithes, (which at first were enjoyed by the Bishop & Cleargy joyntly) in time divided, and either of them had an entire power to dispose of the same, as seemed good unto them, without the intermedling of the other: yet

was

was there a difference made betweene such things as they had by right of inheritance, or by the gift of their friends, and those things which they gained and gathered upon their Ecclesiasticall livings. For sundry Canons provided, that Bishops and other Cleargy-men, might make their last Will and Testament; and give to whom they pleased, that which came to them by inheritance, the gift of their friends; or which they gained upon the same. But that which they gained upon their Church-livings, they should leave to their Churches. But the Church of *England*, had a different custom: neither were these Canons ever of force in our Church: And therefore her Bishops and Ministers might ever at their pleasure bequeath to whom they would, whatsoever they had gained, either upon their Church-livings, or otherwise. And surely there is great reason it should be so, for seeing, *The labourer is worthy of his hire*, why should not they have power to give that which was yielded unto them as due recompence and reward of their labours, to whom they please. And how it can bee excused from injustice and wrong, that men (spending a great part of their owne Patrimonie; in fitting themselves for the Ministry of the Church, which converted to the best advantage and benefit, might greatly have enriched them) should not have right & power to dispose of such things, as they have lawfully gained, out of those livings which are assigned to them, as the due reward of their worthy paines? Yet are there some, that are much more injurious to the holy Ministry. For *Waldensis* out of a Monkish humour, thinketh that Cleargy-men are bound to give away; whatsoever commeth to them, by inheritance, or by any other meanes; & that they ought not to possesse any thing in private, and as their owne. And allegeth to this purpose the sayings of *Origen*, *Hierome*, and *Bernard*: that the Cleargy-man that hath any part or portion on earth, cannot have the Lord for his portion, nor any part in heaven. But *Cardinall Bellarmine* answereth to these authorities, That these Fathers speake of such as content not themselves with that which is sufficient, but immoderately seeke the things of this world, and proveth, that Cleargy-men may have; and keepe lands and possessions as their owne. First, because the Apostle prescribeth that such a one should be chosen a Bishop *As governeth his owne house well, and hath children in Obedience*; which presupposeth that he hath something in private, and that is his owne. Secondly, he confirmeth the same by the Canons of the Apostles, the Councell of *Agatha*, *Martinus Bracharen-* sis in his Decrees; and the first Councell of *Hispalis*; and further addeth, that a man having Lands, Possessions and inheritances of his owne, may spare his owne living, and receive maintenance from the Church: for prooffe whereof he allegeth the Glosse, & *Iohn de Turrecremata*, a Cardinall in his time of great esteeme; and confirmeth the same by that saying of Christ, *The labourer is worthy of his hyre*: and that of the Apostle Saint Paul, *Who goeth to warfare at any time, at his owne charge?*

Doctr. fidei 1.
4. art. 3. cap. 42.

De Clericis.
lib. 1. cap. 7.

1 Tim. 3. 4.

u Can. 40.

x Can. 48.

7 Cannon. 15.

2 Canon. 1.

4 In cap. Cleri-
cos. 1. qu. 2.

6 Math. 10. 10.

c 1 Cor. 9. 7.

FINIS.

AN
APPENDIX
CONTAINING
A DEFENCE OF SVCH
PARTES AND PASSA-
GES OF THE FORMER
four Bookes, as have beene
either excepted against, or
wrested to the maintenance
of Romish errorrs.



Divided into three parts.

Rrr 2

The

The Epistle to the Reader.

SINCE the time I presumed (good Christian Reader) to offer to thy view, what I had long before for my private satisfaction observed touching certaine points, concerning the nature, definition, notes, visibility, and authority of the Church much questioned in our times: first there came forth a Pamphlet, intituled, The first part of Protestant proofes for Catholique Religion and recusancie: After that a larger discourse bearing the name of, A Treatise of the grounds of the old and new religion: and thirdly, the first moſtve of one Theophilus Higgon, lately minister, to suspect the integrity of his Religion. The Author of the first of these worthy workes, undertaketh to prove out of the writings of Protestant Divines, published since the beginning of his Majesties raigne over this Kingdome, that his Romish faith and profession is Catholique. The second endeavoureth to make the world believe, that Protestants have no sure grounds of Religion. And the third, having made shipwracke of the faith, and forsaken his calling, laboureth to justifie and make good that he hath done. Every of these hath beene pleased for the advantage of the Romish cause, amongst the Workes of many worthy men, to make use of that which I have written; the first seeking to draw me into the defence of that he knoweth I impugne; and the other two taking exceptions to certaine parts and passages scattered here and there. Such is the insufficiencie and weaknesse of the idle and emptie discourses of these men, that I almost resolved to take no notice of them: But finding that the last of these good Authors fronteth his booke with an odious title of Detection of falshood in Doctor Humfrey, Doctor Field, and other learned Protestants, and addeth an Appendix, wherein hee undertaketh to discover some notable untruths of Doctor Field, and Doctor Morton, pretending that the consideration thereof moved him to become a Papist; I thought it not amisse to take a little paines in shewing the folly of these vaine men, who care not what they write so they write something; and are in hope that no man will trouble himselfe, so much as once to examine what they say: yet intending to answer all that every of these hath said (for who would mispend his time, weary himselfe in so fruitlesse a labour?) but that which concerneth my selfe, against whom they bend themselves in more speciall sort, then any other; as it seemeth because I have treatised as Master Higgon speaketh, of that subject, which is the center and circumference of all religious disputes. And because M. Higgon is pleased to let us know his name, whereas the other conceale theirs, (it being no small comfort for a man to know his Adversary) I will doe him all the kindnesse I can, and first begin with him, though hee shewed himselfe last, and from him proceed to the rest. What it is that maketh him so much offended with mee, I cannot tell; but sure it is, hee hath a good will to offend mee: for hee chargeth me with trifeling, egregious falshood, collusion, unfaithfull dealing, abusing the holy Fathers, and I know not what else. But such is the shamelesse, and apparant untruth of those horrible imputations, that it is altogether needlesse to spend time, and bestow labour in the refutation of them. Yet because in the suspicion of heresie, falshood, and unfaithfull dealing in matters of faith, and religion, no man ought to be patient; I will briefly take a view of his whole booke. And though his beginning be abrupt, and absurd, his whole discourse confused, and perplexed, and all that he doth, without order and method; yet to give satisfaction to all, I will follow him the same way he goeth. I was unwilling (good Christian Reader) to trouble thee with such discourses; but the restlesse importunity of our adversaries, setting every one a worke to say something against us, forceth mee therunto. And without partiality, and Iudge betwene us, as God shall direct thee.



THE FIRST PART, CONTAINING A DIS- COVERY OF THE VANITIE of such silly exceptions as have beene taken against the former foure Bookes, by one *Theophilus Higgon*s.

§. 1.



HE first exception *Master Higgon*s is pleased to take against me, is, that in all my foure Bookes I have not graced any Father with the glorious title of Saint: his words are these. *I am bold to entreate D. Fieldes leave to honour Augustine with the name of Saint, howsoever he hath not once vouchsafed in his foure Books to grace him or any Father with this glorious title.* It is strange that such a novice as he is, should dare to begin in so scornfull a manner, with so shamelesse an untruth, as if hee had bin an old practitioner in the faculty of lying; but his desire (it seemeth) was to give as good prooffe at first as possibly hee might, of the good service hee is

4. Pag. 4.

like to do, if his new Masters will be pleased to make use of him, & imploy him as they do others. For otherwise he could not but know he might easily be convinced of a lye; for I have given the title of Saint to *Augustine*, that worthy & renowned Father, more then once, twice, or thrice; & I call *Leo*, blessed *Leo*, & so give him a title equivalent to that of Saint, and more often found in the writings of the Ancient. If happily it offend him, that every time I name any Father, I give him not the title of Saint, let him take the paines to peruse the writings of *Alexander of Hales*, *Tho. Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Durandus*, *Waldensis*, *Sixtus Senensis*, & other of that sort, & I doubt not but he will soone perceive his folly, & cease to be angry with me any longer, unlesse he be resolved to condemn them also. This surely is a childish and a bad beginning, & may make us justly feare he will performe little in that which followeth.

§. 2.

THAT which hee hath in the next place, that *D. Humphrey*, and I, admit tryall by the Fathers, is true, but to no purpose; for hee and his consorts know right well, that the Fathers make nothing for them, and therefore they are soone weary of this course of tryall, as often as they are brought to it; as it appeared by *Hardinges* writing against Bishop *Jewell*. For whereas the challenge was made by that worthy Bishop, to trie the matter of difference betweene the *Romanistes* and us, not onely by discourse of reason, or testimonies of Scripture, wherein all the world knew

12. & 13. Pag.

knew our Adversaries to be too weake; but by authorities of the Auncient, where-
 in they were thought to have more strength. And whereas to that purpose hee
 brought out against them all the renowned Fathers, and Bishops that lived in
 auncient times, the decrees of Councils then holden, and the report of Historians:
Harding could finde none to speake for him, but *Martialis*, *Abden*, *Amphilochius*, and
 such branded counterfeits, nor no other proofes of his cause, but the fained Epistles
 of the auncient Popes, and shamelesse forgeries under the honourable names of holy
 Fathers, with other-like base stuffe. The thing that offendeth Master *Higgon* in
 Doctor *Humphrey*, is, that he saith the *Romanists* are like *Thrasilans*, who in a madde
 humour, tooke all the shippes in the *Atticke* haven bee his owne, though hee posses-
 sed not one vessel: or rather maketh the degree of their phrensie greater, because they
 see, and yet seeing dissemble, that they are destitute of all defence from the Fathers.
 Which saying of the worthy and renowned Doctour, is most true, and shall bee de-
 fended against a farre better man, then *Theophilus Higgon*, though childishly hee
 charge him with *Notable*, and *vast untruth* in this behalfe. Neither shall bee, nor a-
 ny of his great Masters ever prove, that I have untruely alleadged the cause why *Lu-
 ther*, *Zwinglius*, and other, at the first seemed to decline the tryall by the Fathers: for
 the true cause was indeede, as I have alleadged, the feare of the corruptions of the Fa-
 thers workes, and writings; and not any imagination, that the Fathers generally from
 the beginning were in errour: which is so barbarous a conceit, that it cannot enter
 into the heart of any reasonable man. Neither was it any folly in them (as this wise
 man is pleased to censure the matter) to decline the tryall by the Fathers in those
 times after barbarisme, superstition, and tyrannie had so long prevailed, and almost
 laid waste all learning, religion, and liberty of the Church, seeing *Vincentius Lyr-
 nensis* prescribeth, that after Heresies have long prevailed, and growne inveterate, we
 should flie to the Scriptures alone.

e Contra pro-
 fanas heretico-
 rum novitates.

a Pag. 14. & 15.

§. 3. IN the third place (he saith) *Hee was desirous to understand, why, amongst other par-
 ticulars, I should esteeme it a folly, and inconstancy in the Romanists, to say, that Purgatory is holden by Tradition and yet proved by Scripture.* Which argueth, that the man
 is either very weake in understanding, or else maketh himselfe more simple, then in-
 deede he is. For having shewed, that the name of Tradition sometime signifieth every
 part of Christian Doctrine, delivered from one to another, either by lively voyce on-
 ly, or by writing: sometimes such parts thereof onely, as were not written by them,
 to whom they were first delivered; and that our Adversaries, to understand the word
 in the controversies betwene them and us. I note it as a contradiction amongst Pa-
 pists, that some of them say, Purgatory is holden by Tradition, in that later sense; and
 other, that it is proved by Scripture: as likewise that some of them alleadge for prooofe
 of unwritten Traditions the article of the consubstantiality of the Sonne of God with
 the Father, and the proceeding of the holy Ghost from them both; and others con-
 stantly affirme that those Articles may bee proved out of Scripture. Now it to bee
 written, and not to be written; to be holden by unwritten Tradition, or Tradition op-
 posite to writing, and to be proved out of Scripture, bee not contradictory in Master
Higgon's apprehension; it is no great matter of what side he be.

a Pag. 17. & 18.

§. 4. IN the fourth place he saith: *I accept the rule of Saint Augustine, that whatsoever is
 frequented by the universall Church, and was not instituted by Councils; but was alwayes
 holden, that is beleevd most rightly to be; an Apostolicall tradition.* And that liberally I
 adde, that whatsoever all, or the most famous or renowned in all ages, (or at the least in
 divers ages) have constantly delivered, as received from them that went before them, as
 man doubting, or contradicting is, may be thought to be an Apostolicall tradition. Whence
 hee thinketh he may conclude inevitably by my allowance, that prayer for the dead
 may bee thought to be an Apostolicall tradition, many famous and renowned Fathers
 in divers ages mentioning prayer for the dead and none disliking or reproving it. For
 answer whereunto I say; that prayer for the resurrection, publique acquittall in the
 day of Judgement, and perfite consummation, and blisse of them that are faine alleage.

in the sleepe of death, is an Apostolicall tradition, and so proved by the rule of Saint *Augustine*, and that other added by me; as likewise prayer made respectively to the passage hence, and entrance into the other world: and hereof there is no controversie betweene us, and our Adversaries. but prayer to ease, mitigate, suspend, or wholly take away the paines of any of them that are in hell, or to deliver men out of the supposed Purgatory of Papists, hath no prooffe from either of these rules, as shall appeare by that which followeth: and therefore, this poore novice hath not yet learned his lesson aright, nor knoweth what it is hee is to prove. But if he will be content to be enformed by me, the thing he must prove (if he desire to gratifie his new masters, and to maintaine the *Romish* cause) is, that all the Fathers, or the most famous amongst them, from the beginning of Christianity, did in the severall Ages wherein they lived, teach men to pray for the deliverance of their friends and bretheren out of the paines of Purgatory; which if hee will undertake to doe, hee must bring some better proofes, then such as are taken from the mutuall dependance and conjunction of Purgatory, and prayer for the dead, which yet principally hee seemeth to urge. For many Catholique Christians (whom this Gentleman must not condemne) made prayers for such, as they never deemed to be in Purgatory. Neither did the auncient Catholique Church (as he fondly imagineth) in her prayers and oblations for the dead, intend to releevē soules temporally afflicted in a penall estate; but in her generall intention (whatsoever private conceits particular men had) desired onely the resurrection, publique acquittall, and perfect consummation, and blessednesse of the departed, and respectively to the passage hence, and entrance into the other world, the utter deletion, and full remission of their sinnes, the perfect purging out of sinne, being in, or immediately upon the dissolution in the last instant of this life, and the first of the next, and not while the soule and body remaine conjoynd. This is strongly proved, because the most auncient amongst the Fathers, make but two sorts of men dying, and departing out of this world, the one sinners, the other righteous; the one prophane, the other holy: so *Dionysius* in his Hierarchie; so *Epiphanius* against *Aerius*; so *Ambrose* in his booke *De bono mortis*; and *Cyrill of Hierusalem* in his Catechisme; and all of them teach, that the soules of the Just are in a joyfull, happie, and good estate, and present with God in an excellent sort, immediatly upon their dissolution, and departure hence. *Obdormitio sanctorum* (saith *Dionysius*) *est in letitia. & spe immobili, quia pervenerunt ad finem certaminum, & norunt se totos percepturos Christi formam in requiem*; that is, The falling asleepe of the holy ones, is in joy and gladnesse, & immoveable hope, because they are come to the end of their combates; and againe, they know they shall altogether bee partakers of the rest of Christ, being come to the end and bound of this life: so that they are filled with holy joy and gladnesse, and with great delight and pleasure, enter the way of the most happy regeneration. Whereupon the friends, and kinsmen of any faithfull man departed, when they carry him to his bedde of rest, pronounce him blessed, as indeed hee is, having obtained the wished end of victory; and send forth Hymnes of gratulation to GOD, that hath made him a conquerour, and praying that they also may be admitted into the like rest, carry him to the Bishop to bee crowned with garlandes, who prayeth the departed as being in a most happy condition; and amongst other, the party presently dead as being a companion of Saints, and partaker of like happinesse with them. After this his body is layde up with other already fallen asleepe in the Lord; comfortable places of Scripture are read, touching the resurrection, and blessed hope of the just; and the Bishop prayeth GOD to forgive unto him all his sinnes committed through humane infirmity, and to place him in the land of the living in the bosomes of *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*. Thus doth *Dionysius* teach, that the soules of all faithfull ones are at rest with GOD immediatly upon their departure hence; and yet sheweth, that the Bishop was wont to pray for the departed at the time hee was brought to his bed of rest; which things seeming not well to agree together, he demaundeth what good the prayer of the Bishop doth the dead; seeing every one shall receive the rewards of the things hee did in this life, whether good, or bad; and prayers have no force to put any man after death, into any other estate then, that hee is worthy of.

*Ecclesiast. 2.
Hierarch. c. 7:
part. 1.*

*Eodem cap.
part. 3.*

when he dieth. Whereunto he answereth, that by desiring and wishing that good to the departed which GOD hath promised, and of his mercy undoubtedly will doe unto them, he accompanieth them to the presence of GOD, and the place of rest which he hath appointed for them; solemnly conveying them thither with his desires, and as having the power of binding and loosing, and discerning between the holy and profane, separateth in a sort (by the solemne good wishes hee sendeth after them) such as GOD hath adjudged to eternall happinesse, from other not partakers of like precious hope with them: admitting the one (as deare unto GOD) by way of declaration, and convoy, into their resting place, and rejecting the other. So that the prayers *Dionysius* speaketh of, were made respectively to the departure hence, and first entrance into the other world, & were nothing else, but an accompanying of the faithfull departed to the Throne of God; with desire of that utter deletion of sinne, and full remission of the same, which is not to be found but in the dissolution of soule and body, and in the first entrance into the other world; but of any relieving men temporally afflicted in a penall estate after this life, hee never dreamed. *Irenaeus* is of opinion, that the soules of the faithfull goe into a certaine visible place, and are there stayed till the Resurrection: but of Purgatory (as *Erasmus* noteth) hee maketh no mention. *Iustine Martyr* teacheth, that after the departure out of the body, there is presently a separation made betweene the soules of the just, and the unjust, and that they are carryed into places worthy of them, and fit for them: that is to say, the soules of the just into Paradise, where they enjoy the company of Angels and Archangels, as also the sight of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST: but those of the unjust and wicked, into infernall places. *Tertullian* saith, There is a place whether the soules of good and evill men are carryed, and where they have a kinde of fore-judging and discerning of that which shall bee adjudged to them in the last judgement. And againe hee saith, That every soule immediatly upon the departure hence, is in this appointed invisible place, having there either paine, or ease, and refreshing: that there the rich man is in paine, and the poore in a comfortable estate: for, saith hee, why should wee not thinke, that the soules are tormented, or refreshed in this invisible place appointed for them in expectation of the future Judgement? *In quadam usurpatione & candida ejus.* The judgement doubtlesse is begunne there: So that neither is good altogether wanting to the innocent, nor the sence and feeling of evill to the nocent. Heere wee see *Tertullian* maketh but two sorts of men departing hence: and that hee thinketh, that presently after their departure hence, the good are in a kinde of imperfect possession or enjoying of that good they looke for hereafter: and the evill and wicked in a kinde of state wherein they already beginne to taste of those everlasting miseries that shall swallow them up, in the day of judgement. So that according to his opinion, there is no Purgatory nor state of temporall paine and affliction after this life, out of which there is hope of escape or deliverance. *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Oration made in the praise of *Casarius* after many comforts against the sorrowes conceived for the losse of so worthy a man: addeth this as the chiefest of all other. *Verbis sapientum adducor ut credam generosum omnem, Deoque charam animam; posteaquam corporis vinculis soluta hinc excessit, protinus, bonum quod eam manet, persentientem, & contemplantem, (utpote eo quod mentem caligine obducebat, vel purgato, vel abjecto, vel quo verbo ea res appellanda sit nescia) mirabili quadam voluptate affici, & exultare, atque hac vita veluti gravissimo quodam ergastulo relicta, excussisque compedibus, quibus animi penna deprimi solebat, haurire ad Dominum suum convolare, beatitudinem recondita Imaginatione quadam jam percipere.* That is, I am induced and moved by the sayings of the wise to beleieve, that every generous soule, and such as is beloved of GOD, presently after the loosing from the bonds of the body, and departure hence, (that which darkened the minde, being either purged out, or cast from it, or done away in what sort I cannot well expresse) beginneth sensibly to discern and behold that good, which remaineth for it, to be filled with wonderfull delights, and to leape for joy: and that leaving this life as a most grievous prison, and having cast off those fetters, that depressed and held her dowayne, desiring to mount up on high with her silver wings, she flyeth joyfully to her Lord

d In fine lib. 5.

e In argumentum lib. 5.

f In respons. ad quæst. Orthod. quæst. 7.

g De Trinit. in initio.

h Lib. de anima cap. 33. & 34.

Lord, and presently in a certaine apprehension, beginneth to taste of that hidden happiness, that shall be revealed. *Epiphanius* speaking of the Godly departed, remembered in the prayers of the Church; saith, *they are and live with God.* *Ambrose* is more full to this purpose then any of the former, for in his booke *de bono mortis*, first he saith, *all soules remaine in certaine habitations till the day of Judgement, whence they shall be called forth in that great day of resurrection.* Secondly, *that till the fulnesse of time appointed, they all are holden in an expectation of the reward due unto them, & are not in full possession of it.* Thirdly, *that in the meane time neither the soules of the wicked are without some present sense of evill, nor the other without some enjoying of good.* The joy of the good and righteous hee sheweth to be in respect of the victory which they have obtained over the flesh, the Divine testimony which they have in their consciences of their former walking in the wayes of God, making them not to feare the future judgement: their escape out of the prison of the body of death, the liberty they are come to, and the possessing of the promised inheritance, &c. Here we see plainly that *Ambrose* maketh but two sorts of men, two sorts of soules separated from the body, and two estates; assuring us that all good faithfull-ones ordained to eternall life, are presently after their seperation in a state of happiness, boldly hastening to the view and sight of that God whom they have so carefully served, to which purpose he alleadgeth that of the Prophet to the Angell: *shall there be given a time to soules after they are separated that they may see the thing thou hast spoken of?* and the Angels answer. *Seaven dayes shall their liberty endure, that in those seaven dayes they may see the things, that have bene spoken, and after they shall bee gathered into their dwelling places:* out of which (as I noted before) he thinketh they shall not be called till the resurrection, so that according to the opinion of Saint *Ambrose* there is no place of temporall paine and punishment after this life appointed for the soules of men dying in state of Grace.

Neither was this the opinion of *Dionysius, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Nazianzen, Epiphanius* and *Ambrose* only, but all the auncient were of the same judgment, touching the state of the faithfull departed: and therefore never any of them made any prayers for the delivering of them out of temporall paine and punishment; but as it hath bene before observed, they made prayers for them respectively to their passage out of this world, and the entrance into the other; as also for their resurrection, publike acquittall in the day of judgment, and perfit consummation. This the Masse-booke and all the prayers that are found in any auncient bookes of Ecclesiasticall prayers, doe clearly shew. *George Cassander* hath published a booke of Ecclesiasticall prayers, gathered out of the old Liturgies and Bookes of Divine service that hee could meete with: amongst which there are many, *pro commendatione animae*: some few of them I will produce for example. The first: *Wee beseech thy clemency, O God, mercifully to receive the soule of thy servant, returning unto thee; Let Michael the Angell of thy covenant bee present with it, and vouchsafe to place it amongst thy Saints and holy ones in the bosome of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that being freed and delivered from the Princes of darkenesse, and the places of punishment, he may be confounded with no errors of his first birth, of ignorance, or of his owne iniquity, and frailty, but that rather hee may be acknowledged of thine, and enjoy the rest of holy blessednesse, and that when the day of the great Judgement shall come, being raised up amongst thy Saints and chosen ones, hee may bee satisfied with the glory of the cleare beholding of thee.* The second: *Vouchsafe O Lord to give to thy servant a lightsome place, a place of refreshing, and quiet; Let him passe by the gates of hell, and the punishments of darkenesse; let him remaine in the mansions of the Saints, and in holy light, which of old thou promisedst to Abraham, and to his seede: let his spirit sustaine no hurt; but when the great day of resurrection and reward shall come, vouchsafe to raise him, together with thy Saints and chosen ones: blot out and doe away his sinnes even to the uttermost farthing, and let him attaine the life of immortality with thee.* The third: *Receive the soule of thy servant which thou ledest out of the dirty and mirie gulfes of this world, to the heavenly country: receive it into the bosome of Abraham: be-dew it with the dew of refreshing: and let it be apart from the cruell burning of the fiery and flaming hell.* The fourth: *Grant*

that thy servant may escape the place of punishment, the fire of hell, and the flames of the lowest gulfe. The like may be shewed in the rest, for they are all framed to the same purpose, for the escaping of hell, the power of the Prince of darknes, and the devouring gulfe of eternall condemnation: all which things, in the judgement of our Adversaries themselves, are granted unto men dying in the faith of Christ, and state of grace, in the very entrance into the other world, and the first instant of the next life: so that all the prayers that wee finde in the auncient, were made respectively to the passing hence, and entrance into the other world, with desire of the Resurrection, and perfect consummation which wee expect in the last day: and because this passage is often past, & they that are departed, already entred into their rest, before their friends whom they leave behinde them, can send so many good wishes after them as they desire; it was an ordinary thing with the Auncient, in their prayers to acknowledge and professe they were perswaded the thing was already granted and performed, which they desired: and to beseech God notwithstanding, to accept their voluntary devotions, and good affections. In this sort *Augustine* prayeth for *Monica*, his Mother, *That God will keepe her from the powers and Princes of darkenesse, and remit her sinnes:* And yet saith, *He beleeveth it is already done that he asketh.* So *Nazianzen* professeth his assured perswasion, that *Casarius* is with God, and yet commendeth him to God. And the like we finde in *Ambrose* touching *Valentinian*. By all which it is evident, that the Auncient prayed not to deliver the departed out of Purgatory, or any estate of temporall affliction; but on their obite dayes, acknowledged the goodnesse of God towards them, preventing all desires of men, declared their readinesse to entreate for them, if they were in need or danger, and not past before they could send their good wishes after them, and expressed their desires of the perfecting and accomplishing of all that which is yet wanting to them. And as the Auncient were wont to pray for their brethren and friends on the dayes of their obites, and the deposition of their bodies, respectively to their passage hence, and the escaping of the daungers of hell, and eternall death in the same: so in like sort in processe of time, in those dayes wherein their obites were remembred, and by returne of times represented to them, they used the same forme of prayer againe, as if they had beene but even then in the passage hence, and in danger of hell, and the powers of darkenesse. But as on the dayes of the birth, circumcision, apparition, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, (for so wee call the dayes answering to these, and representing them to us, signes and remembrances, carrying the names of the things themselves,) men so speake, as if God did then send his Sonne into the world to be borne of a woman, to be made under the Law, to suffer, overcome, and triumph over death, and by ascending into Heaven, to take possession thereof for us: and yet meane not (as the words may seeme to import) that Christ doth newly take flesh, and is borne of the Virgin, &c. But that he is borne unto us, and wee made partakers of the benefits of his birth, circumcision, passion, &c. So in the dayes wherein they remembred the obites of their brethren and friends as then present, and prayed for them as then in passage hence, and in danger to be swallowed up of hell and destruction; they desired not that which the words may seeme to import, (for that was granted to them on their dying dayes, or else they are incapable of it for ever:) but that which is yet wanting to them. In which sense the wordes of that prayer in the Masse-booke must bee understood: *Lord Jesus, King of glory, deliver the soules of all faithfull ones departed, from the hand of hell, and from the deepe lake: deliver them from the mouth of the Lyon, that the lowest hell swallow them not up, and that they fall not into the dungeons of utter darkenesse: but let thy Standard-bearer, holy Michael, present them into the place of holy Light, which of old thou diddest promise to Abraham, and to his seed.* For these dangers of falling into the deepe lake, the mouth of the Lyon, the dungeons of utter darkenesse, and being swallowed up of the lowest Hell, the dead in Christ escaped in the day and time of their dissolution: neither is there any thing to be wished farther unto them in this behalfe, but that publique acquittall, and full and perfect escape in the day of Iudgement, according to that other prayer found in the Masse-booke: *O gracious GOD, which calledst backe the first man to eternall glory: O good Shepherd*

1 Confess. lib. 9.
cap. 13.

Ubi suprâ.

Tom. 3. in
orat. de obitu
Valentiniani.

Bellarmin. de
Purgatorio, lib.
2. cap. 5.

Offic. pro de-
functis in An-
ni-versarijs.

Ubi suprâ.

'Shepherd, which broughtest backe the lost sheepe upon thy shoulder to the folde; 'Righteous Judge, when thou shalt come to judge, deliver from death the soules of 'them whom thou hast redeemed: Deliver not the soules of them which confesse un- 'to thee, unto the beasts; forsake them not for ever. In all these prayers there is no word of petition for the deliverance of the dead out of any paines or punishments, but for their escaping, avoyding, declining, and not falling into hell, eternall condemnati- on, the power of Satan, and the mouth of the Lyon.

It is true, that some long since began to pray to deliver men out of paines & punish- ments; or to suspend, mitigate, and ease their paines: but in such sort, as the *Romanists* dare not pray. It was an opinion of many, who otherwise were right beleivers, that all *Christians* professing the truth in Christ, how ill soever they live, shall be saved in the end. *Frustra nonnulli* (saith *S. Augustine*) *immò quamplurimi, eternam damnationem per- nam, & cruciatum sine intermissione perpetuos, humano miserantur affectu: atque ita futurum esse non credunt*: that is, there are some, nay, there are exceeding many, who out of an humane affection commiserate the eternall punishments of the damned, and their torments that are without ceasing: these men thought the sayings of *CHRIST* and his Apostles concerning the eternall punishments of the wicked, were uttered rather *mi- nacièter*, then *veracièter*: and that they rather shew what men according to their deser- ving should suffer, then what indeed they shall suffer. Hence it came, that many did pray for the deliverance of men out of hell, that died in mortall sinne. This opinion *Damascene* followed, and whereas the Prophet asketh, *Who shall confesse unto thee O Lord in hell?* he answereth, that *the threats of the Iudge are terrible, but his unspeakable mercy exceedeth all*: and is of opinion, that Christ when he went downe to hell, delive- red such as had lived honestly, though without the knowledge of God, preaching un- to them, and perswading them to beleve in him: which he saith, is not to contradict the Prophet, but to shew that God is overcome of his merey, as he was in the case of the inhabitants of *Ninive*, *Ezechias*, and *Achab*, to whom that was threatned, which yet mercy staide that it should not be executed. This mercy hee thinketh shall pre- vaile and overcome, till the time of retribution come, and the time of negotiation be past; so that till the day of Iudgement, we may help them that are in hell, but that after- wards there shall be no place left for the relieving of any there, or the delivering of any thence. The same *Damascene* teacheth, that all men when they depart hence, are weighed in the ballance, and that if their well-doings and vertues in the right skale, waigh downe the other, they shall bee brought into a place of refreshing: that if the skales be equall, mercy carryeth it; if the evill doings in the left skale be too heavy, mercy supplyeth that which is wanting to the waight of the right skale: yea, that though their evill doings doe much exceed their vertues, when they are waighed, yet the exceeding goodnes and mercy of God shall sway the matter for their good: and pronounceth, that in whomsoever any conscience of good at any time appeared, God will stirre up the hearts of men to pray for them, that they may be delivered, and that none shall perish everlastingly, but such as lived so vilely, that no man sendeth a good wish after them when they are gone. Hereupon he bringeth forth sundry examples of men delivered out of the hell of the damned by the prayers of the living: for first, he saith, that all the East and West know, that *Gregory the Great*, prayed for *Trajan* an Infidell, and a persecutor of *Christians* in the time wherein he lived, almost five hun- dred yeares after his death, moved so to doe, by the consideration of some vertues that were in him: and received this comfortable answer of God, *I have heard thy prayers, and doe pardon Trajan, but see hereafter thou offer no more sacrifice unto mee for any godlesse, unbelieving, and prophane person*. Secondly, he reporteth that *Tecla* the Protomartyr, by the prayers which shee powred forth to God while shee lived, deli- vered *Falconilla* out of hell, who was a worshipper of Idols, and averse from Christian religion as long as she lived. Another Tale he telleth of a dissolute man, continuing in a wicked course of life even till his end: who appeared to a good Father after his death, in flaming fire, first up to the necke, afterwards upon the prayers that were made for him up to the girdle onely: so finding ease and deliverance out of his torments.

This

Aug. in Ench.
ad Laur. c. 111.

(De dormien-
tibus.

Ubi supra.

^a Enchirid. ad
Laurent. c. 67.

^a Ubi supra.

^g Sixtus Senen-
sis Bibliothec.
sanctæ. lib. 6.
annot. 47.

^c Ibid.

^a Ibid.

^b Booke. 1. part. 1.
Chap. 4. Sect. 3.

^c Pag. 59.

^d De Purgato-
rio lib. 2. c. 8.

^e Pag. 31.

This opinion was very prevailing in *Augustines* time, and therefore with all modesty he opposeth himselfe against it, & sheweth himselfe willing to yeeld himselfe to them that were so minded, as possibly hee might; and saith, "if they would onely have the paines of the damned to be mitigated, or wholly suspended till the day of judgement, and acknowledge them to be eternall, hee would not greatly strive with them. Upon this conceipt of the mitigation or suspension of the paines of such as are in hell, many in former times made prayers for the damned in hell. *Damascene* reporteth, out of the sacred history of *Palladius* to *Lausus*, that *Macharius* the Great, praying oftentimes for the dead, and carefully seeking to know, whether his prayers did helpe or profit them any thing or not, a certaine drie skull of a dead man, who had beene an Idolater, which by chance lay in the way, by the commandement of God, brake forth into the lively voyce of a man, saying: O *Macharius*, when thou offerest up thy prayers for the dead, wee for the time finde some ease. *Prapositionus* Presbyter of the Church of *Leoden*, was of opinion, that prayers for the damned may be multiplied in such sort, that in processe of time they may be freed from all paine and punishment, though not perpetually, as *Origen* thought: yet till the time of the generall resurrection, at what time (their bodies resumed) they shall be cast into everlasting punishments, without all hope of any refreshing or comfort. *Gilbertus Pictaviensis* supposed, that there is something continually taken away from the paines of the damned, by the prayers and oblations of the faithfull, without any consumption of them, or utter taking of them away: as infinite proportionable parts may be taken from a Line without consuming of it, though it selfe be finite. *Gulielmus Antisiodorensis* thinketh, that prayers be availeable and helpfull to the damned, not to diminish or interrupt their torments, or to strengthen the sufferers, that so the burden, that lieth on them, may be borne by them with the lesse paine: as if a man give meate to him that is ready to faint under his burden, or wine that cheereth his heart, hee maketh him the better able to beare it, though he no whit diminish the weight of it.

Thus wee see, there is no such^b mutuall dependance and connexion of Purgatory, and prayer for the dead, as *Theophilus Higgon*s childishly imagineth: and that many prayed for the dead, that never dreamed of Purgatory, some praying onely for the resurrection, publike acquittall, and perfect consummation of the dead, and respectively to their passage hence, and entrance into the other world, for the remission of their finnes, and their escaping of hell, and everlasting destruction: other, out of an erroneous conceipt, for the deliverance of men dead in mortall sinne, out of the hell of the damned, or for mitigation of their paines, or at least, the suspension of them for a time, as *Damascene* and sundry other before mentioned: and therefore the poore novice is to be put in minde, that hee grossely abuseth himselfe, and others, when so sadly he citeth Saint *Iohn Damascen*, for prooffe of the deliverance of men out of Purgatory, that speaketh no word of any such thing, but of the deliverance out of hell, or the mitigation of the paines of them that be there; which he should not doe that talketh of nothing but falsehood, notable untruths and collusion in our writers, especially seeing^d *Bellarmines* grace telleth him, that the author of the booke under the name of *Damascen*, writeth so absurdly, that we may assure our selves *Damascen* was not the author of it. Having thus out of the writings of the Fathers delivered the sense and purpose of the auncient Church in praying for the dead, it is strange that this shamelesse companion should charge mee^e with collusion, there being no part of that I have said, that hee or any other can except against, nor any thing concealed by me that is found in the Ancient, touching this point. I would desire him therefore to tell me if he can, wherein I informed him amisse, as he said I did? for first I shewed that there was an Auncient custome of commemorating the departed, of rehearsing their names, and offering the sacrifice of praise for them, to expresse the assurance Christian men have of the immortality of the soule, and their hope of the resurrection. Secondly, that this sacrifice of the Eucharist, that is of praise and thanksgiving, was offered for the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, Martyres, and the blessed Mother of Christ, and every soule at rest in the faith of Christ: for prooffe whereof I produce the

the Liturgie that goeth under the name of *Chrysostome*. Thirdly, that the Auncient prayed for the soules of men in their passage hence, and entrance into the other world, Fourthly, that they prayed for the resurrection, publique acquitall in the day of judgment, and perfit consummation of the departed: all which customes and observations I allow and approve. Fifthly, that some prayed for the remission, or mitigation of the paines of men in hell. Sixthly, that some other out of a conceipt that there is no judgment yet passed, and that none of the just enter into heaven till the resurrection, prayed for their admittance into those Heavenly Pallaces, and into the presence of God: but that none of the Auncient ever prayed to deliver men out of purgatory. What collusion, or what unfaithfull dealing doth Master *Higgons* finde in any of these passages? yet the faithlesse and perfidious Apostata having¹ as he saith, *experience of my unfaithfull dealing, directed himselfe to foure considerations*; whereof the first is, that it is vanity in us Protestants to accept and refuse the Liturgie of *Chrysostome* at our pleasure; the second, that *Chrysostome* did pray for the dead; the third, that it was by way of thanksgiving, and not of petition, that the Church offered sacrifice to God for the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, &c. the fourth, that in the Liturgie of *Chrysostome* there is prayer for the dead. To the first of these wise considerations I answered, that we doe not accept and refuse the Liturgie of *Chrysostome* at our pleasures, but that wee admitte it so farre forth onely, as wee finde the things it hath in it confirmed out of the indubitate writings of the Auncient, and in other things relie not much upon the credit of it. Now that which I alleadge it for, hath prooffe out of *Epiphanius*, and others; and therefore I might rightly alleadge it as I did, and doubt of the credit and authority of it in some other things. To the second we say, *Chrysostome* did pray for the dead, not to deliver them out of Purgatory; whereof hee never dreamed, nor any Greeke Father that ever lived, but in such a sort as Master *Higgons* dareth not pray; namely, for the ease of men in hell. *Chrysostome*, saith *Sixtus Senensis*, in his three and thirtieth Homilie upon *Mathew*, interpreting these wordes, *The damself* g Bibliothec. sanctæ lib. 6. annot. 47. *is not dead but sleepeth*, treating of the care that is to be taken for the dead, fell in a sort, into the opinion of them; who thinke that the suffrages and prayers that are made here in the Church, doe profit as well those that are damned in hell, as those that enjoy eternall glory. For there hee hath these words: If many barbarous nations doe use to consume in fire, together with the dead, the things that pertaine to them; how much more oughtest thou to deliver to thy sonne departed, such things as hee possessed, not to be burnt to ashes, but that they may make him more glorious! Supposest thou that hee went hence defiled with spottes and staines? give unto him the things he had when he lived, that he may wash away those spots. Supposest thou that he departed in righteousness? give them to him for the increase of his reward And againe, that prayers and oblations doe bring some refreshing to them that departed hence without repentance, the same *Chrysostome* seemeth to shew in his third Homily upon the Epistle to the *Philippians*; where he speaketh to them that bewaile the dead, more then is seemely, in this sort: Bewaile them that died in the midst of great riches, and procured with their riches no consolation to their soules, who when they had power to wash away their sinnes, would not so doe: let us weepe for those, but with seemely modesty: let us helpe them what we can, let us procure unto them some helpe, though small: yet let us helpe them: but how, or in what sort? let us pray and exhort others to pray for them: let us without ceasing give almes to the poore for them: this thing hath some comfort doubtlesse, &c. To the third consideration, I say, that the Auncient offered for the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, &c. by way of thanksgiving principally, but in a sort also by way of petition: which this good man also confesseth, and bringeth *Gersons* authority to prove they might doe so: who saith, that as it is not absurdly delivered by the learned Divines, that there is an addition or increase of accidentall felicity in the Saints: so it is not inconvenient, if in this respect also we recommend them to God in our Devotions. To which purpose it seemeth to be, that *Gregory* ordaineth, that men should pray in this sort, in the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist: *We have received, O Lord, the divine mysteries, which as they profit* 6 Part. 33. Part 1. lect 2. super Marcum. In lib. Sacrament. citat. à Sixto Senens. l. 6. Biblioth. Sanctæ anno 1547.

thy Saints for their glory, so wee beseech thee that they may profit us for our health. And *Chrysostome* willeth the living parents to give something out of their substance to their children departed, though they suppose they are departed in the state of righteousness, for the increase of their reward. Touching the fourth and last consideration of this considerate and advised young man, we confesse that *Chrysostome*, or the Author of the Liturgie, that goeth under his name, whosoever hee was, teacheth men to pray unto God, to remember all them that are false asleepe in the hope of the resurrection of eternall life, and to make them to bee at rest, where the light of his countenance is seene: But that this forme of prayer must be understood in the same sence that the other in the Missal is, wherein men are taught to pray to God, to deliver the soules of all faithfull ones departed from the land of hell, from the deepe lake, and from the mouth of the Lyon, that the lowest hell swallow them not up, and that they fall not into the dungeons of utter darknesse: or else as proceeding from that opinion that *Sixtus Senensis* speaketh of, that the soules of the just are not in heaven-happinesse, till the resurrection: and not of any deliverance out of Purgatory. For there is not any the least signification of the desire of easing men temporally afflicted in another world, expresse in any prayer found in *Chrysostomes* Liturgie. Neither doth it any way contrary any thing that wee professe that hee teacheth men to pray to God, to graunt what is yet wanting to the faithfull departed, or to such as are alive, as the suite & supplication of the holy Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, &c. For seeing it is confessed by us, that the Saints in heaven doe pray for us in a generality, we may desire of God the granting of such things as we or others need, not only upon our owne suite, but much more for that there are so many supplyants to him for us, not in earth alone, but in heaven also, though without sence or knowledge of our particular wants. So that there is nothing found in *Chrysostome*, either touching prayer for the dead, or invocation of Saints, that maketh any thing for the confirmation of popish errors. For neither doth *Chrysostome* in that Liturgie, pray for the ease of men in Purgatory; neither doth he invoke any Saint, but calleth upon God onely, though not without hope of being heard the rather, for that not onely the faithfull on earth, but the Saints in heaven also make petition for him. But Master *Higgons* asketh *why I concealed these things?* To whom I answered that I did not conceale any of them: For, howsoever citing some other parts of *Chrysostomes* Liturgie, to another purpose, I had no reason to bring in these passages, being altogether impertinent to my purpose, and the matter in hand; yet in other places, I have shewed at large the ancient practise in all these things: and therefore this seduced runnagate, whom Sathan the tempter hath beguiled, had no reason to compare me to the Tempter, leaving out certaine wordes in the text he alledged unto Christ.

S. 5.

IN the next place he^a objecteth to us the heresie of *Aerius*, condemned by *Augustine*, amongst many other impious heresies; and *Augustines* conclusion, that *whosoever maintaineth any of the hereticall opinions condemned by him, is no Catholique Christian*: and telleth us, that this censure toucheth us very neare: but that I demeane my selfe plausibly, and artificially, to avoide the pressure of that difficultie which is too heavy for me to beare. Whereunto I briefly answer, that I demeane not my selfe artificially, to avoide the force of any trueth, which I esteeme and value above all treasures in the world, but in all sincerity unfold those things which Papists seeke to wrap up in perplexed and intricate disputes, to the entangling of the Readers: For I shew that the naming of the names of the departed, the offering of the sacrifice of praise for them, the praying for their resurrection, publike acquittall, & perfect consummation and blisse in the day of Christ; yea the praying for their deliverance from the hand of hell, and the mouth of the Lyon, & the utter deletion & remission of their sins, respectively to their passage hence, & first entrance into the other world, are not disliked by us: & that thus far the generall intention of the Church extended: but that to pray for the deliverance of men out of hell, or for the mitigation or suspension of the punishments, that are in hell, was but the private devotion of some particular men, doubtfully and erroneously extending

extending the publique prayers of the Church, farther then they were meant and intended by her; and that in this particular they fell from the truth: which, if *M. Theophilus Higgons* shall deny, & justifie such kind of prayers for the dead, we will be bold to call him by his new name *Theomifus*. But hee is desirous^b to know of me, or any other, without lies, obscurities, and circuitions, whether *Cyrril of Hierusalem*, concurring absolutely with the Papists in this point of prayer for the dead, and *Augustine* agreeing with him, fell away from the truth or not? That he professeth himselfe an enemy to lies, obscurities, and circuitions, the best sanctuaries of their evill cause, I greatly marvell, and feare, that if he give over the advantage, which he and his companions are wont to make thereof, this his first booke will be his last. But in that he saith, *Cyrril of Hierusalem* concurrerth absolutely with the Papists, in the matter of prayer for the dead, and *Augustine* with him, he doth as becometh him: for hee uttereth lies, and untruthes, which before unadvisedly he condemned. For first, it is most certaine, that *Cyrril* maketh but two sorts of men departing out of this life: sinners, & righteous: and that he thinketh, as *Chrysostome* also doth, and after them *Damasce*, & many other; that wicked and sinfull men in hell, may find some ease, & be relieved, by the prayers of the living; but of Purgatory he speaketh not. Touching *Augustine*, he dissenteth altogether from this opinion of *Chrysostome*, *Cyrril*, and *Damasce*, and^d thinketh, that the prayers of the Church, for such as excelled in goodnes, are thanksgivings to God: for such as died impenitently in grievous sins, comforts of the living, but no helpes of the dead: for those that were neither exceeding good, nor exceeding evill, propitiations and meanes to obtaine favour and remission. But whether they of this middle sort be in any penall estate after death, or whether by the mercy of God, and working of his grace, the prayers of the living accompanying them, they bee freed from sinne, and the punishment of it, in the first entrance into the other world, he resolveth nothing: and therefore there was no cause, why this good man, reflecting, as he saith, upon my assertion, should be amazed to behold such a repugnancy betweene these things, to wit, *Augustine* ran doubtingly into the opinion of Purgatory: and yet he affirmeth, there is no doubt but that some sinnes are remitted in the other world, and that some soules may be relieved by prayer. For in the judgement of wiser men then Master Higgons, these things imply no contradiction; and therefore the *Grecians* admit the latter of them, and yet deny Purgatory. Yea, in their Apologie touching Purgatory, they say, if there bee remission of sinnes after this life, there is no enduring of the punishments due to sinne, it being one thing to have remission of a sin, or fault, and another to suffer the extremity of punishment it deserveth. That there is therefore remission of sinnes of a middle sort of men, after this life, in the entrance into the other world, *Augustine* made no doubt; and to that purpose he alleadgeth the saying of *Christ*, concerning the sinne that is neither remitted in this world, nor the other: from thence to inferre, that some sinnes are remitted after this life. But whether there be any purgatory-punishments after this life, or not, hee was ever doubtfull: as appeareth by sundry places in his workes, where he saith, *Perhaps there is some such thing: it is not incredible that there is some such thing: and whether there be or not, it may be found out, or it may be hid:* neither will it follow, that because hee maketh three estates of men dying, whereof some are so good, that wee have rather cause to give God thanks for them, then to pray: others so ill, that they cannot be relieved: and a third sort, that need our prayers, and may be releevd by them; that therefore there is a third place, wherein they are to be temporally afflicted. For all this may be in the passage hence, and entrance into the other world; the prayers of the living accompanying them, and God purging out that which is impure, and remitting that which offendeth him, in this middle sort of men, even in that first entrance into the state of the other world. And surely *Augustine* himselfe, in his owne^e prayer for *Monicha*, his mother, never speaketh one word of releasing her out of paine or punishment; but prayeth God not to enter into judgment with her, to suffer none to divide her from him, and take her out of his protection, to keepe her, that neither the lyon, nor dragon, by force, or subtilty, interpose himselfe, for that shee will not plead that she hath not trespassed, least she should be convinced

Pag. 23.

Cateches. 6.

August. Enchirid. ad Laur. cap. 110.

Pag. 113.

Enchirid. ad Laurentium. cap. 69.

Confess. lib. 9. cap. 13.

b Cap. 24.

i Cap. 20.

‡ Enchirid. ad
Laurentium.
cap. 112.
/ Ibid. cap. 110.

¶ Higgons,
pag. 29.

¶ Pag. 30.

• Pag. 36.

• Pag. 37.

¶ Ibid.

and the accuser should prevaile against her, and get her to himselfe: but that her trespasses are remitted to her by Christ: so shewing that hee made his prayer for her respectively to the state she was in, in her passage and while she stood to be judged: and because this might seeme to bee already past, and the things hee asked performed, when he prayed, he saith, he thinketh God hath already done that he prayeth for, but beseecheth him to accept his voluntary devotions. Two places there are found in *Augustines* workes, where he seemeth peremptorily to affirme, that there is a penall state, and purging fire after this life: the first is in his^b one and twentieth booke *De civitate Dei*: where he saith, *When the dead shall rise againe, there shall some bee found to whom after they have suffered punishments, mercy shall be shewed, that they be not cast into eternall fire.* But the wordes (as *Vives* noteth upon the same place) are not found in some auncient manuscripts, nor in that printed at *Friburge*. The other place is in hisⁱ second booke *De Genesi*, against the *Manichees*. The wordes are these. *He who happily shall not till his field, but shall suffer it to be over-growne with thornes and bryars, bath in this life the curse of his life in all his workes: and, after this life, he shall have either the fire of Purgation or eternall punishment:* which wordes being spoken of them that till not their field, that suffer it to bee over-growne with thornes and bryars, whose whole life is accursed in all they doe, and not of such good men to whom some imperfection cleaveth, are uttered according to that opinion then prevailing of deliverance out of hell; which *Augustine* in that place would not stand to discusse, but else-where refuteth at large. So that the things that are found in *Augustine* clearly resolved on, are onely these. First, that some sinnes are remitted after this life: which wee graunt, understanding that remission to be in the first entrance into the other world. Secondly, that they are onely the lesser sinnes that are thus remitted after this life, and not those more grievous wherein men die without repentance, for these exclude from the Kingdome of Heaven. Thirdly, that prayers doe helpe men dying in those lesser sinnes. Which likewise we acknowledge to be true, if such prayers be conceived, and understood as made respectively to the enterance into the other world. Fourthly, that there is no deliverance of men dying in the state of mortall sinne out of hell, and that no prayers can benefit them in this behalfe. In all these pointes his resolution is full and cleare, but whether the paines of men damned in hell may be eased, mitigated, or suspended for a time by the prayers of the living, hee^a professeth hee will not strive, so that the wrath of God be acknowledged to remaine eternally upon them. Neither is this contradictorie to that which hee hath^{else-where}, that the prayers of the living are no helpes of such as are damned, but onely comforts of the living: For hee meaneth that they are no helpes able to free and deliver them out of that state of punishment, wherein they are: but whether they may some way ease them, or not, he will not much contend: and therefore hee saith, that whom prayers profit, either they profit them for full remission, as they doe men dying in the lesser sins: or that their damnation may be the more tollerable, and easie. The Papists[¶] applying these latter wordes of more tollerable damnation, to the state of soules in their supposed Purgatory, is absurd: for they cannot in any proper sense be said to be damned. These things being thus distinguished, we see there is nothing found in *Augustine* for confirmation of the Popish error, touching Purgatory: that no testimonies of *Augustine* could scale up *M. Higgons* his heart in this idle conceit of Purgatory, as untruly heⁿ saith they did: that wee no way oppose our selves against the universall resolution and practise of the whole Church, which to doe, *Augustine* pronounceth insolent madnesse: that we no way contradict this worthy Father, reporting to us the doctrine and tradition of the Church: and consequently that *Higgons* ridiculously, and idly, asketh whether *Augustine*, or I, know better the sense and judgment of Antiquity? thereupon childishly^p making a comparison betweene him and me: for I make no question, but he knew the sense of Antiquity right well; neither do I dissent from him in any thing that he constantly delivereth; and for the comparison, confesse my selfe unworthy to be named the same day: but whereas hee^o saith, he found sincerity in him, & unfaithfulness in me, I defie the faithles Apostata, & challenge him, or any of

of the proudest of his consorts, to tell mee truly wherein I have shewed the least unfaithfulness? It seemeth he measureth other men by himselfe, and his companions; but we are not like them, making marchandize of the word of GOD. After these idle discourses, he passeth from me to that reverend, renowned, and worthy Divine, Doctor *Humfrey*, in his time the light and ornament of the Universitie that bred him, whom such a silly novice as *M. Theophilus*, durst not have looked in the face while he lived. But it is easier to insult upon a dead lyon, then a living dog; and that maketh him barke against him; but such was his great reading, variety of learning in all kindes, profound science, and mature judgement, as made him so highly esteemed at home and abroad by all that knew how to judge of thinges aright; that the scornfull speeches of this Renegado, concerning his Rhetoricall flourishes, will never be able to diminish or lessen the good opinion, that most deservedly all wise and good men hold of him. Yet let us see what it is that this grave censurer reprehendeth in *D. Humfrey*: surely he knoweth not what himselfe. *D. Humfrey* speaking of the ancient commemoration or commendation of the dead, saith, *We retaine it in our Colledges*; which is most true: but he hath spied, as he supposeth three differences: for first, as he saith, the commendation and commemoration then used, was at the Altar: but we have no altar: 2. In the holy sacrifice, but we admit no sacrifice: 3. with intention to relieve the dead, but we have no such intention. For answer whereunto, I say briefly, (for he deserveth no large answer) that we have altars in the same sort the Fathers had, though we have throwne downe Popish Altars: that wee admit the Eucharist to be rightly named a sacrifice, though we detest the blasphemous construction the Papists make of it. And lastly, that the Fathers did not intend to relieve all them they remembred at the Altar, no more doe we: that they accompanied their friends soules going out of their bodies, to stand before God with their prayers and good wishes; that they prayed for their resurrection, publique acquittall in the day of *Christ*, and perfit consummation, and so doe we: that they never knew any thing of Purgatory, nor never prayed to deliver any one from thence, no more do we: & that therefore *D. Humfrey* might well impute phrensie to the *Romanists*, as challenging the Fathers in this and other points, whereas they are destitute of all defence from them. That which he interlaceth of froathy volumes, in which we silly men, for lacke of his direction, spend our time, is lesse to be esteemed then any bubble or froath upon the water: for all men know that this Church never wanted worthy men, matchable with the proudest of the adverse Faction in the study of the Fathers, Councils, Histories, and Schoolmen: neither is there any decay of these kindes of study now, thanks be given to God, as both our friends & enemies (I thinke) will beare us witnesse. Thus doth this Champion end the first part of his first booke, having plaid his prizes very handsomely as you see.

S. 1.

IN the second part, first he endeavoureth to prove the perpetuall visibility of the Church, which he saith, I teach sincerely & effectually: though with some mixture of corruption in my Discourse concerning the same: but telleth us not what those corruptions be: and therefore I know not what to say to him till I heare farther from him. Secondly, he laboureth to shew that the visible Church is free from damnable errour, which we willingly yeeld unto; but that which he addeth touching the not erring of Generall Councils, is not so cleare: as it appeareth by that which I have else where noted out of *Picus Mirandula* & *Waldensis*. There is extant an excellent conference between *Nicholas Clemangis* & a certain *Parisian* Schoolman, touching this point wherein he willet him considerately to think upon it, lest as he thinketh it to be a matter of rashnes to affirme that Generall Councils may erre, so likewise it be not altogether free from temerity & rashnes, pertinaciously to defend, that generall councils cannot erre, unles it were proved by most strong authorities, or certain reasons: & farther addeth, that though it were most certainly proved, that Councils cannot erre yet it were not fit for them that meet in Councils to rely upon this perswasion, lest under the shadow, & upon the occasion of this confidence, they might proceed with lesse consideration,

and more lightly then they should: but to make us doubt that Councils may erre sometimes in their determinations he bringeth sundry reasons; whereof one is, that the most part of men that are in the Church (Hee speaketh of the Church in his time) are meere carnall, seeking the things of the world, and no way favouring the things of God, or regarding the good of the Church: that these men are reputed the wisest, and most sufficient to manage the affaires of the Church: that when Councils are to be holden, either they are chosen, or put themselves into such imployments. And consequently, that things being carried in Councils by voyces, there is little reason to expect any great good, either for the due settling of the perswasion of men in matters of faith, or the reformation of such thinges as are amisse in matters of Discipline and manners. Whereupon hee telleth of the ill successe of the Council of *Pisa*, and of another called at *Rome* by *Balthazar* then Pope: Into the midst whereof an owle came flying, making an horrible noyse, and satte upon a beame in the midst of the roome where the Synode was holden, as shee had beene President of the assembly; and could not be made to give place, till shee was beaten downe dead: yea concerning the Council of *Constance*, wherein the long-continued Schisme, by reason of the Anti-popes was ended, and the peace of the Church restored: he saith, that many things fell out in it, which were not frutes of the spirit, but workes of the flesh, as contentions, emulations, dissentions, sectes, clamours out-cries, mockings, and the like. But of the erring of Councils, I have else-where treated at large, and therefore will not insist upon the repetition of the same thinges in this place. Onely, let us heare what Master *Higgons* can say for their not erring. Hee thinketh to strike the matter dead with the resolution of *Gerson*, a man, as hee saith, highly advanced by me. It is true that I esteeme of *Gerson* as of a most learned, judicious and godly man, that mourned for the confusions hee saw in the Church in his time, that reprov'd many abuses, gave testimony to many parts of heavenly truth, then contradicted by those carnall men of whom *Clemangis* speaketh, who counted gaine to be godlinesse, and scorned all that lived as becometh Christians, traducing them as hypocrites, and I know not what else. Yet, I thinke no man will inferre, upon any commendation that I have given him, that I must of necessity imbrace as true whatsoever he saith. *Waldensis* is a man highly esteemed by our *Romanists*, yet will they not allow his opinion, that Councils may erre. *Alphonso à Castro*, *Adrian* the Pope, and other, who teach that the Pope may papally erre, are highly prized by them: yet will they not graunt that the Pope may erre as they teach: but what is that *Gerson* saith? surely, that *Whatsoever the Pope and a Generall Councell of the whole Church determine, must bee received as true.* It is true indeed that hee saith so, but it appeareth by the words immediately following, that he speaketh not of a Generall Councell consisting of the Bishops of the West onely, such as was the Council of *Trent* in our time; But of a Generall Councell consisting both of *Greekes* and *Latines*; and therefore hee saith, if the *Grecians* dissenting from the *Latines* in the articles of the proceeding of the holy Ghost, and not admitting the determination of the West Church, shall say, that the Council that defined, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Son, was not truly Generall; that they were not duely called to the same, and consequently, that notwithstanding their dissenting they are not to be judged pertinacious, obstinate and subject to the curse; it were diligently to be considered what they would say; or some fitting meanes were to bee found out, that all thinges may bee brought to an agreement, without persisting in a peremptory proove of the same article against them: for that, men disposed to resist, would hardly ever bee convinced in this point. And further hee wisheth men to thinke upon it, whether, as some determinations of doubtles and questions passed and agreed on in *Paris*, are said to binde none but those that are within the Diocese of *Paris*, so it may not bee said in like sort that the determinations of the *Latine* Church binde the *Latines* onely: and secondly, whether that which is defined and holden as an article of faith, may not bee made to be an article, by bringing thinges to the same state they were in before any determination passed. Which thing he exemplifieth in a Decree of *Bonifacius*, voyded by one of his successors:

d Part. 4. de Unitate Græcorum Confid. 6.

sours:

sours. To what purpose Master *Higgon*s alleadgeth the opinion of *Gerson* touching the not erring of Generall Councils, I cannot tell: for I am well assured never any such Councell as yet approved Purgatory and Prayer to deliver men out of it, nor I thinke ever will. But whatsoever wee thinke of Councils, there is no question to be made but that the Church is free from damnable error, as Master *Higgon*s in the title of his chapter undertaketh to prove. But whether it be free from all ignorance and error as hee seemeth in the discourse following to inforce, it is not so cleare: neither doth the text of Saint *Paul* touching the *House of God*, which is the *Church of the living* *GOD*, the pillar and ground of truth, nor any other authority or reason brought to that purpose, prove the same; and particularly, touching the place of Saint *Paul* to *Timothy*, it is evident the Apostles wordes are to bee originally understood of the Church of *Ephesus*; and that he maketh the glorious title, of pillar and ground of truth, common to that particular Church, with that which is universall; and consequently, that this title proveth not every Church or society of Christians to which it agreeth, to be free from error: unlesse we will priviledge all particular Churches from danger of erring. If any man doubt whether the Apostle give the title of pillar & ground of truth to the Church of *Ephesus*, it is easily proved by unanswerable reasons. For (as *Lyra* writing upon the wordes of the Apostle rightly noteth) The Apostle writeth to *Timothy*, and giveth him directions, that hee may know how to behave himselfe in the Church of God: that is, how to order and governe it. Now the Church which *Timothy* was to order and governe, was not the universall Church, but the Church of *Ephesus*: therefore the Church, wherein he was wisely to behave himself, was but a particular Church; and the same Church in which the Apostle directeth him how to behave himself, he calleth the *Church of the living God, the pillar, & ground of truth*, therefore he giveth this title to a particular Church: though he restraine it not to it, as Master *Higgon*s untruly saith I doe: so that I have not eluded the gravity of this testimony, as hee is pleased unjustly to charge me, but I give the right sence of it: whence it followeth, that seeing particular Churches may be said to bee pillars of truth, this title doth not prove that society of Christian men to which it agreeth, to be free from all error. c. 1 Tim. 3. 13. Pag. 46.

From the reprehension of our opinion, in that wee thinke the Church subject to some kinde of error, hee falleth into a discourse touching the confusions of *Prose*. Pag. 47. *stants, admitting innumerable sectaries into one vast and incongruous Church; which hee saith is a meere Chymera, thrust together and fashioned in specificall disproportions; and hence, he saith, it is that I laying the foundation of my Babel, feare not to say, that the Churches of Russia, Armenia, Syria, Aethiopia and Greece, are and continue partes of the true Catholique Church: For answer whereunto I say, that we doe not admit any Sectaries into the Communion of the true Catholique Church, much lesse innumerable Sectaries: for wee admit none into the Communion of our Churches, but such as receive all the lawfull Generall Councils, that ever were holden touching any question of faith, the three Creedes, of the Apostles, of Nice, and Athanasius; and whatsoever is found to have beene beleevd and practised by all not noted for singularity and novelty at all times and in all places. So rejecting Arrians, Zuenchfeldians, Anabaptistes, Familistes, and all other like monsters. Touching the differences betweene the Churches of England, Denmarke, Sweden, Germany, France, &c. They are not specificall, as this bad Logician fancieth, but imaginary, or meere accidentall. And for the Churches of Greece, Russia, Armenia, Syria, and Aethiopia, agreeing in all the things before mentioned, it is most strange that this Schismaticall fugitive should dare utterly to reject them from the unity of the Catholique Church, and to cast into hell so many millions of soules of poore distressed Christians, for so many hundred yeares, enduring so many bitter things for Christs sake in the midst of the proudest enemies that ever the name of Christ had. That all these admit the Doctrine of faith agreed on in all the lawfull generall councils, that ever were holden, the three Creeds, and the whole forme of Christian doctrine catholiquely consented, on, and that they reject and condemne all the heresies condemned by Augustine and Epiphanius,* Pag. 41.

i Third booke
of the Church.
chap. 1.

¶ Part. 4. de u-
nitate Græco-
rum.

i De fide Or-
thodox. lib. 1.
cap. 11:

¶ De peccato
originis Con-
troverf. 1.
¶ In lib. de ori-
ginali peccato.
¶ De fide & ju-
stificatione.
Controverf. 2.
¶ Apolog. con-
tra Dominicum
à Soto.
¶ Pag. 48.

¶ Pag. 50.

¶ Pag. 53.

¶ Pag. 54.

Epiphanius, it shall be proved if *Higgons* or any other smatterer of that side, shall goe about to improve it. It is true indeed, that the *Armenians* refused to admit the Councell of *Chalcedon*; but it was upon a false suggestion, as I have ¹ else-where shewed; And it is most certaine that they condemne the error of *Eutiches*, as likewise those other, that were condemned in the Fifth and Sixt Councells, and though the *Grecians* seeke to avoide the evidence of that part of *Athanasius Creed*, touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, yet doe they not deny the Creed it selfe; and my ¹ *Gerson* (as Master *Higgons* is pleased to call him) thinking it were better to desist from the strict urging of the allowance of that determination of the *Latines*, touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, that both the Churches might bee reduced to unity, then peremptorily to insist upon the proove of it, seeing men disposed to resist, will very hardly ever be convinced; so that hee doth not thinke as Master *Higgons* doth, that the not admitting of this Article as defined and determined by *Athanasius*, casteth men into hell; for then Saint *Iohn Damascene* should be damned, ¹ who denyeth the proceeding of the holy Ghost from the Father and the Sonne after the publishing of *Athanasius Creed*. Thus doe we moderate our censures not daring to cast all into hell that dissent from us in some particular points, not fundamentall, as the *Romanists* doe: yet doe we not thinke that every one may be saved in his owne sect and error, whatsoever it be: for wee exclude all such out of the communion of the true Catholique Church as admit not all the things before specified: so that *I lay no foundation of Babel*, as this *Babylonian* is pleased to say I doe, but pittying the breaches of *Sion*, endeavour as much as in mee lyeth, to make them up, that *Hierusalem may bee as a citie at unity within it selfe*. But the *Romanists* indeed build *Babel* and their tongues are confounded, every one almost, dissenting from other; and that in most materiall and essentiall pointes. ^m *Pighius* and ⁿ *Catharinus* have a strange fancie touching originall sinne, contrary to the Doctrine of other Papists: *Pighius* is of *Calvins* opinion touching justification. ^r *Catharinus* defendeth against the common tenent that men in ordinary course (without speciall revelation) may bee certaine by the certainty of Faith that they are in the state of grace: yea M. *Higgons* himselfe saith, ¹ *Our faith in Christ must be trustfull, lively, and active by a speciall application of his merites unto our selves*, as hee was wont to preach in Saint *Dunstons* Church. So urging a necessity of speciall Faith: which the *Romanistes* condemne as hereticall in the Doctrine of our Church: and innumerable like differences they have: yet all these are of one Church, Faith, and Communion: nothing, it seemeth being necessary to the unity of their Church, but the acknowledging of the Supremacie of the Pope. And yet, which is most strange, they that thinke he may erre, and they that thinke he cannot erre; they that make him to be but Prime Bishop, & they that make him universall Bishop; they that attribute to him power to depose Princes, and dispose of their states, and they that deny that hee hath any such power, are of one and the same Church: But it is a Babylonicall Church.

§. 2.

FROM the perpetuall visibilitie & undoubted assurance the Church hath of holding the true faith, he proceedeth ¹ to shew our zeale in impugning & condemning the opinion of Purgatory: & that yet notwithstanding ¹ the whole universal Church received it. And therupon saith ¹ he was misinformed by me & others, that the *Greeks* never intertained this doctrine; & that now he findeth that we erre, not knowing or dissembling the truth: assuring himselfe that howsoever some *Greeks* did not, or do not admit the doctrine of Purgatory precisely under this name, & with some other circumstances, yet the Church of *Greece* generally doth retaine the thing it selfe. But whatsoever this good fellow say to the contrary, we know the *Greek* church never admitted the name or thing. There is extant a most excellent & learned Apologie of the *Grecians*, exhibited to the coucel of *Florence*, or *Basil*, as it is thought. In this apologie, first, they clearly resolve that there is no purging after this life by fire, especially materiall & corporeall, such as the Papists imagine. Secondly, they insinuate that some amongst them are of opinion, that

that such as are of a middle condition, and so depart hence, are after death in a certaine obscurity, without enjoying the light of Gods countenance, or holden as it were in a prison or in a state of sorrow, till by the goodnesse of God and the prayers of the Church they be delivered: and thus much some professed in the Councell of *Florence*; for there was a division amongst them. Thirdly, they incline to an opinion that the lesser sinnes of men dying in the state of grace, are remitted after death without any punishment at all, either by fire or in any other kind, by the meere mercy & goodnesse of God. And whereas some bring proofes of remission of sinnes after this life; thereby to confirme their conceit of Purgatory, they say there is no agreement betweene remission, and purging by fire and punishment: for that either punishment or remission is needfull, and not both: and againe they confidently pronounce that neither Scripture, nor the fifth Generall Councell delivered unto us a double punishment or a double fire after this life. This judgment & resolution they confirme, & prove by very excellent reasons & authorities: for first, thus they argue. It more becometh the goodnes of God, to suffer no good though never so little to passe away unrespected & unrewarded, then to punish small sins & offences: but some little good in them that have great sins hath no reward, because of the prevailing of the evil that is found in the, therefore final evils in them that have great works of vertue, are not to be punished, the better things overcoming. Secondly, as is a little good in those that are mainly evil, so is a little evil in those that are otherwise mainly good. But a little good in those that are otherwise evil, can procure no reward, but onely causeth a difference in the degree of punishment, making it the lesse: therefore a little evil causeth no punishment but a difference in the degree of glory and happinesse, which it maketh to bee lesse then otherwise it would bee; whence it followeth that there is no Purgatory. Thirdly, either the wills of men departed hence are mutable, or immutable: if they be mutable, then they that are good may become evil; and they that are evil may become good: whence it will follow (according to *Origens* opinion) that neither the good are unchangeably happy, nor the evil unchangeably miserable: but that men may fall from happinesse to misery, and rise from misery to the height of all happinesse. And so wee shall make the punishments of all cast-awayes, even of the devils themselves, to be temporary: as indeed, supposing the mutability of the Will to continue after death justly they may: for the reason why in Justice the punishment of sin in the damned is to be eternall, is, because they are immutably, unchangeably, and eternally evil; if they be immutable, then are they not capable of any correction; for hee who is corrected, is set right, by being brought to just dislike, and forsaking of that he formerly affected ill; which change from love to hate, from liking to disliking, from pursuing and following, to forsaking and flying from, cannot be found in a Will that is immutable. *Bonaventura* disputeth the matter, how afflicting fire purgeth the soules; and answereth that some thinke, that this fire, besides the punishing vertue, and power it hath; hath also a spirituall purging vertue, such as Sacraments have, which he thinketh to be absurd: especially seeing *Gregory* out of visions and apparitions of the dead, sheweth, that soules are purged in diverse places and by diverse other meanes, as well as by fire: and therefore there are other, who thinke, that what this purging fire worketh, it worketh by punishing and afflicting, which helpeth and strengtheneth grace, that it may bee able to purge out sinne. Now punishment and affliction can no way helpe grace or strengthen it, to the expulsion of sinne, but in that by the bitterness of it, it maketh us know how much it offendeth GOD, and hurteth us: and thereby causeth a dislike of it, or at least an increase of the dislike of it: which dislike the Will cannot newly grow unto, if it be immutable. For, to dislike that which before we did not dislike, or to dislike a thing more then formerly we did, upon farther & better consideration, argueth a mutability in the Will: so that if the Will be immutable in those that are departed hence, immediately upon their dissolution, as our Adversaries think it is, the fire of Purgatory can no way helpe to the purging out of sin. To these reasons they adde another, taken from the story or parable of the rich man & *Lazarus* in the Gospell: where Christ sheweth that the poore man *Lazarus*, as

In 4. Senten.
dist. 21. qu. 2.

soone

soone as he was dead, was carried by the Angels into *Abraham's* bosome, and that the rich mans soule as soone as he was dead, was found in the torments of hell. By the bosome of *Abraham* expressing a most excellent estate in the blessed rest of such as are beloved of God: and by hell, and the torments thereof, the uttermost condemnation, and the everlasting punishment of sinners: and no way leaving any other place betweene these, having temporall affliction and paine; but making betweene them a great and unpassable gulfe, separating the one from the other, and establishing an extreame and immediate opposition betweene them; then which, what could bee more clearly spoken against Purgatory & for our opinion? For if there be no middle place of temporall torment, as the Authors of this Apologie say there is not; if there bee but two sorts of men, the one expressed by the condition of the rich man, the other of *Lazarus*: and if the one of these goe immediately, upon death, into a place of torment everlasting, the other into a place of rest, and into the bosome of *Abraham*: where is the Purgatory of Papists either in the name, or in the thing, in substance, or in circumstance? To these reasons for farther confirmation, they adde two most excellent testimonies out of *Gregory Nazianzen*, who upon these wordes touching the Paschever, *Wee shall carry out nothing nor leave nothing till the morning*: saith expressly and clearly, that beyond or after this Night, there is no purging; calling the life of each man here, the Night: and yeelding no purging to bee after it: and else where hath these wordes. *I omit to speake of the torments, to which impunity doth deliver men in the other world: for they are such, that it were better for a man to be chastised, and purged here, then to bee reserved and delivered over to that punishment that is after this life, when as there is a time of punishment but not of purgation*: so expressly defining, that there is no purging after the departure out of this life, and that there remaineth nothing but eternall punishment, for such as must there be punished. *Elias Cretensis*, a learned *Grecian*, writing upon the place of *Nazianzen*, where he saith, *Hee is a poore and a meane Pastour*, and not liked of other Pastors, whether because hee defendeth the trueth, or for what other cause hee knoweth not, but God knoweth, and (as the Apostle saith) that day of revelation and last fire shall clearly manifest it, whereby all our workes are either judged or purged, hath these words: 'The word 'judged, *Gregory Nazianzen* put for tried; and purged, for revealed or manifested: 'for that fire doth make the workes of just men to shine, and burneth up the workes 'of sinners, and, that I may speake plainly and simply, manifesteth of what sort each 'mans workes are, those things being taken away, that in this world did hide them, 'and suffered them not to appeare to bee such as indeed they are. For here oftentimes as well the workes of a vertuous woman, as of an evill man are hid: but there 'they are revealed and made manifest: therefore their judgement is passed upon 'all; that is, all are tried: and againe, all things are purged, that is, manifested: and 'not by any meanes, according to the fooleries of those men, who thinke that there 'shall be an end of punishment, after a thousand yeates, and that, after they are purged, men shall cease to be punished. Thus doth this worthy Bishop of *Candia* contradict the Papists in their fancie of Purgatory, and agree with the Authours of the Apologie.

* In orat. de Paschate.

9 Serm. de plagis grandin.

2 Orat. 7. de composita differendi ratione page 210.

* Quæst. Armeniorum lib. 13. cap. 1.

In the writings of *Armachanus* I finde, that one *Athanasius*, a *Grecian*, proposed sundry excellent reasons against the imagined Purgatory of the *Latines*, which *Armachanus* goeth about to answer, but indeed cannot answer: the first is this: It is no way just that the soule alone should bee punished for the sinnes of the whole man; or that the body should have part and fellowship in sinne, and glory after remission of sinne; and not in the punishment, that purgeth out sinne. The second is this: It is more proper to God to reward good things then to punish evill: So that, if it were necessary, that the soules of such as are truly penitent, should after death goe into Purgatory punishments, it were much more necessary, that the soules of such as have kept the commandements of GOD all their life long, and at last falling into sinne, die in such an estate, without repentance, should goe first into a place of refreshing, to receive the rewardes of their well doings, before they should be cast out into eternall punishments!

punishments: but this is not to be graunted by any meanes; therefore much lesse the other. Thirdly, whereas some goe about to prove Purgatory by the custome of praying for the dead, hee sheweth by an unanswerable reason, that if wee admit Purgatory, wee may not pray for the dead; his reason is this. Whosoever causeth another to be afflicted, doth it in one of these three sortes; either onely out of unreasonable passion and desire of tormenting and afflicting; or for the upholding of the course of justice, and the example and good of others, as when murderers are put to death: or thirdly in mercy, for the good and benefit of him that is punished, as the Physician afflicteth the sicke patient. And in the third sort it is, that God is supposed to afflict soules in Purgatory. As therefore the Physician and Surgeon delight not in affliction their sicke patients, but deale as tenderly with them as possibly they may, due respect had to the recovering of their health and former estate: so God will afflict no more then is precisely necessary for the purging out of sinne: so that as it were vaine, if not hurtfull, to intreat the good and skilfull Physician, tendering his patient, and no way afflicting him more then is precisely necessary for the recovering of his health, either wholly to withdraw his hand, or to remitte any thing of that hee intends to doe; for that, if he should doe, the patient could not recover; so in like sort, it were not onely vaine, but hurtfull, for the soules of men departed, to intreat GOD any way to lessen their afflictions, which otherwise he would lay upon them: seeing he intendeth to afflict them no more, then is precisely necessary for the purging out of the impurity that is found in them: and if hee remit any thing of it, he must leave it in them still. In this life God may worke men to a judging of themselves, so that they shall not need to be so chastised and judged of him, as otherwise they should be, and so wee may pray God to ease their afflictions: but after this life, when there is no more time, nor place left for repentance, or conversion to God, it is not so. If it be said that the punishments of them that are in Purgatory; in that they are medicinall & for the purging out of sinne, are not to bee diminished, but that something may bee remitted of the extremity of them, in that they are satisfactory, hee answereth as we also doe; that after the remission of sinne repented of, there is no satisfaction needfull for the pacifying of Gods wrath, and that all punishments that are inflicted, are but to make us know throughly what it is to offend God, to plucke up the roote, take away the remainders, prevent the occasions, and to stoppe the re-entrance of it againe.

By this which hath beene said, we may see how advisedly and truely Master Higons saith, that * the Greeke Church generally doth beleeeve Purgatory: but hee will prove it doth by the censure of the Orientall Church, upon the *Augustane* confession. Concerning this censure, the Authour of it was, *Hieremias* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who hath written many things very prejudiciall to the state of the *Romish* Religion: for hee denyeth the supreamacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, and maketh the Church of *Constantinople* the chiefe of all Churches: hee defendeth the lawfulnessse of Ministers marriage: hee condemneth the communicating in one kinde alone, and the consecration of unleavened bread; Hee denyeth that the Saints heare our prayers; besides some other things of like nature: But touching Purgatorie, he hath no word. It is true indeede that hee alloweth prayer for the dead, but to another purpose, and not to deliver men out of Purgatory, as this seduced Novice hath beene misinformed. For he seemeth in part to bee of the same minde that *Theophylact* is of; who thinketh that they who die sinners, are not alwayes cast into hell, but that they are in the power of God, that hee may cast them into hell or keepe them from it, and deliver them if hee please. — Whereupon hee noteth that Christ doth not say, *feare him who after hee hath killed the body doth cast into hell*: but, *can cast into hell*: and this hee saith, as he professeth, because of the oblations and almes given for the dead; which greatly profit even them also that die in grievous sinnes: For though this *Hieremias* deny that the Saints in heaven pray for men dying in mortall sinne, God having excluded them from his mercy, and in a sort pronounced that though *Noah, Job, or Daniel* would entreat for them, they should not deliver them, yet he saith, such as

Pag. 35.

Cap. 13.

Cap. 21. in

Epilogo de ab-

usibus.

d Ibid.

e Ibid.

f Cap. 21.

g In 12 Lucz.

h Cap. 11.

i Ibid.

die

die in the middle course of penitencie, and not having fully purged out their finnes, may be relieved by prayer and meditation: if such prayers, and intreaty be made for them, while the judgment yet continueth, and before the sentence be pronounced: for so soone as the solemne sitting shall be dissolved, and every one carried into the place of punishment, designed and appointed for him, there neither is nor never shall be any mediation for him. Whereby it appeareth, he extendeth the benefit of these prayers, onely to the keeping of men out of hell, that might be cast into it, and no way to the releeving of soules afflicted with temporall paines, as Master *Higgons* untruly reporteth. So that he agreeth with *Theophylact*, in that he thinketh men, who otherwise might justly be cast into hell, may be staid from comming thither, if request be made for them in time, & seemeth to dissent from him, in that he will not extend this mercy of God to any dying without some beginnings of repentance, whereof the other maketh no mention: in which restraint, yet he dissenteth from himselfe, who¹ produceth and alloweth the testimony of *Damascene*, reporting *Gregories* delivering *Trajan*, who died in infidelity, out of hell: *Teclaes* delivering of *Falconilla*, who died an Idolatresse: and sundry other things of the same kinde.

4 Cap. 12.

1 Pag. 55.

20 Pag. 62.

2 De bono vi-
duitatis. cap. 11.

3 De corrupto
Eccles. statu.

7 Pag. 62.

9 First booke of
the Church,
chap. 57.
10 Booke 3. chap.
39.

11 Bonavent. in
4. Sentent. dist.
25. quest. 2.
12 Pag. 70.

Thus we see, the *Grecians*, being a great and principall part of the Church of God, deny Purgatory, not in respect of the name, or some circumstance alone; but even in respect of the thing it selfe, notwithstanding any thing Master *Higgons* can say to the contrary: and therefore it was more then ordinary impudencie in him to say that none but *Aerians*, *Hericians*, and *Waldensians*, did ever simply and absolutely deny Purgatory: and all his discourse grounded upon this false surmise is vaine and idle. For let the *Aerians*, *Henricians* and *Waldensians*, be what they will, it little concerneth us, for we derive not our denyall of Purgatory from them, but from the Fathers, and the principall parts of Gods Church in all ages. That which hee hath^m against *Luthers* marrying a professed Nunne, and Saint *Augustines* dislike of such marriages, doth but argue the distemper of his idle braine. For first, it is besides the purpose, and maketh nothing to the matter in hand. Secondly, it clearly confuteth the error of the *Romanistes* who thinke marriages after vowes made to the contrary to be voyde, which false conceiptⁿ *Augustine* largely refuteth. Thirdly, he belyleth *Augustine*, for he doth not say, the marriage of such as have vowed the contrary is evill, much lesse that it is worse then Adultery; but that the falling from the good purpose and resolution they were entred into, is worse then adultery: which falling is found amongst the *Romish* Votaries, more then any where else in the world, their houses of Nunnnes (as *Clemangis*, who knew the state of those Cages well enough, testifieth) being for the most part nothing else but stewes of filthy harlots. Now, though it be worse then simple adultery to breake a vow, and burning in lust to wallow in all impurity, yet is it no way ill for men or women thus surprised to betake themselves to the remedy of lawfull marriage. And therefore I^p mince not the matter, as this mincing Fugitive is pleased to say I doe, but truly report the judgment of *Augustine*, who indeed misliketh and reproveth rash vowing, without full purpose and due care of performing the same afterwards, as a grievous evill: and yet alloweth ensuing marriage, as lawfull honourable, and good, contrary to the impious conceipt of the *Romanistes*, condemning the same. What is to be thought of *Luther* and such other as married after vow of single life, I have^q else where shewed; whether I referre the Reader. I have likewise proved at large the lawfulness of *Luthers* ministry, notwithstanding all the corruption that was in the Church, wherein he received it, and the tyranny of *Antichrist* endeavouring to lay all waste: and therefore the idle glaunces of this silly fellow are to be contemned as words of vanity, especially seeing such as are ordained by Heretikes, are truly ordained in the judgment of our^r Adversaries themselves: but if all faile, he will goe backe to prayer for the dead, which hath made him dead, while he is alive, and will prove that *Bernard* confuted *Henricus* impugning prayer for the dead, with a miracle, and that therefore the impugning of prayer for the dead is pronounced impious by Gods owne voyce from heaven: surely if it could bee proved, that God gave testimony by a miracle against *Henricus* his impugning of prayer for the dead,

to deliver them out of Purgatory, it were something: but neither he, nor all the rabble of *Romanists*, shall ever prove that. *Henricus* is reported to have holden many damnable opinions, in confutation whereof *Bernard* might worke a miracle without any respect to his denying prayers for the dead: for hee contemned the Sacraments, denied reconciliation to penitents, and the comfort of the holy Eucharist to such as in their greatest distresses desired the same. And feared not to exclude infants from the benefite of the Sacrament of regeneration. *Bernard* himselfe describing him, and the good effectes that followed his preaching, sheweth, that having beene a Monke, hee became an Apostata, that he gave himselfe to all impurity, and that what hee got by his preaching, hee played away at dice, or spent it amongst harlots: that his preaching wrought so good effectes, that Churches were forsaken, and left without People, People without Priestes, Priestes without due reverence, and Christians without Christ: Churches were reputed Synagogues, the Sanctuaries of God denyed to bee holy, Sacraments accounted unholy, Festivall dayes deprived of Festivall solemnities, men died in their sinnes, and their soules were every where caught up, and brought to the terrible judgement-seate, neither reconciled by penitentiall reconciliation, nor guarded with the Sacrament and holy Communion; that the way of the life of Christ was shut up against infants, whiles the grace of Baptisme was denyed unto them: and that they were hindered from drawing neare to salvation, though the Saviour himselfe cryed out aloud for them, saying, *Suffer little children to come unto mee*. This is all that *Bernard* imputeth to him, neither doth *Wilhelmus Abbas* (as Master *Higgons* untruely reporteth) charge him with denying of prayer for the dead, but one *Gosfrey* a Monke of *Clavallis*, whose report is not greatly to bee regarded, because what hee addeth above that before alleadged by us touching prayer for the dead, invocation of Saints, excommunications of Priestes, Pilgrimages, building of Churches, and the like, he addeth as out of *Bernards* Epistle before mentioned, wherein there is no such thing. So that it is very probable that hee mistooke the matter, and imputed such thinges to *Henricus* as were taught by the *Apostolici*, or some other such like. Hereunto we finde no great prooffe of the confirmation of prayer for the dead, or any other point of Popish error, by miracles: so that my *Peremptory denyall*, that ever any miracle was done by any man in times past, or in our times, to confirme any of the things controverted betweene the Papists and us, standeth as yet uncontrouled. Wherefore Master *Higgons* riseth from *Henricus* to *Gregory* the first, and *Augustine*, whom hee sent into England for the conversion of our Nation, who, hee saith, were Papists, and yet wrought many miracles for the confirmation of the doctrine they preached. A more trifling fellow I thinke never adventured to put penne to paper, for wee confidently deny that either *Gregory* or *Augustine* were Papists, & say with Bishop *Jewell* in his worthy challenge, that all the learned Papists in the world cannot prove that either of them held any of those twenty seaven Articles of Popish Religion mentioned by him. If some superstition began in their times to grow in, it is not to bee marvelled at: neither will it follow, that if *Augustine* & his Colleagues, sent hither to sing the Lords song in a strange land, did miracles for the confirmation of the Christian faith taught by them, that the same miracles confirmed every superstitious opinion, which any of them held. For then *Cyprian* and the *African* Bishops teaching rebaptization, the Orientall Bishops thinking it necessary to keepe the Feast of Easter with the *Jewes*; *Papias*, and all the worthy Fathers that taught, that Christ raising up the Saintes from the dead, shall raigne with them on earth a thousand yeares in all earthly felicity, that there are two resurrections, the one of the just, the other of the wicked, and that there are a thousand yeares betweene: *Lactantius*, *Irenaeus*, and others, excluding the soules of the faithfull departed out of heaven, till the resurrection; such as held that men may be delivered out of hell: such as held it necessary to minister the Communion to infants: and other like Catholique Christians erring in some point of Doctrine, could doe no miracles, for the confirmation of the Christian faith amongst infidels or mis-believers, but that the same must be confirmations of their error: & God must concurre with the

- ^a Pag. 83. by confusion, as this confused companion ^a speaketh: but if this instance serve not the turne, he hath another evidence more potent and perswasive, which served as a key to unlocke his understanding, and that is this. ^b *Transubstantiation is affirmed by most to be one of the greatest mysteries of Popish Religion. Gerson is highly approved by us, and yet he affirmeth that Transubstantiation is confirmed by a thousand and a thousand miracles.*
- ^c Part. 4. serm. in festo corp. Christi. ^d Cassand. in consolat. att. 10. de transubst. For answer whereunto wee say with Cassander, ^a that the names of conversion, transmutation, trans-formation, and trans-elementation, are found among the Auncient, and that the word Transubstantiation was used some hundreds of yeares since: but touching the manner of this conversion there is great variety of opinions, yet so that all agree in this, that they understand such a mutation or change to be made, that that which before was earthly and common bread, by the wordes of Institution, the invocation of GODS Name, and Divine vertue is made a Sacrament of the true Body and Bloud of CHRIST, visibly sitting at the right hand of GOD in Heaven, and yet after an invisible and incomprehensible manner present in the Church. And that the Body and Bloud of CHRIST are in the Sacrament, and exhibited and given as spirituall meat and drinke for the salvation and everlasting life of them that are worthy partakers of the same. Thus much wee doubt not but a thousand and a thousand miracles may confirme, and more, *Gerson* doth not say is confirmed by miracle. For whereas there is almost infinite varietie of opinions touching the manner of this conversion amongst such as admit it in generality, it would be very hard for Master *Higgon*s, or a wiser man then he is, to say, which of them any miracle ever confirmed. All admit, saith *Cajetan*, the conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and Bloud of *Christ*, but in truth many deny that which the word Transubstantiation indeed importeth; and therefore are diversly divided; some understanding that the bread is therefore said to be made the body of *Christ*, because where the Bread is, the Body of *Christ* becommeth present: others understanding nothing but the order of succession, whereby the body succeedeth, and is under the vailles of those accidents, under which the Bread (which they suppose to bee annihilated) was before: which opinion in substance *Scorus* followeth, though in the manner of his speech bee seeme to decline it, some admitting both the word and thing not wholly, but in part, as *Durandus*, who thinketh the matter of the bread and wine remaineth, the forme only changed: and some thinking the forme to remaine, and the matter to cease. *Ockam* saith there are 3 opinions touching Transubstantiation, of which the first suppoeth a conversion of the Sacramentall Elements: the second an annihilation: the third maketh the Bread to bee so turned into the Body of *Christ*, that it is no way changed in substance, or substantially converted into *Christ*s body; but that onely the body of *Christ* becommeth present in every part of the bread. ^e *Cameracensis*, *Gerson*s Master, professeth, that for ought he can see, the substantiall conversion of the Sacramentall elements into the body & bloud of *Christ*, cannot be proved either out of Scripture, or any determination of the Universall Church, and maketh it but a matter of opinion, inclining rather to the other opinion of Con-substantiation. And therefore in his judgement it was not witnessed by a thousand & a thousand persons of most holy life and profound knowledge, testifying the truth thereof unto death, by a thousand & a thousand miracles. So that the thing which *Gerson* saith hath bin proved by miracles, is the true presence of *Christ*s body & bloud in the Sacrament, the exhibition of them to be the food of our soules, & such a change of the elements in vertue, grace, & power of containing in the, & communicating to us *Christ*s body & bloud, as the nature of so excellent a Sacrament requireth. This is the ^b key which M. *Higgon*s found to unlock his understanding that it might run riot into all idle and childish discourses. But see the infelicite of the man! He was no sooner at liberty, but presently againe he was encompassed & brought into such a strait, that either he must disclaime my book, or his Protestantall beleife. Yet ^c did hee not suffer himselfe long to be so inclosed, but full wisely chose rather to forsake the Religion hee was bredde in, and which as a publique Preacher hee had taught others, then to disclaime my booke. Because as he saith, that Religion cannot bee good, that is so falsely and absurdly defended by mee, and all the chiefe
- ^a Pag. 83. Authors
- ^b Pag. 86.

Authors that ever applied their paines unto that service. Surely the poore fugitive is greatly to be pittied, as weake in understanding, and meddling with things not fit for him, if hee doe that hee doth in simplicity: or exceedingly to be detested as a gracelesse person, if he doe it, as it is to be feared, out of malice. For what is it in my Booke that is so false and absurd, as that the consideration thereof should make a man forsake his religion? is not Transubstantiation one of the greatest mysteries of Popish religion, as I have said? is that falsely delivered by me? No: but I say no miracle was ever done to confirme any thing defended by the *Romanists* against us, and yet *Gerson*, highly commended by mee, saith, many Miracles have beene wrought for prooffe and confirmation of that Transubstantiation which the Papists at this day beleve, and this is the falsitie and absurditie hee speaketh of. That no miracle was ever wrought to prove the monstrous conceit of Popish Transubstantiation, or any other Popish error, shall stand good when heaven and earth shall bee no more. And if ten thousand *Gersons*, nay, if so many Angels from heaven should affirme the contrary, I would not beleve them; much lesse *Gerson*, a single witnesse in such a case. This is then the absurdity that made him become a Papist, that I commend *Gerson*, and yet beleve not every thing he saith. Truly this absurdity would never move any but an absurd smatterer to alter his Religion. For doth not *Higgon* himselfe admire *Pighius*, *Catharinus*, *Contarenus*, and sundry other from whom he dissenteth in the matter of justification, originall sinne, and the certainty of grace? Doth he not highly commend many that thought the Pope may erre, that he is subject to Generall Councells, and may be deposed by them, not for heresie alone, but for other enormous crimes also? and yet I thinke he will not be of their opinion. So that though *Gerson* should thinke that the Transubstantiation which wee deny, was proved by miracles, it were no such intollerable absurdity to commend him for much piety, devotion, learning, and vertue, and yet to dissent from him in this point. In the matter controverted in former times in the *Roman Church* touching the conception of the blessed *Virgine*, were there not worthy men on both sides? did not the Patrons of her spotlesse conception pretend, and alledge sundry miracles and visions for confirmation thereof? yet was it no absurdity for *Cardinall Cajetan* following the current of antiquity, to dissent from them, how many and worrhy soever they were, & to call all their pretended miracles in question. But indeed here is no such matter; for *Gerson* is not so ill advised, as to dissent from his worthy Master, & confidently to affirme that a thousand, and a thousand, renowned for piety and learning, by a thousand, & a thousand miracles, gave testimony to the opinion of the substantiall conversion of the Sacramentall elements into the body and bloud of Christ (which the Master of the Sentences, & the Authour of the *Ordinary* glosse, professe to bee doubtfull, and *Cajetan* saith so many admitted not even in his time.) But the onely thing he affirmeth to have beene confirmed by Miracles is, that Christs body and bloud are truly present in the Sacrament, that they are given to be the food of our soules, and that the outward elements are changed to become the body and bloud of Christ; which wee deny not, though we dissent from the Papists touching the manner of the conversion, which they imagine to be substantiall; to which opinion haply *Gerson* might consent, as *Cameracensis* also did, though he professed he could not see the deduction of it from Scripture, or any determination of the Church, and inclined rather to thinke that the substance of bread and wine remaine, and that the body and bloud of Christ become present together with them, according to that of *Cusanus*, who saith, certaine ancient Divines are found to have beene of opinion, that the Bread is not substantially changed, but that it is clothed upon with a more noble substance, as we hope to be clothed upon with the light of glory, our substance remaining the same it was: and seemeth not much to dislike their opinion. Thus we see; poore runnagate *Higgon* hath made a great out-cry when there was no cause; for here is neither falshood nor absurdity, but in himselfe, who to wracke his anger hath sold himselfe to bee an absurd Patron of error and untruth. The rest of his frivolous discourse following, being but a reflection, as hee calleth it, upon these premises, I will not trouble my selfe nor the reader with.

Opusc. tomo. 2. tract. 1. De conceptione virginis. cap. 1.

Lib. 4. dist. 11. In 1 ad Corinth. 11.

Exercitationu lib. 6. pag. 525.

The Second Booke.

S. I.

I Come to his Second Booke, in the first part whereof hee challengeth mee for traducing the foure Doctours of the Church, beginning with *Gregory*, and from him proceeding to the rest. To make it appeare that I have wronged *Gregory*, First hee noteth, that the principall drift of my discourse touching the Church, is, to prove that the opinions wherein the Papists dissent from the Protestants at this day, were not the Doctrines of the Church wherein our Fathers lived and died, but of a faction onely, predominating in the same. Secondly, that to this purpose I frame an Appendix, wherein I produce the testimonies of sundry Fathers & Schoole-authors, to justifie the fore-said position. Thirdly, that descending into the controversie, whether any finnes be remitted after this life, or not, I use this pretense; to wit, that whereas *Lombard* and others do say, that some veniall sins are remitted after this life, we must so understand their sayings, that therefore they are said to be remitted after this life, because they are taken away in the very moment of dissolution, the last instant of life being the first after life. That this is the summe of that Exposition I make of *Lombards*, and other mens opinion, concerning the remission of sins after this life wherein, how sincerel y & exactly I deale, he will not dispute.⁴ That to corroborate this my Exposition, I bring a testimony of *S. Gregory*, not without great wrong done unto him.

To these his observations I briefly answer: First, that it is true that the doctrines wherein the Papists and We dissent at this day, were not the doctrines of that Church, wherein our Fathers lived and died; but that I have in any part untruly set downe the differences betweene them and us, this false runagate shall never be able to prove: though, if his credit would reach unto it, he would gladly make men beleve so. That I have indeed framed and added such an Appendix as he speaketh of, to my Third booke, wherein I have produced sundry learned men, and Schoole-authors, for proofe of that my former position; calling them, as they well deserve, worthy & learned men: but, that they are mine enemies, or that I speake honourably of them for mine own advantage; is but the saying of a filly fellow, that careth not much what hee saith, so he may be thought to say something. Thirdly, that this good fellow, that complaineth so much of falshood and bad dealing, hath in his third observation wholly mistaken the matter, & shamefully belied me; for I make not that construction of the sayings of *Lombard* and others, which he speaketh of, but it is the construction of *Alexander of Ales*, the irrefragable Doctor, and first of all the Schoole-men. But that the Reader may the better perceive how he perverteth all that cometh in his way, I will lay downe the matter at large. In the twentieth Chapter of that Appendix hee speaketh of, I produce the judgment and resolution of *Scotus*, *Durandus*, and *Alexander of Ales*, that all sinfulness is utterly abolished in the very moment of dissolution, and that there is no remission of any sin, in respect of the fault and staine after death. The words of these Authors I set downe at large. The words of *Alexander of Ales* are these. First grace taketh away all sinfulness out of the soule, because when the soule parteth from the body, all pronenesse to ill, and all perturbations which were found in it, by reason of the conjunction with the flesh, do cease, the powers thereof are quieted, & perfectly subjected to grace, & by that means, all veniall sins removed: so that no veniall sin is remitted after this life; but in that instant wherein grace may be said to be finally grace, it hath full dominion & absolute command, and expelleth all sin. Wherunto he addeth, that whereas the M^r of Sentences, & some other do say, that some veniall sins are remitted after this life; some answer that they speake of a full remission, both in respect of the fault and staine, and the punishment also: but that others more narrowly and piercingly looking into the thing, do say, that they are to be understood to say, sins are remitted after this life, because (it being the same moment or instant that doth continue the time of life, & that after life, so that the last instant of life, is the first after life) they

a Pag. 101.

b Pag. 107.

c Ibid.

d Ibid.

e Summ. lib. 4.
qu. 15. memb.
3. art. 3.

are remitted in the very moment of dissolution, grace more fully infusing, and pouring it selfe into the soule at that time, then before, to the utter abolishing of all sin, all impediment formerly hindering her working, now ceasing. So that these are the words of *Alexander of Ales*, delivering the opinion of many worthy men in the church, and not mine: and therefore whether hee and they doe aptly expound the sayings of the Master of Sentences, and others, or not, it is nothing to me; for I doe not so interpret the sayings of these men, nor cite him to prove they are to be so interpreted: but cite him onely to shew, that many learned men, in former times, did thinke all sinfulness to be purged out of the soules of men, departing hence in the state of grace, even in the very moment of dissolution: which he clearly sheweth, and besides telleth us how they sought to construe the sayings of them that seemed to be of another judgement, that they might not bee thought to bee contrary hereunto. The same may bee confirmed out of *Bonaventura*, who saith, it was the opinion of certaine Doctours, who were of good understanding, that no sinne is remitted after death, because the force of Free-will, in respect of merite, or demerite, doth altogether cease. These, as he saith, thought, that veniall sinnes are wholly remitted and taken away either by repentance, or by finall grace, if there be no time and place for repentance: as when a just & good man is suddainly setzed upon by death. The Authour of the booke called *Regimen Animarum*, a manuscript copie whereof I have, who lived about the yeare 1343, hath these wordes. *Delet gratia finalis veniale peccatum, in ipsa dissolutione corporis, & anime, ex virtute completionis sui status, quamvis motus contritionis non sit ad illud directus, & hoc ab antiquis dictum est; sed modo communiter tenetur, quod peccatum veniale hinc deferatur à multis, etiam quoad culpam.* That is, finall grace doth abolish and utterly take away veniall sinne in the very dissolution and parting of the soule and body, in that she groweth to be in a full and perfect estate, though no motion of contrition be directed to the putting of it away: and this was said by the Auncient, but now it is commonly holden, that many carry veniall sinnes with them out of this world, even in respect of the staine and fault. *Cajetan* agreeth with those Ancient Divines, that this Author speaketh of: his words are these: *Patet quod nec pro famite purgandis, qui etiam in baptizatis remanet, nec pro reliquis quibuscunque, nisi satisfactione debita pro commissis vel omissis, poena sunt purgatoria; sicut nihil acquirit grave ex remotione prohibentis, sed juxta pristinam gravitatem tendit ad proprium latum: ita anima ex remotione prohibentis, juxta sortitam prius charitatem, in caelestis patriae mansionem sibi paratam intrat.* That is; It is evident, that Purgatory paines serve neither for the purging out of the remaines of concupiscence, which still abideth even in the Baptized; nor for the taking away of any other thing whatsoever: but onely for the satisfying for the sinnes of omission and commission that are past: and therefore if that bee once performed, as a heavy thing, when that is taken away which hindered, getteth no new quality or vertue, but by force of that weight and heavinesse it formerly had, goeth to the proper place where nature hath appointed it to rest: so the soule so soone as that is taken away which hindered, by force and vertue of that charitie it formerly had, entereth into the mansion of the Heavenly Countrey provided for it. Further hee addeth, that, as after death, charitie is, *extra fratum merendi*, that is, in a state wherein there is no farther meriting: so likewise it is in a state, wherein it is capable of no increase, the increase of charitie being the bound of the merit of it: whence it followeth, that there is no purging out of any sinne after death; for if after death there bee no new increasing of that grace and charitie, which during life stood together with veniall sinne, there is no purging out of any such sinne after death; seeing it is charity stirred up, and enkindled, that consumeth sinne, as the burning Furnace doth a drop of water, and nothing else. This is the resolution, not of a few or meane men, but of many, and those the greatest and best esteemed of in the Churches, wherein our Fathers lived and died. To these I say, *Gregory* seemeth to agree, saying, *That the verities feare that is found in men dying, purgeth out the lesser sinnes.* But here Master *Higons* hath noted three points of fraudulencie, as hee saith, committed by me in a few words: First by an omission: in that, whereas Saint *Gregory* saith, *plernumque*, for the most

In 4. sent. d. 24
q. 1.

Part. 3. de
effectu peccati
venialis.

Cajet. opus.
tom. 1. tract. 23.
q. 1.

Pag. 103.

¶ Dialog. lib. 4.
cap. 46.

most part it is so, I omit and leave out this particle : Secondly, by a reddition in that whereas *Gregory* saith the *Smallest*, I say the *Lesser*. Thirdly, by an extension, in that whereas *Gregory* saith the *Soules of the just are purged*, I say in a more generall sort, *the soules of men dying are purged*. For answer hereunto I say, I have no way misalladged *Gregory*, nor derived any conclusion out of any words of his, contrary to his purpose and Doctrine in other places ; for *Gregory* seemeth to bee of opinion, that the feare that is found in the soules of good men dying, doth alwayes purge out the lesser finnes, so often as it is found in them : but, that it is not alwayes found in them, but for the most part ; whereas I have onely said, it doth purge out such finnes, without adding *alwayes*, or *for the most part*. And that hee addeth the particle *for the most part*, to shew that this feare is not alwayes found in good men, when they are to die, and not to deny the effect of purging out the smaller finnes unto it, wheresoever it is found, appeareth, in that immediatly after, by way of opposition he saith, that, *nonnunquam*, that is sometimes, God strengtheneth and confirmeth the mindes of men ready to die, that otherwise would feare, so that they doe not feare at all : but if wee take the words as *Higgons* would have us, yet am I no whit disadvantaged : for if the feare of Gods judgements alone, doo for the most part purge out the lesser finnes, it is likely that other good motions, and the strengthening of grace, and putting of it into a state of perfection, by the subtraction of impediments, should take away the rest : which is all that I have said. For I doe not say, that hee doth agree with those that thinke all sinfulness is purged out in the very moment of dissolution ; but that he seemeth to agree with them, or that in consequence of reason he should agree with them. Neither is his next exception of least, and lesser, any better then this : For *Gregory* himselfe in the thirty ninth chapter of the same booke speaking of those finnes, that are compared to timber, hay, and stubble, and are to be purged out by the fire, the Apostle speaketh of to the *Corinthians* ; calleth them indifferently *peccata parva*, & *minima*, *levia*, & *levissima*, *minuta*, *atque levissima*, that is small and smallest, light and lightest sins : so that small or light finnes in the positive degree, are the same with him that least or lightest : and therefore it was no fraudulencie in mee, not translating any sentence of *Gregory*, but reporting his opinion touching veniall finnes, indifferently and freely to name them *small*, *lesser*, or *smallest*, and lightest finnes ; seeing in his meaning and phrase of speech, and truth of the thing it selfe they are all one. The last exception is more frivolous then the two former, for speaking onely of the soules of the just, and the purging out of such finnes as are found in them till death, in my whole discourse, what neede was there, that I should adde *just*, seeing no man could possibly understand mee to speake of any other ? but it seemeth the poore man knoweth not well what hee saith, for hee will have *Gregory* to meane by *just men*, *men of singular sanctity*, and not generally all that are in the state of grace : and yet denyeth that all the sins of these, are purged out in death, so casting into Purgatory, not only those of the middle sort, but the best and perfittest also, contrary to the opinions of his owne Divines. So that wee see here is much adoe about nothing : and as the poore man said, when hee shote his Sow : here is a great crie and a little wooll. For I doe not absolutely say, that *Gregory* fully agreeth with these worthy Divines before mentioned, who thinke all sinfulness to be utterly abolished and removed out of the soule, in the very moment of dissolution ; but that hee seemeth to agree unto them ; or that in consequence of reason hee should agree unto them, in that he maketh the very feare, that is found in men dying, to purge out their lesser sins, when it is found in them, though alwayes it be not found in them : which is not my private conceit, but the *Gracians* in their Apologie touching Purgatory, long before delivered the very same more peremptorily ; namely, that *Gregory* by this saying, and some other found in him, doth utterly overthrow that Purgatory which he is thought to teach : And if he will be pleased to peruse the Schoole-men, he shall finde in *Alexander of Ales*, that the best of them thought *Gregory* to bee of opinion, as they also were, that all sinne in respect of the staine, or fault, is purged out in death : some interpreting his words, where he speaketh of remission of finnes after this life, of that remission which is in the last instant of

¶ Summ. 1. 4.
q. 15. memb. 3.
art. 3.

of this life, and the first of the next: and other otherwise. And therefore Master Hig-
 gons might well have spared his taxation of me, and omitted his marginall note, "that
 many such trickes were found by the Bishop of *Eureux*, in the writings of the Lord
Plessis Mornay. For in all that which I have written touching this point, there is not
 so much as the least shadow of any ill dealing: and for that worthy Gentleman, against
 whom that Bishop sought advantage, by cavilling against some partes of his allega-
 tions; it will be found, that he hath more sincerely handled the controversies of Re-
 ligion, then ever any *Romanist* did. That if any mistaking be found in him; there are ma-
 ny moe, and more materiall in farre lesse compasse, in the writings of Cardinall *Bel-
 larmino* himselfe: and that in his anatomy of the Masse, the booke excepted against by
 the Bishop of *Eureux*, hee hath in such sort cut in sunder the sinewes, not onely
 of the Masse, but of the whole masse of *Romish* religion, that all the rabble of *Romanists*
 will never bee able orderly to answer that whole booke, howsoever it is easie to ca-
 vill against some parts of any thing never so well written.

But to returne to the matter in hand: whatsoever we thinke of *Gregory*, of whom
 I say onely, that hee seemeth to agree unto the opinion of those Divines, who thinke
 all sinfulnessse to be purged out of the soules of men dying in the state of grace, in the
 moment of dissolution: it is certaine, that exceeding many of best esteeme in the *Ro-
 mane* Church in former times, were of that opinion: and the same is proved by unan-
 swerable reasons. Whence it will follow inevitably, that there remaineth no punish-
 ment to be suffered after death, by men dying in the state of grace. For they are pro-
 positions of Saint *Bernard*, that all the world cannot except against; "that when all
 sinne shall be wholly taken out of the way, no effect of it shall remaine: that the cause being
 altogether removed, the effect shall be no more: and, that all punishment shall bee as farre
 from the outward man, as all fault shall be from the inward. Now that all sinfulnessse is
 purged out in the very dissolution of soule and body, is confirmed, as I said, by unan-
 swerable reasons; for seeing the remaines of naturall concupiscence, the pronenesse to
 evill, difficultie to doe good, and contrariety betweene the better and meaner facul-
 ties of the soule, are wholly taken out of the soules of all them that die in the state of
 grace, in the moment of dissolution, even in the judgement of our adversaries them-
 selves, (there being nothing in the fault or staine of sinne, but the act, desire, and pur-
 pose; which cannot remaine, where concupiscence, the fountaine thereof, is dried up:
 or the habituall liking, and affecting of such things as were formerly desired, purpo-
 sed, or done ill; which cannot be found in a soule, out of which, all naturall concupi-
 scence, inclining to the desiring of things inordinately, is wholly taken away, and it
 selfe turned to the entire desiring of God alone, and nothing, but in, and for him; as is
 every soule, out of which, concupiscence, inclining to affect finite things inordinate-
 ly, is wholly taken away.) It is more then evident, that all sinfulnessse is wholly
 taken out of the soule of each good man, in the very moment of his death, dissolution,
 and departure hence. See then the absurditie of *Romish* Religion! the soule of a good
 man, in the moment of death, is wholly freed from all sinfulnessse: there is nothing
 found in it, that displeaseth God: charitie, and grace, making those in whom it is, ac-
 ceptable to GOD, is perfect in it: and yet it must bee punished, to satisfie the justice
 of GOD, because it was sometimes sinnefull. Truly I ever thought, whereas there
 are two things in sinne, the fault, deformity, or staine; and the punishment; that *Christ*,
 who is the *Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world*, by the working of his
 sanctifying grace, purgeth out the one; and by vertue of his satisfactory sufferings,
 freeth such as he purgeth from the impuritie of sinne, from the punishment due unto
 it; and that in proportionable sort, he purgeth out the one; and by vertue of his satis-
 factory sufferings, freeth us from the other. So that when sinne is onely so purged
 out, that it is no more predominant, there remaineth no condemnation, but yet some
 punishment as in the case of *David*; and when it is wholly taken away, there remai-
 neth no punishment at all: which whosoever contradicteth, is injurious to the suffe-
 rings of *Christ*, & the Justice of God, who will not require one debt to be twice paid.
 For it is most certain, that *Christ* suffered the punishments, not only of those sins, that

Pag. 103.

Bern. in Psal
qui habitat.
Serm. 10.

men commit in the time of ignorance, infidelity, and the state of Nature, before Baptisme and Regeneration, but of all finnes: and that the reason, why notwithstanding godlesse men are subject to all kindes of punishments, as before; is, because they doe not become one with CHRIST; nor are made partakers of his sanctifying Spirit, purging out the sinfulness that is in them; that they might enjoy the benefit of his satisfaction: as likewise the reason, why good men, such as *David*, turning to God by repentance, are still subject to some punishments in this life, notwithstanding their union with CHRIST, is, because they are not so fully conjoynd to CHRIST, and made partakers of his Spirit, as to bee purged from all sinne. For if they were, they should be freed from all punishment by his sufferings: he having suffered for all them, that become one with him, all that the Justice of God requireth. This is that heresie of the Papists, which I speake of, namely, that to satisfie Gods Justice, the soules of men dying in the state of grace; must suffer punishments answerable to the finnes they sometimes committed, though now pure from all sinne. This conceipt never any of the Auncient had: howsoever some of them supposed, that sinfull men in hell, may be eased or delivered thence; and some other (as *Augustine*, and such as followed him in the *Latine Church*) were doubtfull whether some impuritie might not remaine to be purged out of the soules of men dying in the state of grace, by afflictions and chastisements after this life. And therefore it is untrue that *M. Higgons* saith, *This imputation of heresie cleaveth as fast to the Fathers, whom we pretend to honour and reverence, as to any Papist at this day.* If *Gerson*, or any other whom I honour, held this heresie, they held it not heretically, as the *Romanists* now doe: even as *Cyprian* held the heresie of rebaptization, and sundry of the Auncient the heresie of the Millenaries, but not heretically: so that *Vincentius Lyrinensis* saith, *The Fathers were saved, and the children condemned; the authors of errors acquitted, and the followers of them in the same, cast into the pit of hell.* But *M. Higgons* saith, *Bernard* (whose sayings touching the not punishing of such as are freed from the impurity of sin I alleadge; thereby to overthrow the erroneous conceipt of Papists touching Purgatory) admitteth Purgatory: & therefore *I traduce the testaments of the dead, to establish such doctrines as they impugn.* For answer whereunto I say, that whether *Bernard* admit Purgatory or not: yet may he have a sentence, which supposing all sinfulness to be purged out in the moment of dissolution, proveth that there is no Purgatory, to which purpose I alleadge him, & therefore traduce not the testaments of the dead to establish any Doctrines they impugned, as *M. Higgons* untruly & unjustly chargeth me. For my *distilling our Church out of the writings of learned men living under the Papacie*, I shall have a fitter place to answer him, when I come to his Appendix: where I will make it appeare, that the *Israel of God* hath not bin forced (as he untruly saith it hath) *to seeke to the Philistines as the distressed Israelites did for the sharpening of their tooles, when there was no Smith in Israel:* but that the *Israel* in *Canaan* deriveth it self from that *Israel* that sometimes was in *Egypt* in miserable bondage, enjoyeth the jewels and treasures, and fighteth against the enemies of God, with the weapons brought from thence. And thus much touching *Gregory*.

S. 2.

IN the next place he commeth to *Augustine*, whom he saith, I have likewise abused. The words wherein the supposed abuse is offered unto him, are these. *The Romish manner of praying for the dead hath no certaine testimony of antiquity, for no man ever thought of Purgatory till Augustine, to avoide a worse error, did doubtfully runne into it: after whom many in the Latine Church embraced the same opinion; but the Greeke Church never received it to this day.* In which words he saith, *I note the temerity, irresolution, and folly of Augustine: the Reader, I doubt not, will note his temerity and folly, in censuring me thus without a cause: for I note not Saint Augustine for temerity, nor make him the Authour of a new fancie, as hee falsely chargeth mee, but shew, that whereas there were very dangerous opinions in the Church in his time, touching the state of the departed, (many of great esteeme thinking that men dying in mortall sinne, and adjudged to hell, shall in the end come out thence and be saved) he*

sought

• Pag. 108.

• Contra prof.
Hæres. & novit.
cap. 9.

• Pag. 105.

• Pag. 107.

• Pag. 108.

sought to qualifie the matter in the best sort hee could; with least offence unto them, and to bring them from that error, and therefore saith, *If they would acknowledge the punishments of such to be eternall, and thinke onely that they may be mitigated or suspended for a time, or that men dying in the state of grace, yet in some lesser sinnes are afflicted for a time in the other world, (though he knew not whether these things be so or no) yet he would not strive with them.* This is not to be the authour of a new fancy; but, in hope to reclaime men from a great extremity, to leave something lesse dangerous in the same kinde, doubtfull: and this is all that I say of Saint *Augustine*; neither is this my private fancie: but the *Grecians*, in that learned Apologie before mentioned, have the same observation, to wit, that hee wrote not those things which he hath touching Purgatory, out of a certaine perswasion, and as undoubtedly holding them to be true: but as it were in a sort enforced, & for the avoyding of a greater evil, which was this, that there is a purging of all sinnes after death, as some then thought. So that as it seemeth, thinking it something a violent course, directly to go against the opinion of many; and fearing, his words would not seeme probable, if whereas others thought all sins may be purged out after death, he on the contrary side should say none may be purged, he chose rather to goe in a middle way not contradicting that which is lesse absurd, & inconvenient: (that so he might more easily bring them he had to deale with from that which was farre more inconvenient,) then too much to exasperate them. This was the apprehension the *Grecians* had of *Augustines* writings touching this point: which whosoever shall without any sinister affection peruse, will finde to bee right and true. Touching irresolution, it was farre from *Augustine* in matters pertaining to the rule of faith: but in other things, wherein men may be ignorant and doubtfull, and dissent one from another, without danger of eternall damnation: no man was more slow to resolve, no man more inclined to leave things doubtfull. But howsoever, that he was doubtfull and unresolved in the points concerning the state of the dead, it is evident in that he saith: *If they, whose mercifull error he refuteth, would onely thinke, the paines of them that are in hell to be mitigated, or suspended: hee would not greatly strive about it: though I am well assured, he would not willingly have resolved, that these things are so.* The like may bee said touching the temporall affliction of good men dying in the state of grace, but yet with some lesser sinnes: for he was ever doubtfull concerning the same: and never resolved that they are undoubtedly in a state of temporall afflictions, as *M. Higgons* untruly^a reporteth, and thence inferreth many things childishly against mee: but that they are in a state wherein prayers may avails them: which two things are very different. For the *Grecians* in their Apologie, before cited, admit remission of sinnes after this life, and yet deny that there is any estate of temporall affliction. And I have shewed before, how sinnes may be said to be remitted after this life in the entrance into the other world, without admitting Purgatory punishments. But it cannot be excused that I say, *Augustine* fearefully opposed himselfe against the error of them, who thought all right-beleeving Christians, how wickedly soever they lived, shall in the end bee saved. Surely the *Grecians* said as much before, and are in good hope to be excused: and therefore I am in some hope that I may be also: for I do not say that he so feared any thing, as to conceale any truth he was thorowly resolved of, and which he held necessary to bee knowne of all: but that hee feared to offend them hee dealt with, farther then of necessity he must: and therefore resolved to yeeld to them as farre as possibly he might, without impugning knowne and resolved truthes, they being many and of great esteeme, that were otherwise minded, then he was. Thus have I no way wronged *S. Augustine*, but done him the greatest right I could: for I have shewed, that he impugned not onely the error of *Origen*, touching the salvation of all, even the Devill and his Angels, and of such as thought that all men, or at least all Christian men, though Heretickes and Schismatics, shall in the end be saved: but of them also that thought onely that all right-beleeving Christians shall be saved, how wickedly soever they live: affirming that no such thing may be yeilded, and yet professing himselfe doubtfull touching the mitigation and suspension of their paines for a time, as also whether men dying in the state of

^a Enchirid. ad
Laurentium.
cap. 67.

^c Ubi supra.

^d Pag. 113.

grace

grace, and yet with some lesser finnes, bee afflicted for a time, and after delivered. So that hee brought the conceit concerning the salvation by fire and punishment, of men departing hence in the state of sinne, from that exceeding large extent, to this strait: assuring himselfe more might not be yeilded, and professing he knew not whether so much might or not. And therefore hee was the authour of this limitation, that the error should not be so dangerous; but not of the error it selfe, touching the salvation of men dying in the state of sinne: which no way tendeth to his disgrace, but to his commendation.

• Pag. 110.

f Basilin Esaie
9.

But Master *Higgons* will prove that hee was not the first that fell into the opinion of this Purgatory, of men dying in the state of grace; first out of the *Magdeburgians*, and secondly out of the testimonies of sundry Fathers, teaching the same Purgatorie before *Augustine*, as he pretendeth: To the *Magdeburgians* it may be answered in a word, that they speake of the Purgatorie of such as depart hence in mortall sinne, when they attribute the error of Purgatory, to *Origen* and others before *Augustine*'s time. For *Origen* made all punishments, even those of the Devill and Damned ones, to be but Purgatory-punishments: and therefore that they say is nothing to our purpose. Wherefore let us see what testimonies of Fathers, before *Augustine*, Master *Higgons* can produce, for confirmation of his supposed Purgatorie. The first hee bringeth is Saint *Basil*, who writing upon those wordes of *Esaie*, *Iniquity shall bee burned as fire, and devoured of the fire as any grasse, and burned up in the thicknesse of the wood*; and againe, *all the earth shall bee set on fire in the furious and fierce wrath of the Lord; and all the people shall bee as it were burned by fire*: First sheweth, that iniquity may fitly be compared unto grasse, the generation whereof is infinite, in that sinne begetteth and succeedeth it selfe, fornication, fornication; lying, lying: and so in the rest. Secondly, that it wee reveale and make bare our sinne by confessing and acknowledging it, wee make it like drie grasse, fit to bee devoured and consumed by the purging fire: but that, if it become not like drie grasse, it shall not bee devoured by the fire. Thirdly, he interpreteth the thicknesse of the wood to be men darkned in their cogitations, and keeping many evils in the secret of their hearts. Fourthly, whereas it is said, the earth is set on fire by the fierce wrath of the Lord, hee saith the Prophet meaneth, that earthly things are delivered to the punishing fire, for the good of the soule: according to that of the Lord, *I come to send fire into the earth, and my desire is, that it be kindled as soone as may bee*. Fifthly, hee sheweth, that whereas the Prophet saith, *The people shall be burned as with fire*, hee threatneth not destruction, but promisseth purgation: according to that of the Apostle, *If any mans worke burne, &c.* Here indeed mention is made of purging-fire; but it is the fire of tribulation in this world, and of divine affections which it kindleth, for the consuming and burning up of the finnes of them, that acknowledge them, and make them bare by feeling and confessing how displeasing they are to God: whereas otherwise it worketh no such effect. But heere is no word, nor circumstance, whence it may be collected, that *Basil* speaketh of any Purgatory after this life; nay it is plaine, he speaketh of that fire, which *Christ* came to bring into the world, and to call out upon the earth, and which he desired to be kindled as soone as might bee: which things, I thinke are not applicable to Popish Purgatory. The Scripture, saith *Gregory Nazianzene*, mentioneth a purging fire, which *CHRIST* came to send into the earth, and himselfe anagogically is called fire: the nature of this fire, is to waste and consume away the grosser matter, and vicious disposition of the minde: and therefore *CHRIST* desireth to have it kindled as soone as may be, that we may have the benefit of it: which I thinke can hardly be understood of Purgatory, unless we suppose *CHRIST* wisheth us all to be in those torments with speed. *Nicetas* writing upon *Nazianzene*, expoundeth the purging-fire hee speaketh of, to be love, and faith towards God, which purge our soules from sinne, and ignorance, and divide the godly, from the ungodly and unbelievers. Another fire *Nazianzene* saith there is, which is not a purging, but a revenging-fire; whether it be that Sodomiticall fire, which, mixed with brimstone and tempest, God powreth on the heads of sinners: or that which goeth before the face of the Lord, and burneth up his enemies on every

g Nazianzen.
Orat. 40. in
sanctum Bap-
tisma.

every side: or lastly, that which is more horrible then all these, which is joyned with the restless worme, and which never goeth out. So that we see neither *Gregory*, nor *Nicetas*, knew any thing of the Papists Purgatory-fire after this life, mentioning all the kindes of fire that are spoken of in Scripture, and omitting it cleane. To *Basil M. Higgon*s addeth, *Eusebius Emisennus*, who was more ancient then he. But his owne friends will tell him, these Homilies which he citeth, that goe under his name, are none of his: but that they were collected out of the *Latine* Fathers by *Beda* or some other: the sentence doublet which he citeth, is found word for word in *Augustine*s Homilie upon the *Epiphanie*. But howsoever the Author of these Homilies seemeth to speake of a trying fire, through which all must passe, & not of the Papists imagined Purgatory. The next testimony he bringeth, is out of *Gregory Nyssen*; but as the *Gracians* in their Apologie note, they are not well advised that alleadge *Gregory Nyssen* to this purpose; seeing he speaketh not of a particular purging of some, but of a generall restoring of all: of which opinion also *Didymus* and *Enagrios* were. This his grosse error they excuse: first, for that happily these things might be foisted into his works by Heretickes: And secondly, for that he wrote before the time of the Fifth Generall Councell, wherein the error of *Origen* was condemned. From these *Greeke* Fathers, Master *Higgon*s proceedeth to the *Latine*: And first produceth *Ruffinus* upon the *Psalmes*: and then *Ambrose*. That *Ruffinus* wrote upon the *Psalmes* was never heard of, before that of late one *Antonius de Albano*, Archbishop of *Lions*, found out an unknowne worke, in a certaine ruinated Abbey, and put it out under the name of *Ruffinus*, though as himselfe confesseth, it seemed strange to many that such a worke had lyen hidde so long; and more strange; that so often the same sentences and periods should be found in *Augustine* that are in this supposed *Ruffinus*; seeing hee could not take them from *Augustine*; and *Augustine* in all likelyhood would not borrow them from him, never using to be beholding to any man in this kinde: so that it may be thought this worke had a later Authour then either of these: and surely, the words *M. Higgon*s citeth are the wordes of *Augustine*, and therefore ill alledged to shew that others before him thought as he did touching the purging of men dying in an imperfect state of grace. Wherefore let us come to *Ambrose*, out of whom he citeth two places: the first is upon the hundred and eighteenth *Psalme*; the second upon the thirtieth *Psalme*. Touching the first of these places *Cardinal Bellarmine* will tell him, that it is not to bee understood of the fire of Purgatory; but of the fire of Gods Judgement: which is not a purging or an afflicting fire, but a trying and examining fire. I will set downe the words at large, that the Reader may judge of them. 'All must be proved by fire that desire to returne to Paradise, for it is not idly written, that when *Adam* and *Eve* were cast out of Paradise; God set in the entrance into it, a fiery two-edged, or turning-sword: for all must passe by flaming fire; whether it be *Iohn* the Evangelist whom the LORD so loved, that he said of him to *Peter*: if I will have him to abide, what is that to thee? follow thou me. (Of his death some have doubted, of his passage through the fire we may not doubt, because he is in Paradise, & is not separated from CHRIST,) or *Peter* that received the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, & walked upon the Sea, he must be forced to say, we have passed by fire & water, and thou hast brought us into a place of refreshing: but when *Iohn* commeth, the fiery sword shall loon be turned away, because iniquity is not found in him, whom equity loved. If there were any fault found in him, as a man, the love of God wasted it away. For the wings thereof are as the wings of fire: he that here hath the fire of charitie, shall not there feare the fire of the sword, *Christ* shall say unto *Peter*, that so often offered to die for him, passe & be at rest: but he shall say, he hath tried us in the fire, as silver is tried, &c. Hee shall be tried as silver, but I shall be tried as lead. I shall burne till the lead melt away: if no silver be found in me, woe is me, I shall be cast into the lowest hell, or wholly burnt up as stubble: if any gold or silver be found in me, not by mine own works, but by the mercy and grace of CHRIST, and by the ministry of my Priest-hood, happily I shall say, They that trust in thee, shall not bee confounded. Therefore iniquitie shall bee burned out by the fiery sword, that sitteth upon the talent of Lead.

Hom. 3. de
Epiph.
Sixtus Senen-
sis Bibl. Sanct.
lib. 4.
Baron. tom. 3.
341. 11.
Serm. de de-
functis.

Page 112

De Purgat.
l. 1. c. 4.

He

'He alone could not feele that fire, who is the justice of God even *Christ*, who did
 'no sin: for the fire found nothing in him, that it could burne; but concerning others,
 'even he that thinketh himselfe Gold, hath lead: and he that thinketh himselfe to be a
 'graine of corne, hath chaffe, that may be burned. Many here seeme to themselves to
 'be gold, I do not envie them, but even the gold shall be tryed: it shall burne in fire that
 'it may be proved: for so it is written, I will prove them as gold in the fire: therefore
 'seeing we are to be tried, let us so behave our selves, that we may deserve to be appro-
 'ved by the judgement of God; let us, while wee are here, hold humility, that when
 'every of us shall come to the judgement of God, he may say, See my humility, and de-
 'liver me. And upon the thirty sixt *Psalme*, he hath these words: We shall all be tried
 'by fire: and *Ezechiel* saith, Behold, the Lord Almighty commeth, and who shall abide
 'the day of his comming? or who shall indure it, when he shall appeare unto us? for he
 'shall come as purging fire, and as Fullers soape, and he shall sit downe to trie and fine
 'the gold and the silver, he shall fine the sonnes of *Levie*, and power them out like gold
 'and silver, and they shall offer sacrifice to the Lord in righteousness. Therefore the
 'sonnes of *Levie* shall be fined by fire: *Ezechiel* shall be fined by the fire: and *Daniel*
 'shall be fined by the fire: but these, though they shall bee tried by the fire, yet they
 'shall say: we have passed by fire and water: others shall abide in the fire; to them the
 'fire shall be as a moist dew, as it was to the *Hebrew* children, that were cast into the
 'hot burning furnace; but the revenging fire shall burne up the Ministers of iniquity,
 'Woe is me if my worke shall burne, and I suffer losse of my labour! and if the Lord
 'do save his servants, we shall be saved by faith, yet as by fire; & though we be not bur-
 'ned up, yet wee shall bee burned: but how some remaine in the fire, and other passe
 'through it, let the Scripture in another place teach us. The people of *Egypt* were
 'drowned in the Red-sea: the people of the *Hebrewes* passed through it: *Moses* pas-
 'sed, *Pharaoh* was over-whelmed because his grievous sins did drowne him: in like
 'sort, sacrilegious persons shall be cast headlong into the lake of burning fire: &c. Here we
 see *Ambrose* speaketh of the tryall of Gods severe and righteous judgment expressing
 the same by the name of fire: because even our God is a consuming fire. And a fire shall
 go before him, when he commeth to judge the world: but of the Papist Purgatory-
 fire he hath no word. The fire he speaketh of, is the fiery tryall of Gods judgement,
 through which he thinketh all must passe, though never so holy, and bee burned in it,
 though not burned up, as the wicked shall. Of the same fire, not of Purgatory, but of
 the judgement of God, doth *Hillary* speake upon the same wordes of the 118 *Psalme*,
 and upon the second of *Mathew*, where expounding these wordes, *He shall Baptize*
you with the holy Ghost and with fire, he saith, it remaineth, that they that have bin Bap-
 tized with the Holy Ghost shall be consummate and made perfect in the fire of judgement. And
 before these *Lactantius*, his words are these: therefore the Divine fire by one and the
 'same vertue and power shall burne the wicked, &c And also when the Lord shall judge
 'the righteous, he shall trie them by fire: Then they whose sins shall prevaile either in
 'weight or number, shall bee burned up in the fire: but they whom full and perfect
 'righteousnesse, and the maturity of vertue shall have thoroughly seasoned, shall not feele
 'that fire, because they have something of God in them, to repell and reject the force
 'of the flame, and so great is the force of innocency, that that harmlesse fire doth flye
 'from it, having received power from God to burne the ungodly, & to do service to the
 'righteous. Many things are found in *Basil* upon *Esaie*, which (as *Sixtus Senensis* saith)
 may seeme to tend to the same purpose, as ^p when upon these wordes *he shall purge Hi-*
rusalem in the spirit of judgment, & in the spirit of burning: he saith, this is to be referred
 to the triall and examination which shall be in fire in the world to come. Thus do none
 of those Fathers, which Master *Higgon* alleadgeth, say any thing for the imagined Pur-
 gatory of Papists: but the same is clearly refuted by that which they say: and there-
 fore the Reader may be well assured, that it is most true, that I have said: that *Ag-*
ustine was the first that ever spake any thing of that Purgatory, wherein men dying
 in an imperfect state of grace, are supposed to be purged after this life by fire. These
 things being so, I doubt not but all men of any indifferency will easily see that this idle
 Prater

* Lib. 4. cap. 21
 inst. Chr.

• Bibl. Sanct.
 l. 5. annot. 171.
 p. in 4. Esaiæ.

Prater which ranne away upon discontentment, had little reason to say^a that hee grew^b to a detestation of his religion, because he found my dealing to be corrupt, and incapable of defence. His vaine and childish^c retorting of that I say of *Bellarmines* impudencie in another case, and upon another occasion, I little regard: seeing he gave me just cause to say that I said, and I had good advantage against him; whereas this prating Fugitive had none against mee.

Pag. 109.

Ibid.

S. 3.

The next Father which he saith I have abused, is *S. Hierome*: the supposed abuse offered to him, is, that I say, he was of opinion, that howsoever devils and impious ones shall never be saved; yet all right beleiving *Christians*, how wickedly soever they live, shall, after punishments suffered and endured, be saved in the end. It was my hard happe to fall into the hands of this severe censurer, that brandeth all that come in his way, with the note of ill dealing, and abuse of Fathers: and therefore I thinke I must be forced to appeale from him. And because *Bellarmino* is by him pronounced worthy of immortall honour, let us heare what he will pronounce: *There are*, saith he, *who thinke, that blessed Hierom was in this error: yet it seemeth he was not.* Here is a more advised, and temperate censure, then that of hot-spurre *Higgons*. Some thinke hee was in this error, but it seemeth he was not. So that it is not certaine that he erred not in this point, but doubtfull: and my dealing is not so bad, as Master *Higgons* would make it to bee. But let us appeale yet farther, and make *Hierome* himselfe, even good Saint *Hierome*, as this smatterer is pleased to stile him, judge betweene us: If I make it not as cleare as the Sunne at noone day, that hee was in this error, out of his owne indubitate writing, let *Higgons* insult upon me at his pleasure: but if I doe, I would intreat his superiours to teach him better manners.

^a De purgatorio, lib. 2. cap. 1.

In his first booke against the *Pelagians*, he distinguisheth *unrighteous men, & sinners*, from *ungodly, or impious*: defining the to be *ungodly, or impious*, that either never knew God; or after they had the knowledge of God, corrupted and changed it; and then pronounceth, that the *unrighteous and sinners*, that have the right knowledge of God, shall not perish everlastingly. His words are these. Who can endure that you have in the Chapter following? that the *unrighteous and sinners* shall not bee spared in the day of judgement, but be burned up in those eternall fires? that you goe about to stop the course of Gods mercie, and to judge of the sentence of the judge, before the day of judgement? so that although hee would, hee may not spare the *unrighteous and sinners*, because you prescribe the contrary; for you say, it is written in the *Psalme*, Let the sinners faile from the earth, and the *unrighteous*, that they bee no more. And againe in *Esay*, The *unrighteous and sinners* shall bee burned together, & they that forsake God shall be destroyed, & do you not understand that the threats of God have sometimes a sound of mercy? for hee doth not say, they shall be burned up in everlasting fire; but that they shall faile from the earth, and that the *unrighteous* shall cease: for it is one thing for them to cease from sinne, and iniquity: and another thing for them to perish for ever, and to be burnt up in everlasting fire. To conclude, *Esaies*, whose testimony you bring, saith, the *sinners and unrighteous* shall be burned together: and addeth not, *for ever*: And they that forsake God shall be utterly destroyed. This he speaketh properly of heretiques, who unlesse they convert from their errors, shall perish: but what rashnesse is it to match and joyne together *unrighteous men and sinners*, with such as are *impious & ungodly*? who are thus defined by us. Every *impious & ungodly* man is an *unrighteous* man and a *sinner*, but there is no reciprocation: neither may we say every *sinner & unrighteous* man is also an *impious & ungodly* man: for impiety properly pertaineth to them, that have not the knowledge of God, or having had the knowledge of God, have corrupted and changed the same, &c. The Apostle to the *Romanes* saith, whosoever have sinned without the Law shall perish without the Law; and whosoever have sinned in the Law, shall be judged by the Law. Hee that is without the Law, is the godlesse or *impious* man, who shall

'shall perish everlastingly: but he that is in the Law, is the sinner that beleeueth in God, who shall bee judged by the Law, and *not perish*. And afterwards hee addeth these words: If *Origen* doe say, that no reasonable Creature shall perish, and attribute repentance to the Devill; what is that to us, who say that the Devill and his Angels, and all impious men and prevaricators shall perish for ever, and that Christians if they shall be prevented & taken in sin, shall be saved after punishment? Here we see the difference made not betweene one degree of sinners, & another, but between sinners that professe rightly, and impious & ungodly men, that have not the knowledge of God, or by heresie have perverted the same: betweene men sinning without the Law, & so perishing, & men sinning in the Law, that is, having the true knowledge of the Law, and so judged by it, and yet not perishing everlastingly. Whence it followeth necessarily, that he thinketh all right beleevers shall be saved. Which is farther confirmed, in that, having excluded impious men, he speaketh generally of Christians, as in a state of salvation notwithstanding sin, though after grievous punishments indured.

¶ In ultima
verba Esaiæ.

In his Commentaries upon *Esay*, having spoken of their conceipt, who thinke, that all that have sinned and offended God, shall in the end find mercy, and that no torments shall be eternall, he concludeth in this sort: *As we beleeve that the torments of the devill, of such as deny God, and of impious men, which have said in their hearts, there is no God, are eternall: so we thinke that the sentence of the Iudge, that shall be pronounced upon sinners & ungodly men, who yet are Christians, whose workes are to bee tryed and purged in the fire, shall bee moderate and mixed with clemency.* Where we see againe, he maketh not the difference betweene the degrees of sinne, as the *Romanists* doe, but betweene impious men, that say in their hearts *there is no God*, that deny God and his truth; and Christians that are unrighteous and sinners. Neither are those words, *whose workes are to be tryed and purged in the fire*, to be taken distinctively, to note forth unto us one certaine degree of Christians, who shall suffer a temporall punishment in fire, as *M. Higgons* would have them: but explicatively, to signifie the condition of all Christians. Which appeareth, because otherwise he would not have said of sinners, & yet Christians; but of sinners, & yet such Christians, whose workes are to be tried in the fire. This explication is added to put a difference between Christians, & such as are no Christians; because the works of Christians only, & of all Christians, shall come to be tryed in the fire of Gods judgment, others being judged already, as *Hierome* speaketh, & adjudged to eternall perdition. These circumstances of the words of *Hierome* considered, I think there is no indifferent reader, but will conceive his opiniõ to have bin, as I have delivered it: & that I have no way wronged him, but that *Higgons* hath causelessly wronged me.

¶ Incap. 4. Hof.

Some places there are in *Hierome* that are brought to prove, that he was of another opinion, but they prove nothing. The first is out of his Commentaries upon *Hofea*, where he saith, 'When heretickes see men offend against God, they say, God seeketh nothing of them but the verity of faith: for this cause the people are not humbled, but they rejoyce in their sinnes; and goe forward with a stiffe necke: wherefore the People and Priest, Master and Schollers, are bound up in the same judgement. This place is alleadged to no purpose: For here *Hierome* sheweth onely, that Heretickes teaching falsely that God requireth not good works; and such as beleeving them, shall rejoyce in evill doing, shall perish: which is no way contrary to the other conceipt, that right beleeving Christians, living ill, shall in the end bee saved. The next place they

¶ In cap. 25.
Math.

'bring, is out of his Commentaries upon *Mathew*: the words are these: 'Marke prudent Reader, that both punishments are eternall, and that everlasting life hath no more feare of any falling away: which no way contraryeth the opinion of *Hierome* before-mentioned. For hee is resolved, that the punishments of the Devill, his Angels, and all impious ones, are eternall: but thinketh right beleevers, though living wickedly, shall bee punished but for a time. That out of his Commentaries upon the

¶ In 5. ad Gal.

Galathians, 'That enmity, contention, wrath, brawling, dissention, drunkenness, and other-like, which wee esteeme to bee but small evils, exclude us from the Kingdome of GOD; If it bee understood of right beleevers, according to *Hieromes* opinion, sheweth onely what these deserve, namely exclusion from

from the Kingdome of God, but prejudice not the riches of his mercy towards them that doe such things. Heere by the way I would have the reader to observe a grosse oversight in *M. Higgons*; who saith, 'it may as well be inferred out of the writings of *Hierome*, that hee thought all Christians shall in the end bee saved, how damnably soever erring in matters of faith, as right beleevers: Whereas, distinguishing the godlesse or *impious* man that never knew God, or corrupteth the knowledge hee had of God, as heretickes, from a *sinner* or *unrighteous man*, he expressely pronounceth the one to perish everlastingly and not the other. Having thus cleared my selfe from the suspicion of wrong offered to *Hierome*, which *M. Higgons* would willingly fasten on me, I will perswade my selfe to contemne the wrongs he doth me: As namely, 'that I use the testimonies of this Saint at my pleasure, that I vainely elude the truth, and unconscionably intreat the Fathers; that I craftily convey wordes into Saint *Augustine*; that I sort my termes wisely for my advantage, & that I seeke to dazle the understanding of my readers: If Master *Higgons* were a man of and worth, and should intreat me thus ill without all cause as he doth, I would let him know more of my minde: but I have resolved not to turne backe to every Curre that barketh at me.

§. 2.

W Herefore from *Hierome* I will passe to *Ambrose*, whom this prophane *Escan* (who hath sold his birth-right for a messe of pottage, for more I thinke hee will not have for it) bringeth in as he saith, 'to make up the messe. In this idle discourse touching *Ambrose*, the poore fellow is to be pittied, or laughed at, accordingly as men are disposed: so ridiculously doth hee behave himselfe. The circumstances of the matter are these. In the place cited by him, first, I shew in what sort men prayed lawfully for the dead, without any conceit of Purgatory, namely respectively to their passage hence, and entrance into the other world, and for their resurrection, publicke acquittall in the day of judgement, and perfit consummation and blisse. Secondly, I shew first, what erroneous conceits some particular men in former times had, touching the possibility of helping men dying in mortall sinne, whereupon they prayed for the dead, in such sort as the *Romanists* dare not doe: as for the deliverance of men out of hell, or at least the suspension or mitigation of their paines, and secondly, that that they thought there is no judgement to passe upon men, till the last day; that in the meane while, all men are holden either in some place under the earth, or else in some other place appointed for that purpose; so that they come not into heaven, nor receive the reward of their labours till the generall judgement; and that out of this conceit that prayer in *James* his Liturgie grew, that *God would remember all the faithful that are fallen asleepe in the sleepe of death, since Abell the just till this present day: and that he would place them in the land of the living*, as also many other like. Of this opinion I report *Iustine Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus Martyr*, *Pope Iohn* the two and twentieth, and *Ambrose* to have bin, besides sundry other.

All that which I have said touching the lawfull and unlawfull formes of praying for the dead, used amongst the Auncient, no way importing any conceit in them of Purgatory, hee passeth over in silence, as no way able to refute any part of it; and likewise by his silence yeeldeth that *Iustine Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Bishop of Rome*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus Martyr*, and *Pope Iohn* the two and twentieth were of the opinion I speake of, to whom I might have added *Irenaus*, *Bernard*, *Theophylact*, and many more. That all these should be charged with this opinion, or with this folly, as he will have it, it never troubleth him: onely he is much moved that *Ambrose* should be charged with any such thing: It seemeth he is not of the *Gregorian*, but of the *Ambrosian Church*, in that he is careless what becommeth of his Popes, *Clemens* and *Iohn*, so all be well with *Ambrose*. Hee was tormented (hee saith) with a necessary suspicion rather of my unfaithfulness in this report, then of Saint *Ambrose* his folly in this matter. Surely, if hee were as wise as hee is wilfull, he would not passe his censures, as he doth; for it is no such folly, but that as wise a man, as *S. Ambrose*, might fall into

Lib. 3. adver-
sus Hæreses.

it, to thinke as so many learned, worthy and renowned Divines did; and therefore *Alfonso à Castro*, having charged the *Græcians* and *Armenians* with this error, saith, that after these, *Iohn* the two and twentieth rose up, and embraced the same opinion; and least any man might give lesse credit to his wordes, hee saith hee will report the words of Pope *Adrian*, who writeth thus: *Last of all it is reported of Iohn the 22, that hee publikely taught, declared and commanded all to hold that soules though purged from sinne, have not that stole, which is the cleare vision of God face to face, before the last judgement, and it is said, that he brought the University of Paris to that point, that no man could take any degree in Divinitie there, unlesse first he did sweare to defend this error, and to adhere to it for ever: thus farre Pope Adrian.* Besides these there are other Patrons of this errour, men of renowne and famous both for sanctity and science; to wit, the most blessed Martyr of Christ, *Irenæus*, *Theophylact* Bishop of *Bulgaria*, and blessed *Bernard*. Neither should any man marvaile that so great men fell into so pestilent an errour; seeing as blessed *James* the Apostle saith, *Hee that offendeth not in words, is a perfit man.* Notwithstanding the Reader is here to be admonished, that he thinke not, that this error detracteth any thing from the holynesse or learning of so great men (so that it is no such imputation of folly to attribute this opinion to *Ambrose*, as wise Mr *Higgons* maketh it:) for whereas at that time the Church had defined nothing touching that matter, neither had it ever bin called in question, and the testimonies of Scripture for that which is now defined, were not so expresse, but that they might bee wrested into another sence: they might teach the one, or the other, without note of heresie: especially seeing there wanted not testimonies of Scripture, that seemed in some sort to favour them. Thus farre *Alfonso à Castro*. But let us see how Master *Higgons* will convince mee, that I have wronged *Ambrose*, which in so clamorous manner hee undertaketh to doe: Surely this is the ground of his quarrell against mee: that having imputed this opinion to *Iustine Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clement Romanus*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, and *Ambrose*; in the margent I referre the reader to *Sixtus Senensis*, who yet excused *Ambrose* from this errour. But the silly Novice should know, that I doe not say *Sixtus Senensis* attributeth that opinion to *Ambrose*, and that I put not his name in the margent, as if I grounded my imputation upon his authority: For if I would have done so, I could have mustered together a farre greater number then I have done. But because it had beene tedious to have set downe the words of all those I mention, wherein they expresse their opinion, in the margent I referre the reader to *Sixtus Senensis*, who reporteth their wordes at large; according to the course of times wherein they flourished, that the reader within the compasse of one page may see what they say, without turning over their large volumes: and among other, the wordes of *Ambrose*, which I thinke will strongly perswade him, hee was of that opinion, which I impute unto him, howsoever *Sixtus Senensis* by a favourable construction labour to excuse him. Let us see therefore if *Ambrose* will not witness for me, that I have done him no wrong, but truly reported his opinion.

The first thing I imputed unto him is, that hee thinketh, as many other did before and after him, that there is no judgement to passe upon men till the last day; If this be not clearely proved out of *Ambrose* his owne wordes, let the Reader thinke I have wronged him. In his second booke of *Caine* and *Abell*, he hath these wordes. *The Master of a Shippe, when he hath brought his Shippe into the Haven, scarce thinketh hee hath ended his labour, before hee beginne to seeke the beginning of a new: the soule is loosed from the body, and after the end of this life it is still holden in suspence, upon the uncertainty and doubtfullnesse of the future judgement; so is there no end where there is thought to be an end.*

The second thing I attribute to *Ambrose*, is, that he thinketh the soules of men, are kept in some place appointed for that purpose, so that they come not into heaven till the generall judgement. Let us heare him speake himselfe, and then let the Reader judge, whether hee say not all that I impute unto him. In his booke *de bonis mortis*, he hath these words. *In the bookes of Eldras we read, that when the day of judgement shall come, the earth shall restore the bodies of the dead, and the dust shall restore those*

* Solvitur corpore anima & post finem vite hujus adhuc tamē futuri iudicii ambiguo suspenditur.

Cap. 10.

those reliques and remaines of the dead which rest in the graves, and the secret habitations shall restore the soules which have beene committed to them, and the most High shall be revealed upon the Seate of Iudgement. From hence hee saith, the Gentiles tooke those things which they admire in the bookes of Philosophers: and (blaming them that they mingled superfluous and unprofitable things with those that are true, as the demigration of soules into bees, birds, and the like fancies) saith it hath bin sufficient for them to have said, that soules delivered out of mortall bodies, *petunt Haden*, that is, goe into an invisible place: which place in *Latine* is called *Infernus*; and farther addeth, that the Scripture calleth these secret habitations of soules, *Store-houses*. Here we see *Ambrose* saith, there are certaine secret habitations of soules, which though they be higher then the receptacles of dead bodies, yet are rightly called *ᾠδῆς* in *Greece*, and *Infernus* in *Latine*: and that these are *Store-houses*, keeping those soules that are committed to them till the Resurrection, and then restoring them. If *M. Higgon* doe thinke that *Infernus* is Heaven, then I have no more to say to him: otherwise I thinke the evidence of that place cannot be avoided.

The third thing I impute to *Ambrose*, is, that the soules of the Just receive not the reward of their labours till the Generall Iudgement. Touching which point hee hath these wordes; *The Scripture meeting with the complaints of men, which they doe or may make, for that the Iust which went before, seeme to be defrauded of the reward due unto them for a long time, even till the day of Iudgement, wonderfully saith, that the day of Iudgement is like unto a ring or crowne, wherein as there is no slacknesse of the last, so is there no swiftnesse of the first: for the day of crowning is expected by all; that within it they that are overcome may be ashamed, and they that are conquerours may attaine the palme of victory; and, after some other things inserted, he addeth, that so long as the fulnesse of time is expected, the soules expect their due reward; though neither the one sort be without all sence of evil, nor the other of good.* Thus if it had pleased *M. Higgon* to look into *Ambrose* himselfe, & not to the opinion of *Senensis* (to which I referre not the Reader, as he untruly saith I doe: but to the wordes of *Ambrose* cited by him) he might have found that I dealt faithfully and sincerely in this matter, and so have spared a great number of reproachfull termes he now bestoweth very liberally on me.

Some man happily will say, that else-where *Ambrose* seemeth to place the soules of Iust men in Heaven before the Resurrection, and that this place *de bono mortis*, is to be interpreted by them. Whereunto I answer, that places where things are but spoken of in passage, and not purposely, are rather to be interpreted by those, wherein they are purposely handled, then otherwise: and therefore this place *de bono mortis*, wherein he goeth about to describe at large the state of the dead, must bee a rule to interpret other places by. The most pregnant prooffe that is brought to the contrary out of his indubitate workes, is out of his *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, where speaking of *Achilius*, of whose death he had lately heard, hee saith, *Hee is now an inhabitant of the higher world, a possessor of the eternall city of Hierusalem, that is in Heaven, that he seeth there the unmeasurable measure of that Citie the pure gold, the pretious stone, perpetuall light without any Sunne, and these things truly were well knowne to him before, but now seeing face to face, he saith as we have heard, so have we seene in the City of the Lord of hostes, in the Citie of our God: and out of the last of his Epistles, where, speaking of certaine Martyrs, hee saith, their soules are in Heaven, their bodies on Earth:* but the answer hereunto for the reconciling of the seeming contradictions of *Ambrose*, is easie; for in the former place *De bono mortis* hee sheweth, that he thinketh that the soules of the Iust, by seaven severall degrees, as it were by the space of seaven dayes, are ledde along to take a view of the things they shall enjoy after the iudgement: and that afterwards they are gathered into their habitations, there to enjoy the benefit of their quiet congregating, or gathering together: seaven dayes liberty they have to see the former things, and then they are gathered into their habitations. The seven degrees by which they are led those seven dayes; are 1. the consideration of their victory, which they have obtained over the flesh and other like enemies. 2. The quiet they find in themselves, from these perturbations, and tormenting of conscience, which

which the wicked are subject unto. Thirdly, the Divine testimony which they have in themselves, that they have kept the Law, making them not to feare the uncertain event of the future judgement. Fourthly, their beginning to discern their rest and future glory. Fifthly, triumphant joy, in that they are come out of the prison of a corruptible body, into light and liberty, and to possesse the inheritance promised to them. 6th, The brightnesse of their countenances, beginning to shine as the sunne. 7th, Their confident hastning to see the face and countenance of God. Having beene thus led a long, they are brought into their habitations, where they comfort themselves, in the fore-sight of that which shall be, and rest peaceably, guarded by the Angels, in a place as he describeth it, above the earth and places of dead bodies, and yet below the highest heaven, the place of perfit happinesse. And so *Acholi* might bee said by *Ambrose* to be an inhabitant of the higher places, and to see the glory of the Hierusalem that is above, and yet not bee in the highest heaven. But, he saith, *Acholi* is a possessor of that eternall Citie, and that the Martyrs bodies are on earth, and their soules in heaven; therefore he thought the spirits of the just, to be in the highest heaven, before the resurrection. This consequence, I feare, will hardly bee made good: for *Bernard* (who is confessed to have holden the opinion which I impute to *Ambrose*) maketh three estates of soules: the first, in *Tabernaculis*, the second, in *Atriis*: and the third, in *Domo interiori*: That is, the first in Tents or Tabernacles, while they remaine in the corruptible bodies of men that are in the warfare of Christ in the world: the second, in the outward Courts of the Lords house: and the third, in the inner roomes of the house of God: so sorting these things, that both the latter states of soules of men may bee said and thought to be in a sort in heaven, and to have possession of the eternall *Ierusalem*, that is in Heaven, and yet but one of them bee in the highest heaven, where the perfection of the happy vision of God is: to which purpose it is, that Saint *Augustine* saith: *'after this life thou shalt not be there where the Saints shall be, to whom it shall be said, come yee blessed of my father, receive the Kingdome which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world; but thou maist be where the proud rich man in the middest of torments saw a farre off the poore man, sometimes full of ulcers, resting: in that rest thou shalt securely expect the day of judgement.* Heere hee denyeth directly the soules of the just to be in heaven, where they shall be after the resurrection, and general judgement. In his *Confessions* he saith, *Now Nebridius liveth in the bosome of Abraham, whatsoever that it is that is signified by that bosome; there liveth my Nebridius, my sweet friend.* Here wee see hee is doubtfull what the bosome of *Abraham* is. Upon *Genesis* he doubteth, whether the soules of the just bee in the third heaven, or not: which peremptorily in the place before cited hee denyed. Neither doth hee speake thus doubtfully touching the place onely, but touching the state of happinesse also: for in his *Retractions* thus he writeth: *'That maketh us most happy, whereof the Apostle speaketh, saying, then shall I see him face to face; and then shall I know as I am knowne: they that have found this, are to be said to be in the possession of blessednesse; but who these most blessed ones are who are in that possession, it is a great question: that the holy Angels are, there is no question, but concerning holy men departed, whether they may bee said to be now already in that possession, it is doubtfull, &c.* Surely it is marvaile if Saint *Augustine* escape the censure of Master *Higgon*, who pronounceth it folly to doubt of these things. *Sixtus Senensis* saith, wee must civilly interpret Saint *Augustine* in these his sayings; but *Bellarmino* saith directly, hee sometimes doubted of the place where the soules of the just are after death: and that upon the 36 *Psalm* he denyeth them to be there, where after the judgement they shall bee: This is that *Augustine*, that Master *Higgon*, in his scurrill and ruffian-like phrase, saith, *'was not so easily to bee jaded by mee, as Ambrose; thinking them all Jades as it seemeth, and unfit for such a horse-man as hee is to ride on, that have beene doubtfull or found to erre in this point; if he do, I would desire to know of him what he thinketh of Irenaeus, who saith, that the soules of men dying shall goe into an invisible place appointed for them by God, and shall abide there till the resurrection, attending and waiting for it; and that after, receiving their bodies and perfectly rising againe, that is, corporally, as Christ rose, they shall*

¶ In festo omnium Sanctorum Serm. 3.

¶ In Psal. 36.

¶ Lib. 9. cap. 3.

¶ Lib. 12. c. 34.

¶ Retract. lib. 1. cap. 14.

¶ Lib. 6. Anno. 345.

¶ De Sanctorum beatitud. lib. 1. cap. 5.

¶ Pag. 121.

¶ Adversus heres. 1. 9. in fine.

shall come into the sight of God. Of *Iustine Martyr*, who saith, 'no man receiveth the reward of the things he did in this life, till the resurrection: that the soule of the good theefe, that was crucified with Christ, entered into Paradise, and is kept there till the day of resurrection, and reward; that there the soules of good men doe see the humanity of Christ, themselves, the things that are under them, and besides the Angels and Divels. Of *Tertullian*, who saith: *Nulli patet coelum, terrâ adhuc salvâ, ne dixerim clausâ*: that is, heaven is open to none, while the earth remaineth safe and whole, that I say not shut up; and againe, 'thou hast our booke of Paradise, wherein wee determine that every soule is sequestred, apud interos, with them that are in the lower dwellings, till the day of the Lord. Of *Lactantius*, 'who will have no man thinke that soules are judged presently after death, but that they are all detained and kept in one common custody, till the time come when the greatest Judge shall examine their workes. Of *Victorinus Martyr*, who upon those wordes of *John* in the Revelation, *I saw the soules of the slaine under the Altar of God*, observeth, that in the time of the Law, there were two Altars, one of Gold, within; another of brasse, without; that as heaven is understood by that golden Altar, that was within, to which the Priests entered onely once in the yeare; so by the brazen Altar, the earth is understood, under which is *Infernus*, a region removed from paines and fire, and the resting place of the Saints; in which the just are seene and heard of the ungodly, & yet they cannot passe one to another. Of *Bernard*, whose opinion *Alphonsus à Castro* confesseth to be, as I have said; and *Sixtus Senensis* likewise; but thinketh that hee is to be excused with a benigne affection, because of the exceeding great number of renowned Fathers of the Church, which seemed to give authority to this opinion by their testimony, amongst whom hee reckoneth *Ambrose* for one. Lastly, of Pope *John* the 22, who was violent in the maintenance of this opinion? These premises considered, let the Reader judge, whether Master *Higgon*s had any cause to complaine of want of faithfulness and exactnesse in me, in that I say, that many of the Fathers thought there is no judgment to passe upon men till the last day, that all men are holden either in some place under the earth, or else in some other place appointed for that purpose, so that they come not into heaven, nor receive the reward of their labours till the generall judgement: and that many made prayers for the dead out of this conceipt, such as that is in *James* his Liturgy: *that God would remember all the faithfull that are asleepe in the sleepe of death since Abel the Just till this present time*. For I do not make this the ground of the generall practise, & intention of the Church, in her prayers, as this shamelesse companion would make men beleve.

§. 5.

FROM the foure Doctors of the Church, and the supposed wronges offered to them; he proceedeth to shew that I 'calumniate a worthy person; to defend the inexcusable folly of our Genevian Apostle; his meaning is that I wrong *Bellarmino*, to justify *Calvine*: but what is the wrong done to the Cardinall? 'Doctour *Field*, saith he, accuseth *Bellarmino* unjustly of trifeling and sencelesse foolery in the question of prayer for the dead: Let the reader take the paines to peruse the place cited by Master *Higgon*s out of my booke, and he shall finde him to be a very false, dishonest, and trifeling fellow in so saying. For first, I doe not accuse *Bellarmino* of sencelesse foolery in the matter of prayer for the dead, (as hee untruly reporteth against his owne knowledge,) but in that he seeketh to calumniate Master *Calvine*, worthy of eternall honor, in very childish sort, about the name of Merit. *Calvine* saith, the Fathers were farre from the Popish error touching merit, and that yet they used the word, whence men have since taken occasion of error; therefore saith *Bellarmino*: he dissenteth from all antiquity, and acknowledgeth the Roman faith to be the auncient faith and religion. This is *Bellarmino*s forme of reasoning against *Calvine*; if he say any thing: which whether it be full of senceles foolery, or not, I will refer it to the judgment of any one that hath his senses. Yet notwithstanding M. *Higgon*s goeth on, & maketh a consolatory conclusion, that *Bellarmino* needeth not to be discontented, that I have thus wronged him; seeing I have likewise unjustly

Vuu 4

accused

Lib. quæst. 2
Gentib. propo-
sitarum quæst.
76.Adversus
Marcionem l. 4

Ibid.

Divinar. In-
stit. lib. 7 c. 21.Lib. 3. Ad-
vers. Hereses.
Ubi suprà.

Pag. 134.

Pag. 130.

Third booke of
the Church, s. 17.

Pag. 130.

e Lib. 4. de no-
tis eccles. cap. 9.

f Pag. 133.

accused the Fathers. But if he may bee as justly charged with foolery in his manner of reasoning against *Calvin*, as the Fathers are truly reported to have holden the opinion imputed to them by me, as there is no question but he may, I thinke this comfortable conclusion will not be very cordiall unto him. Secondly, I doe not say that *Bellarmino* doth trifle in the question of prayer for the dead; as hee likewise, adding one lye to another, saith I doe; but in proving the doctrine of the *Romane* Church that now is, to bee the same with that which was of old. And therefore silly Master *Higgons* knoweth not what hee writeth. But that *Bellarmino* doth indeed (whatsoever this trifier saith to the contrary) egregiously trifle, I will demonstrate to the Reader in such sort, that neither *Higgons*, nor any of his new masters shall be able to avoide it. Thus therefore the case standeth. *Bellarmino* in his discourse of the notes of the Church, (not in the particular question of prayer for the dead) undertaketh to prove the conspiring of the present *Romane* Church with the true Catholique Church that was of old: this he saith, may be proved by producing the sayings and sentences of the Fathers touching every particular controversie, now on foote: but because this would be a tedious course, he saith there is another shorter and certainer way, by demonstrating out of the confession of Protestant Writers, first, that the points now defended by Papists, are the doctrines of all the Auncient: secondly, that the doctrine of the Protestants was condemned by the Auncient Church. Touching the first, hee goeth about to prove, that Protestants confesse the points of Popish doctrine to bee the doctrine of the Auncient, because *Calvine* in his Institutions, when he oppugneth the assertions of Papists, confesseth, that in so doing hee opposeth himselfe against all Antiquity. Amongst other particulars he giveth instance of prayer for the dead. So that the thing which the Cardinall is to prove, is this: that *Calvine* impugning the Popish manner of prayer for the dead, to deliver men out of Purgatory, confesseth himselfe in so doing, to bee opposite to all Antiquity; and consequently, that all Antiquity beleaved Purgatory, and admitted a necessity of praying for the deliverance of men out of it. This he doth not, but is forced to confesse, that *Calvine* affirmeth, that the doctrine of Purgatory, and prayer to deliver men thence, was unknowne to all Antiquity: whence it followeth unavoidably, that the Cardinall doth nothing but trifle; for if to talke idly, & not to conclude the thing intended be to a trifle, he is found to do so most grossely. Neither doth it helpe the matter that *Calvine* confesseth, that many of the Fathers were led into errour in the matter of prayer for the dead, as namely such as thought they might suspend, mitigate, or wholly take away the paines or punishments of men in hell; for these errors the *Romanists* condemne, & dislike as much as we: but saith Master *Higgons*, Master *Calvine* confesseth the action of praying for the dead was performed by the Auncient, howsoever he litigate about the intention. It is true, he doth so, but his confession maketh neither hot nor cold to any thing now in controversie and question betweene us and the Papists. Wherefore to silence this pratler, that multiplyeth vaine wordes without all sense or reason: first, we say, that neither *Calvine*, nor any of us, did ever simply condemne all prayer for the dead: for we all pray for the resurrection, publike acquittall in the day of CHRIST, and perfit consummation of them that are dead in the LORD; and therefore the generall practise and intention of the Auncient in praying for the dead, is not condemned by us. Secondly, we say, that some of the Auncient in praying for the dead in such sort, as neither we nor the *Romanists* dare allow, as for the suspension, mitigation, or releasing of the paines of such as are in hell, and so were carryed into errour as *Calvine* rightly noteth. Thirdly, we say, that never any man amongst the Auncients, knew any thing of Purgatory, or the Popish manner of praying to deliver men thence. So that I trifle not in accusing *Bellarmino*, and defending *Calvine*, as hee is pleased to tell me I doe, in the front and title of his next ensuing Chapter, but he talketh idly as his manner is.

S. 6.

HIs next challenge is, that ^a I make an untrue construction of the heresie of *Aerius*, ^a Pag. 134. condemning the commendations of the dead, used in the Church at that time. For the clearing whereof, wee must make a difference betweene the generall practise and intention of the Church, and the private opinion and concept of some particular men in the Church. The generall practise of the Church was, first, to name the names of the dead, and to keepe a commemoration of them, to signifie & expresse the assurance that resteth in the living, that they are not extinct, but that they are and live with God, that their spirits and soules are immortall, and that their bodies shall rise againe. Secondly to offer the sacrifice of the Eucharist, that is, of praise and thanksgiving for them, to desire of God the destroying of the last enemy, which is death, the raising of them up againe in the last day, the publique remission of their sinnes in the judgement of that great day, and their perfit consummation and blisse: which *Aerius* could not condemne without just note of hereticall temerity and rashnesse: and all these things are excellently delivered by ^b *Epiphanius*, and rightly justified by him as ^b *Hzref.* 75. right and good. Some there were that extended these prayers farther, supposing that men dying in the state of sinne, may be releived by the piety and devotion of the living; whose erroneous concept *Aerius* having an eye unto, rather then to the generall practise and intention of the Church, inferred, that if it bee so, men may doe what evils they will, and be freed from the punishments of them, by the meanes of such friends as they think good to procure & assure to them in the end, to make prayers for them after they are gone. To which objection *Epiphanius* answereth, that though the prayers of the living cut not off the whole punishment of sinne, yet some mercie is obtained for sinners by them, at the least for some mitigation or suspension of their punishments: of which opinion, as I have shewed before, many other were as well as *Epiphanius*: and ^c Saint *Augustine* seemeth not much to dislike it, saying; if the mercifull men of his time would have contented themselves with an opinion of the onely mitigation or suspension of the punishment of the damned, he would not have strived much with them about the matter: so that if *Aerius* his reprehension had reached onely to this erroneous concept, hee had never beene condemned for his censure: but, in that upon the consideration of the errour of some particular men, hee presumed to condemne a generall custome, that was lawfull and good, hee was justly condemned himselfe, as rash and inconsiderate: which things considered, the ^d contradiction ^d Pag. 138. & which this simple fellow would faine force upon us, is easily avoyded: for his reprehension of the particular erroneous concept, and sinister intention of some men, misunderstanding the Churches prayers, is rightly justified by Doctor *Humphrey* and the rest named by him: and his reprehension of the generall practise and intention of the Church is rightly condemned by me and others: and the Church of that time defended against his rash and inconsiderate censure. Neither let this foolish Fugitive thinke that hee can blow up all with the breath of his mouth, and put away this distinction by the sound of his bare word, and by only saying, I vainely excuse the folly of Protestants, which sheweth it selfe in the diversity of their censures touching the heresie of *Aerius*: nor by sporting himselfe with the soveraigne plaister applied by me: for it will be found to have vertue to heale a greater wound then he can cause. ^e Enchirid. ad Laurentium. cap. 67. ^f Pag. 140.

S. 7.

BUt it is time for me to looke about mee, for I heare a horrible outcry as if *Hannibal* were at the gates of the Citie. *Theophylus Higgon* causeth it to be proclaymed with sound of Trumpet, that ^a I have shewed my selfe a notable trifier in the question of Purgatory, and prayer for the dead, to the utter confusion of my book, and the Protestantall Church. When *Moyse* came downe from the Mount, and heard the noyse in the Campe, he said, ^b *It was not the noyse of them that overcome in battel, nor of them* ^b Exod. 32. 18.

them that are overcome but of singing. So is this hideous clamor but the venting of the boyish vanity of a foolish youth, in sporting sort, calling companie to come and play with him; for all that he saith, will be found to be lesse then nothing. The occasion of this strange out-crie is this.

In the Appendix to the third booke, I shew, that there was nothing constantly resolved on in the *Romane* Church in the dayes of our Fathers, before *Luther* beganne, touching that Purgatory that is denyed by us, and defended by the Papists: which I have demonstrated in such sort, that this fellow hath nothing to oppose against it, but flourishes of his youthfull Rhetorique. For the more cleare and perfect understanding whereof, the Reader must observe, that wee all acknowledge a purging out of sinne, in the dissolution of soule and body, and in the first entrance of the soule into the state of the other world: But all the question is of the nature, kinde, and qualitie of it. *Luther* (saith *Bellarmino*) admitteth, a kinde of Purgatory, but of most short continuance: For hee supposeth that all sinnes are purged out by the dolours of death, or by the very separation of soule and body, wrought by death.

c De purgatorio: l. 2. cap. 9.

d In Appendixe cap. 20.

e Pag. 155.

f Pag. 158.

Which opinion of *Luther* wee all follow; and the same was embraced by many in the *Romane* Church in the dayes of our Fathers, before *Luther* was borne, who taught then as wee doe now, that all veniall sinnes are done away and purged out in the moment of dissolution, and in the first entrance into the other world, as I have shewed before. So that concerning Purgatory, properly, as it serveth to purge out the impurity of sinne, there was nothing resolved on in the dayes of our Fathers, but that which wee willingly admit. But the Papists at this day deny, that all veniall sinnes are purged out in the dissolution of soule and body, and the first entrance into the state of the other world. They imagine that they are long in purging out, that they are purged in materiall fire, and that the place of their purging out is below in the earth, nearely bordering upon the Hell of the damned. This is the true difference betweene Protestants and Papists, and rightly delivered by mee, howsoever it please Master *Higgons* to say, I yeeld not the true difference in this matter, nor propose the question as in learning and honesty it became mee. It is true, that hee saith, that we must distinguish matter of substance from matter of circumstance, and that it is sufficient to have fundamentall unity in the first, howsoever there may be accidentall diversitie in the second. But it is a matter of substance whether all sinfulness be purged out in the moment of dissolution; they deny it; wee affirme it; and are well assured they can never prove that all our fathers agreed with them in this matter of substance; and therefore Master *Higgons* may soone be answered, when he asketh, where that man is, who in the time of our fathers denyed Purgatorie, or shewed any doubtfulnesse therein against the essentiall Doctrine in which the true difference betwixt Papists and Protestants doth stand most eminently at this day; seeing there were found very many, as I have shewed before, who not onely doubted of the circumstances of materiall fire, place, and instruments of punishment, but taught as wee doe against the Papists, in the most substantiall point of all other, that all sinfulness is purged out of the soules of men departing hence in the state of grace, not by materiall fire, in a place of purgation, under the earth, or neare Hell: nor by being afflicted by the ministerie of Devils, or otherwise; but by the completion of the state of grace, getting full dominion in the soule, upon her dividing from the body, in the moment of dissolution. Now if all impurity and staine of sinne be purged out in the moment of dissolution by the taking away of impediments, and leaving grace to her selfe, that shee may fill all with her divine effects, as many of our fore-fathers beleaved, and taught; there is no such Purgatorie, as the Papists at this day imagine. If it be said, that though all sinne be purged out by death, in respect of the staine or sinfull impurity, yet the punishment remaineth, and so there is a kinde of Purgatorie, wherein men are to suffer the punishments due to sinnes past, though now perfectly blotted out: It will easily be answered, that whatsoever is of force to doe away all impurity of sinne offending God, is likewise able to reconcile God unto us, so perfectly, as that no guilt of punishments shall remaine. For, seeing it is the nature of grace to expell

expell sinne, offending God, and to make men acceptable to God, that stood in termes of disfavour before: where grace is so perfect, as that it expelleth all sinfulness, there it must needs worke and procure a perfect reconciliation; with which, guilt of punishment cannot stand. Besides, charitie implyeth a dislike of all that which is displeasing to God, whom we love, and a sorrow that we have offended him: therefore charitie in such perfection as is able to purge out all impuritie of sinne, implyeth dislike of that which in sinning was ill affected and desired before, and sorrow for the same, æquivalent to the pleasure and delight taken in sinning; and consequently doth satisfie God in such sort, as that no punishment shall come upon him that so sorroweth. Thirdly, the punishments of men, pure and cleane from sinne, for such sinnes as they formerly committed: if any such be imagined, cannot be named Purgatory punishments, but satisfactory onely. So that if all sinfulness bee purged out, there remaineth afterwards no Purgatory properly so named. Lastly, if it were doubtfull in the dayes of our Fathers, as Master *Higgon* confesseth it was, whether the fire bee materiall, or not, in which men are to satisfie GODS displeasure: what kind of suffering it is that is to satisfie, whether of sorrow onely, or some thing inflicted from without, and likewise how long it doth continue: it is evident, that notwithstanding any thing resolved on in former times, God may be so satisfied by the first conversion of the soule upon her separation, turning unto him in dislike of her former misdeeds, as that all guilt of punishments may be utterly taken away in the very moment of dissolution. Whence it will follow, that nothing was constantly, certainly, and generally resolved on in the dayes of our Fathers, touching the condition of such as died in an imperfect state of grace, contrary to any thing holden by us at this day. These premisses considered, and every of these things being confessed by Master *Higgon*, or proved abundantly by mee, it seemeth the poore man is beside himselfe, and that his discontentments have made him madde. For otherwise what should move him, like a madde man, to crie out in such sort, as he doth, *"That I have disabled my booke, b* Pag. 153. *and overthrowne the Protestantall Church: that Papists may triumph in the victory, which their chiefest enemies have wrought in their behalfe, and joyfully applaud the excellency of their cause, which enforceth her greatest adversaries to prostitute themselves to such base and dishonest courses.*

Let the base Runnagate looké to himselfe, and his conscience will tell him that his courses have beene base, dishonest, perfidious, & unnaturally (that I say not monstrous) but our cause is such as shall ever be able to upholde it selfe against all opposers, without any such shifting devices as they of the adverse faction are forced to use, for the staying of that from falling for a little while, that must fall and come to nothing, in despite of all that Devils or devillish men by lying, flaundering, murdering, and all hellish practises can doe to sustaine it.

s. 8.

THUS have I briefly runne through his two bookes: and answered whatsoever concerneth my selfe in the same, and so might passe presently to his *Appendix*: but that towards the end of the 2^d part of his second booke, he once againe wrongerth that renowned Divine D^r *Humphrey*, in such sort as is not to be endured; For he chargeth him with unfaithfulness in his relations, digressions from the matter, a generall imbecility of his whole discourse, obscuritie, uncertainty, notorious depraving of Saint *Augustine*, and other unfaithfull practises against the same Father: and saith, the detection of his falshood ministred the first occasion of his change. If Master *Higgon* were not better knowne then trusted, some man happily would bee mooved to thinke that some very grosse and unexcusable over-sights are found in Doctour *Humphrey*, against whom hee so clamorously inveigherth: but seeing all the world taketh notice what manner of man he is, by that description of him which is found in a letter of a worthy Knight lately written to him, & another of his own father written to the same Knight, I thinke there is no man of any sence, that will regard his words any more

Pag. 167. 168.

169. 170. 171.

172.

6 Rat. 3.

* De cura pro-
mortalis.

c Pag. 169.

d Contra Gau-
dientij Epist. l.
2. cap. 23.
e Cajetan.

more then the braying of an Asse, or the bellowing of an Oxe when he lacketh fodder: yet to make it appeare, that he hath calumniated and wronged a worthy person without all cause or shew of cause, I will briefly set downe the summe of D. *Humphrey* his discourse. Whereas *Campion* objecteth to us that we have begged certaine fragments of opinions from *Aerius*, and others condemned as heretickes, first hee answereth, that we have not received our faith from Heretickes, but from the Apostles and their successours. Secondly he saith, that we condemne all the hereticall positions of *Aerius*, and yet admit whatsoever he held rightly, & agreeably to the holy Scripture: in which saying, Master *Higgons* telleth us the Papists will concurre with him. Thirdly, he alloweth a commemoration of the Saints and holy ones departed, and consequently disliketh *Aerius* for condemning the same. Fourthly, he condemneth that abuse in praying for the dead which *Aerius* condemned. Fifthly, he saith, the commemoration of the departed is not commanded in Scripture, but holden by custome of the Church. Sixtly, that if wee die not in a true and lively faith, all the prayers in the world cannot helpe us, contrary to the error of those men, who thought that not onely a suspension or mitigation, but a totall release of the punishments of men dying in mortall finnes, may be procured: which error *Augustine* refuteth by the evidence of the words of the Apostle, that unlesse we here sowe unto the spirit, wee cannot reape immortality. And againe, that wee must all stand before the Tribunall seate of Christ, that every one may receive according to the thinges hee did in this body, whether good or ill. Whence hee saith is inferred, that unlesse men depart hence in state of grace, all the world cannot relieve them afterwards. These being the principall and most materiall partes and circumstances of D. *Humphrey* his discourse touching *Aerius*, let us see what are the exceptions that Master *Higgons* taketh against him. The first is, that he saith there is no Scripture for that prayer for the dead that was aunciently used in the Church, and that *Augustine* seemeth to confesse as much, which he goeth about to improve, because *Augustine* alleadgeth the booke of *Machabees* for the practise of praying for the dead. But for answer hereunto, I wee say that D. *Humphrey* denyeth, that there is any precept requiring us to pray for the dead, found in Scripture, and speaketh nothing of examples: And therefore the allegation of the booke of *Machabees* is impertinent 2, that the prayer of *Judas Machabeus* mentioned in that booke, was not for the reliefe of the dead, but for the remission or not imputing of their sins to the living, lest God should have smitten them for the trespasse committed by those wicked ones that displeased God and perished in their sin, though the author of that booke make another contriuction of it. 3, that the booke of *Machabees* is not Canonically; and though *Augustine* seeme to incline to an opinion that it is, yet he is not resolved that it is so: yea some are of opinion that he thought it Canonically only in respect of the Canon of manners, and not of faith: but M. *Higgons* will prove, that in the judgement of *Augustine*, prayer for the dead is plainly expressed, or sufficiently deduced from the Scriptures of the new Testament; in that S. *Augustine* having alleadged the booke of *Machabees*, to prove that prayer was made for the dead, saith, if this were no where read in the old Scriptures, the authority of the Church were greatly to be regarded, which shineth in this custome: which is a very silly inference. For neither doth it follow, that if it be not in the old, it must be in the new: neither would *Augustine* have presently urged the authority of the Church, upon the supposition of not finding it in the old Scriptures, but the booke of the new Testament, if hee had thought it to be found in the new: seeing he seeketh first and principally to prove it by Scripture. His second exception is, that *Augustine* urgeth the custome of the Universall Church, for the commendation of the dead, and pronounceth, that without intollerable insoucy and madnesse, this authority cannot be rejected: whence he inferreth that both these must inevitably fall upon D. *Humphrey* and his Church: but the poore fellow that chargeth other men with madnesse, if hee were in his right wittes, might easily have found, that Doctor *Humphrey* doth not condemne the commemoration, and commendation of the dead: for he saith expressly: *We retaine it in our Colledges.* I observed before that wee must carefully distinguish the generall practise and intention

tion of the whole Church from private conceits: the whole Church commemorated the dead, offered the sacrifice of praise for them, prayed for them in the passage, & for their resurrection and consummation: all which things we allow: so that neither Doctor *Humphrey*, nor wee, condemne the Universall Church, but thinke it were madnessse so to doe: but the private fancies of such as extended their prayers farther, thinking they might ease, mitigate, suspend, or wholly take away the paines of men damned in hell (for of Purgatory no man thought in the Primitive Church) wee reject. This erroneous concept and practise *Aerius* rightly condemned, and Doctor *Humphrey* and we all agree with him in the same dislike: but he did ill to impute this error to the whole Church, and to condemne that which was good and laudable upon so weake a ground. Of the difference which Master *Higgon*s would faine make betweene our commendation of the dead used in Colledges, and that used anciently, whereof Saint *Augustine* speaketh, I have spoken before: wherefore let us come to his last exception against Doctor *Humphrey*, which is that hee handleth the matter artificially, to make a credulous reader beleieve that Saint *Augustine* himselfe doth conuall the use of prayer for the dead, by those sentences of the Apostle, that *we cannot reape if wee sow not heere*, and that *wee must all stand before the judgement seate of Christ, that every one may receive according to the things he hath done in his body, whether good or evill*. This imputation is nothing else but a malicious and impudent charging of him with that he never thought of. For the onely thing he saith *Augustine* held, proved by these sentences, is, that unlesse we depart hence in a true faith, we cannot be relieved by any devotion of other men after we are gone. Which is so undoubtedly true, that I thinke *Higgon*s himselfe dareth not deny it. But that *Augustine* thought that men dying in the state of grace & faith of Christ might be holpen by the prayers of the living, he neither made question himselfe, nor ever sought to make his reader beleieve otherwise. Neither doe wee dissent from *Augustine* in this point, if the prayers hee speaketh of bee made respectively to the passage hence and entrance into the other world, as I have shewed before. The onely thing that is questionable betweene Us and our Adversaries beeing, whether prayer may releev men in a state of temporall affliction after this life, whereof *Augustine* never resolved any thing, whatsoever this pratling *Apostata* say to the contrary. These things being so, let the reader judge whether the detection of falshood and ill dealing in Doctor *Humphrey* could possibly occasion Master *Higgon*s his change, as hee would make the world beleieve: there being nothing found in his whole discourse, that is not most true and justifiable, by all course of learning. But because hee is sufficiently chastised by others, and knoweth too well the true cause of his running away to be things of a farre other nature then those he pretendeth, I will prosecute this matter no farther against him.

The Appendix.

§. 1.

NOW it remaineth that I come to the Appendix, which he addeth to his booke, which hee devideth into two parts, whereof the first concerneth mee, the second, D. *Morton*, which he hath answered already. In that part which concerneth me, he undertaketh to prove, that I notoriously abuse the name and authority of *Gerson*, *Grossthead*, &c. to defend the reformation made by Princes and Prelates in our Church. Wherefore that the reader may perceiv I have not abused these reverend and worthy men, but that he wrongeth both them and me, I will take the paines to examine his whole discourse, though it will bee very tedious so to doe, by reason of the confused and perplexed manner of handling of things in the same, without all order and methode. In the first Chapter he doth but lay the foundation of his intended building: and therefore gathereth together a great number of positions and sayings out of my booke, miserably mangled, and torne one from another, all

X x x

which

a Pag. 2.

which shall be defended when he commeth to say any thing against them, in such sort, as that it shall evidently appeare, that there is no fallhood or collusion in any part of my Discourse, as this false and treacherous Fugitive is pleased to say there is. Onely one thing there is here that may not be passed over, because it hath no farther prosecution in that which followeth. His words are these. 'Whereas *Bellarmino* doth object the intestine divisions and conflicts of the pretended Gospellers, this Doctour turneth him off with this answer, wee say that these diversities are to bee imputed wholly to our Adversaries; for when there was a reformation to be made of abuses and disorders in matters of practise, and manifold corruption in many points of Christian Doctrine, and in a Councell by a Generall consent it could not be hoped for, as *Gerson* long before out of his experience saw and professed, by reason of the prevailing faction of Popes flatterers, it was not possible but that some diversity should grow, while one knew not, nor expected to know what another did. This hee saith, is a very admirable devise.

b In consult.
artic. 7.

For answer hereunto we must observe, that the divisions of this part of Christendome are of two sorts: the first is, from the faction of the Pope; the second, among them that have abandoned the usurped Authority of the Pope. That the Pope and his adherents were the cause of the former of these divisions, and the consequents of it, is affirmed by better men then Master *Higgons*. 'I will not deny, (saith *Cassander*, a man highly esteemed for piety and learning by the Emperours, *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*) that many in the beginning were moved out of a Godly affection, more sharply to reprehend certaine manifest abuses, and that the chiefe cause of this calamitie and distraction, or rent of the Church, is to bee attributed to them, who, puffed up with the swelling conceits of their Ecclesiasticall power, proudly and disdainfully contemned and repelled them that admonished them rightly of things amisse. And therefore I do not thinke that any firme peace is ever to be hoped for, unlesse the beginning thereof be from them that gave the cause of this division; that is, unlesse they that have the government of the Church, remit something of that their too great rigor, & listning to the desires of many godly ones, correct manifest abuses, according to the rule of sacred Scripture & the ancient Church, from which they are departed, &c. Touching that, saith *Contarenus*, which the *Lutherans* say in the first, and last place, of manifold and great abuses brought into the Church of Christ, against which they so exclaime, & concerning which they have made so many complaints, to expresse their greivances, I have nothing to say; but first of all to pray unto Almighty God, the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his only begotten Son, who continually maketh intercession for us, & the holy Spirit, wherewith we have beene annointed to be Christians by the grace of God, & the Sacrament of Baptisme, that he will respect his Church now tottering, & in great danger, and that he will move the hearts of the Prelats of the Church, that at last for a little while putting away this most pernicious selfe-love, they may be perswaded to correct things manifestly amisse, & to reforme themselves. There needeth no Councell, there need no syllogismes, there needeth no alledging of places of Scripture, for the quieting of these stirres of the *Lutherans*; but there is need of good minds, of charity towards God and our neighbour, & of humility, &c. Touching the divisions of them that have abandoned the tyrannicall government of the Bishop of Rome, and imbraced the sincere profession of the heavenly truth, whom this *Lucian* calleth pretended Gospellers, they are neither such, nor so many as our Adversaries would make the world beleieve, as I have shewed at large in the place cited by Master *Higgons*. But be they what they may be, I have truly said that the *Romanists* are the causes of them, in that their obstinate resistance against all peaceable publicke proceeding in the worke of reformation in a Generall Councell, forced men to take another course, and to take this worke in hand severally, in the severall Kingdomes of the world. That there was no hope of reformation by a Generall Councell, and that severall Kingdomes were to take care for the redressing of things amisse within their owne compasse, I have shewed out of *Gerson*: his words are these. 'I see that the reformation of the Church will never bee brought to passe by a Councell, without the presidencie of a well affected guide, wise, and constant:

d In consult.
artic. Lutheri.

e Third booke of
the Church, c. 42.

f Gers. 3. part.
Apologet. de
Conc. Const.

let the members therefore provide for themselves through all Kingdomes and Provinces, when they shall be able, and know how to *compasse this worke*. Now that 'this kinde of proceeding must needs bee accompanied with differences, though not of moment, nor reall, yet in shew greater then were to bee wished; every man I thinke will confesse that hath the sence of a man. Against all this M^r *Higgons* hath nothing to say; but, as if he had gone out of his country, & passed the Seas of purpose to become a jester amongst our melancholly countrey-men that are abroad, to make them merry; maketh a jest of it, as he doth of all other things, and so passeth from it.

The second Part.

§. 1.

BUt let us give him leave to sport himselfe a little: wee shall have him in earnest by and by. For in the next part of this Chapter hee undertaketh to prove, that *Gerson*, (whom I bring in as a worthy guide of Gods Church in the time wherein hee lived, and one that wished the reformation of thinges amisse) utterly detested the reformation that hath beene transacted by *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and the rest. But his proofes will be found too weake; for though it were granted that he erred in the matter of transubstantiation, invocation of Saints, and some such like things, yet will it never be proved, that hee erred heretically, or that hee was not willing to yeeld to the truth in these or any other things wherein he was deceived, when it should be made to appeare unto him. *Cyprian* erred in the matter of rebaptization, *Lactantius*, and sundry other were carried into the error of the Millenaries: many Catholiques in *Augustines* time thought that all Orthodoxe and right-beleeving Christians shall be saved in the end, how wickedly soever they live here: yet were they of one communion with them that thought otherwise.

If Master *Higgons* thinke, that I produce *Gerson* as a man fully professing in every point of Doctrine as we doe, he wholly mistaketh me; for I was not so simple, either to thinke so, or to goe about to perswade others so, but this is that which I said, and still constantly affirme, that God preserved his true Church in the midst of all the errors and confusions of the Papacy; that the errors condemned by us, never found generall and constant allowance in the dayes of our Fathers; and that there were many, who held the foundation, & according to the light of knowledge which God vouchsafed them, wished the reformation of such things as were amisse, some of them discerning more of the errors and abuses that were then found in the Church, & other fewer: of which number I reckon *Gerson* to be one of eminent sort & ranke. For this worthy Divine beleeved as we doe, ^a that all our inherent righteousnesse is imperfite, yea, that it is like the polluted ragges of a menstruous woman, that it cannot endure the tryall of Gods severe judgement: that ^b we must trust in the only mercy and goodness of God, if wee desire to be surely established against all assaults: ^c that all sinnes are by nature mortall: that ^d indulgences reach not to the dead: that they are but remissions of enjoyned penance: that ^e the Pope hath no power to dispose of the Kingdomes of the world; that he is like the Duke of *Venice* amongst the great Senators of that State, greater then each one, but inferiour to the whole company of Bishops, that ^f hee is subject to error, and that in case of error or other scandalous misdemeanour, hee may be judicially deposed: that ^g Christian perfection consisteth neither in poverty nor riches, but in a minde resolved to regard these things, no farther then they stand with the love of God, and serve for the advancement of his glory, and the good of men. So that sometimes it is a matter of more perfection to have and possesse riches, then to cast them from us; contrary to the false conceit of the *Mendicantes*, who made extreame poverty to bee the height of all perfection, and thought that Christ himselfe did live by begging, which hee rejecteth as an absurd error: hee teacheth that the precept of Almighty GOD requireth all the actions of vertue in the best sort they can bee performed, and that therefore

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f Idem de Concilio unius obedientie.

a De consolac.

Theologiae l. 4.

prosa. 1.

b Ibid. lib. 1.

prosa. 3.

c Part. 3. tract.

de vita spiritu-

al. anim lect. 1.

d Tract. de in-

dulgencijs.

e De potest. Ec-

clesiastic. consi-

derat 12.

f De austeribili-

tate Pap.

g De consilijs

& Stati perfe-

ctionis.

they doe not rightly discern betweene the matter of precepts and counsailes, who imagine that the precept requireth the inferiour degrees of vertue, and the counsaile the more high and excellent: whereas counsailes urge us not to a higher degree of vertue, or morall goodnesse, but onely shew us the meanes whereby most easily, if all thinges bee answerable in the parties, wee may attaine to the height of vertue the precept prescribeth: so overthrowing the opinion of workes of supererogation: he teacheth that there is no more merit of single life then of marriage, unless the parties living in these different estates, otherwise excell one another in the workes of vertue: that virginity, in that which it addeth above conjugal chastity, is no vertue, nor higher degree of vertue, but a splendour of vertue only: that the lawes of men binde not the conscience: that they that whip themselves, as some sectaries amongst the Papistes doe, are to bee condemned: and that the patient enduring of those crosses which God layeth upon us, is more acceptable to God, then those voluntary chastisements. Hee condemneth Monkes intermeddling with Secular or Ecclesiasticall businesses: the superfluous pompe and Princely state of Cardinals, and Bishops, making them forget that they are men; that one man holdeth two or three hundred Ecclesiasticall livings; that the sword of excommunication is so easily drawne-out for trifles, and the Lords of the Cleargie use it for the maintenance of their owne state: hee disliketh the Popes appointing of strangers to take cure of soules, the varietie of Pictures, and Images in Churches, occasioning idolatry in the simple: the number and variety of religious orders; the canonizing of new Saints, there being too many Canonized already: the Apocryphall Scriptures, Hymnes, and Prayers in proesse of time brought into the Church, of purpose or ignorance, to the great hurt of the Christian faith: the diversity of opinions in the Church, as about the conception of the blessed Virgin, and the like: the intollerable superstition in the worshiping of Saints; innumerable observations, without all ground of reason; vaine credulity in beleiving things concerning the Saints, reported in the uncertaine legends of their lives: superstitious opinions of obtaining pardon, and remission of sinnes, by saying a number of *Pater-nosters* in such a Church, before such an Image; the urging of humane devises more then the lawes of God, and punishing more severely the breach of their owne lawes, then the lawes of God: the contempt of the holy Scripture, which is sufficient for the government of the Church, and the following of humane inventions, which made the state of the Church to be meeterly brutish; the ambition, pride, and covetousnesse of Popes, subjecting all unto themselves, and suffering no man to say unto them, *Why doe you so?* though they over-terne the course of Nature; their getting all into their owne handes by many crafty and ill meanes, to the overthrow of that order that should bee in the Church: and thereupon sheweth that it was the opinion of men right wise and godly in his time, that there being a Schisme in the Church, and three severall pretenders challenging the Papall chaire, it were good to take the advantage of that difference, and never to restore againe to any Pope the universall administration of the temporalities of the Church, and the swaying of the jurisdiction of the same; but that it were best that all things were brought backe to that state they were in, in the times of the Apostles, or at least in the times of *Sylvester* and *Gregory*, when each Prelate within his owne jurisdiction was permitted to governe such as were committed to him, without so many reservations, and exactions, as have been since brought in.

These things considered, I suppose it will not seeme so strange as Master *Higgon* would make it, that I bring in *John Gerson* as a worthy guide of the Church in his time, and a man wishing the reformation of the same, as farre as it pleased God to enlighten him, though hee saw not all, which other did in the same times, or before, or since. Neither will it ever be proved that he would have disliked any part of the present reformation, though he condemned the inconsiderate positions of *Wickliffe*, and though hee held some opinions contrary to that which wee now teach. For as *Augustine* said of *Cyprian*, and his colleagues, erring in the matter of rebaptization, that if they had bin in his time, when upon full & exact discussing of things, it was resolved otherwise, they

6 Ibid.

De vita Spiritualium, lib. 1. c. 1.

4. Part. 1. tract. contra sectam flagellantium sc.

1 See the places cited in the 3. booke of the Church, Chap. 10. 11.

m Lib. 1. de Baptis. cap. 12.

they would have beene of another minde: so surely, if *Gerson* had lived in latter times, when learning revived, & all sorts of ancient authors were brought out of the coverts of darkenesse, into the light and view of the world, he would have condemned many things which hee did not, as many other did both before *Luther* began to preach, and since, whom yet our Adversaries dare not traduce as Hereticks. Which we are induced to think, because himselfe professeth, that the rent of the Church by reason of the three pretenders, challenging the Papall chaire, & the calamity that followed the same, brought many thinges to light that were not knowne before, and was the occasion of much good, and the finding out of many truthes fit and necessary to be knowne; and in his booke "*De ascribilitate Pape*", in which hee sheweth many cases wherein the Pope may be deposed, limited, restrained, or have obedience denyed unto him; he professeth hee hath laid downe sundry considerations touching this matter, to open the way to others to enter farther, and to find out more then he did, as indeed we see *Cusanus* a Cardinall did; who resolveth wholly with us, that the Pope is but onely prime Bishop amongst the Bishops of the world, and that he is but onely in order and honour above others.

De potest. eccl. confid. 10.

Confid. 15. & 19.

Conc. cath. l. 2. c. 13.

Yet let us heare what Master *Higgon*s can say to the contrary. *Gerson*,⁹ saith he, beleev'd Transubstantiation, approved the Masse, admitted Purgatory, invocation of Saints, indulgences, & communion under one kind, therefore he could not with the reformation that is now wrought by *Luther*, and the rest. Of Transubstantiation I have spoken already, and shewed that many admitted the word that yet never beleev'd the thing, which our adversaries now professe; as also what is to be thought of *Gerson*'s opinion touching this point, being the Scholler of *Cameracensis*; who professeth that for any thing hee can see, Transubstantiation, properly so named, can neither be proved out of Scripture, nor any determination of the Universall Church. Touching the Masse, we must know that the holy Eucharist, and blessed Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ is named *missa*, *missa*, or *masse*, *à missis*, id est, *dimissis publica diaconi voce Catechumenis, iisque qui Sacramentorum participationi idonei non erant*: that is, for that after the prayers and readings of the Scripture, before the consecration, the Catechumens, and all such as were not to communicate, were dismissed, and sent away, the Deacon crying aloud, *Ite missa est*: that is, Depart, you are dismissed. And even in *Gregories* time the custome was, that the Deacon after the reading of the Gospel, pronounced these solemne words, *Si quis non communicat, exeat*: that is, If there bee any that communicateth not, let him goe out. So that the Papists have no *missa*, or *masse*, if wee speake properly, for with them none are dismissed, but all permitted to be present, and yet none communicate but the Priest: whereas the name of *masse* was given to this Holy Sacrament, for that none were permitted to be present, but such as would communicate. But to let goe this advantage, there is no question, but that *Gerson* allowed of the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Bloud: but I thinke it will hardly bee proved, that hee approved the alteration of the auncient custome of the peoples communicating with the Priest in the Sacrament into a private *masse*; which indeed, if wee will speake properly, is no *masse*: or that hee helde it to be a new reall sacrificing of CHRIST, as the Jesuited Papistes doe at this day. A sacrifice wee confesse it to bee, of praise and thankes-giving, and a commemoration of the bloody sacrifice of CHRIST upon the Altar of the Crosse: and say, that therefore it may bee named a sacrifice, because signes have the names of the thinges whereof they are signes: as also for that there is in this Sacrament, an offering or presenting of CHRIST and his Passion to GOD, by the faith of the Church, that by it wee may obtaine grace and remission of finnes: but a new reall sacrificing of CHRIST wee deny, and thinke with *Luther*, that it is a hellish abomination so to doe. That *Gerson* thought that there is a Purgatory, doth no more prejudice his being a worthy guide of Gods Church, then the error of *Cyprian* and other before-mentioned. Touching invocation of Saints, though hee did not absolutely condemne it, yet hee reprehended the abuses and superstitious observations then prevailing in the worshipping of Saints, very bitterly, as I shewed before, & sought

9 Pag. 4.

Castand. in præf. ord. Rom.

Gesl de direc. cordis confid. 16. & seq.

^z In tract. de
indulgentiis.

^a Tract. de
communione
sub utraque
speciei.

sought to bring men to a truer sense of piety in that point, then was ordinarily found amongst men in those times. The like he did for^a indulgences, restraining them more then was pleasing to the Popes faction; and for the communion under one kinde, howsoever hee thought the Church might lawfully prescribe the communicating in one kinde alone, which we cannot excuse; yet hee^a acknowledgeth that the communion in both kindes was anciently used; and that when it may bee had, with the peace of the Church, it is to be allowed. But to what purpose doth Master *Higgon* alledge these things? Shall it be lawfull for him and his to repute *Iohn Gerson*, a worthy and godly man, notwithstanding that he held that the Pope may erre, that he is subject to Generall Councils, that he medleth with things no way pertaining to him, when hee taketh upon him to dispose the Kingdomes of the world, that all our inherent righteousness is imperfit, and as the polluted ragges of a menstrous woman, that all sins are by nature mortall, and the like: and may not wee take him to have beene a member of the true Church, a good man, and one that desired the reformation of things amisse, notwithstanding his errour in some things, and his not discerning all that was amisse?

^z Pag. 4.

^y Confid. 8.

^z Confid. 3.

^a Pag. 5.

The insufficiencie of this allegation, it seemeth, Master *Higgon* himselfe perceived, and therefore saith, hee will come to the supream difference, to which all other points (as he conceiveth) are subordinate, and inferiour: that is to say, the soveraigne primacy of the *Romane* Bishop; and bringeth two very effectuall testimonies, as hee thinketh, of *Gerson*, to prove the Popes soveraigne primacie. The first is out of his booke, ^y *De auferibilitate pape*: his wordes are these. 'The formes of civill government are subject to mutability and alteration; but is is otherwise in the Church, for her government is Monarchicall, and is so appointed by the institution of our Lord: if any man will violate this sacred ordinance, and persist obstinately in his contempt, hee is to be judged an Hereticke, as *Marsilius* of *Padua*, and some other^z consorting with his fancie. The second is out of his tract, ^z *De unitate Græcorum*, where prescribing many directions for the composing of the differences betweene the *Greeke* and *Latine* Churches, he layeth it downe as a foundation, that there must be one head on earth, unto which all men must be united. ^a In these sayings, Master *Higgon* saith, *Gerson* shewed himselfe a worthy guide of Gods Church, and a singular enemy of the Protestantall reformation, which violently impugneth the supremacie of the Pope, insomuch that *Luther* affirmeth, that a man cannot be saved, unlesse from his heart hee hate the Pope and Papacie. These things truly carry a very faire shew, and may deceive such as cannot or will not thoroughly looke into them. But whosoever knoweth what *Gerson*s opinion of the Pope is, and what *Luther* hath written against the Papacie, will soone perceive there is no contradiction betweene them, or at least not in any essentiall or materiall point. For *Gerson* was of opinion, that the Pope is subject to a Generall Councell, and that hee is not free from danger of erring; and this hee thought to be a matter of faith, defined in the Councell of *Constance*; and therefore would have detested all claimes of infallible judgement, and uncontrouleable power of Popes, as much as *Luther* did: and would have accursed his words of blasphemie, if once hee should have heard him say, as we doe, and as before the holding of the Councell of *Constance* he did: *All the world cannot judge me: though I overturne the whole course of nature, no man may say unto me, why doe you so? I onely have power to make lawes, and to voide them againe: I have authority to dispencc with the Canons of all Councels, as seemeth good unto mee, and, which is more, to dispose of all the kingdomes of the world: the assurance of finding out the truth and not erring, is not partly in me, and partly in the Councell, but wholly in me: whatsoever all the world shall consent on, is of no force, if I allow it not.* Hee would have said doubtlesse as I have done, if hee had heard him thus speake, that wee are not bound to take the foame of his impure mouth, and froath of his words of blasphemie, as infallible Oracles. This is that Pope, and this is that Papacie, which *Luther* saith, every one that will be saved, must hate from his heart: for otherwise if hee would onely claime to be a Bishop in his precinct, a Metropolitane in a Province, a Patriarch in the West, and of Patriarches the

the first and most honourable, to whom the rest are to resort in cases of greatest moment, as to the head and chiefe of their company, to whom it specially pertaineth to have an eye to the preservation of the Church in the unity of faith and religion, and the actes and exercises of the same, and with the assistance and concurrence of the other by all due courses to effect that which pertaineth thereunto without clayming absolute and uncontrouleable power, infallibilitie of judgement, and right to dispose the Kingdomes of the world, and to intermeddle in the administration of the temporalities of particular Churches, and the immediate swaying of the jurisdiction thereof, ^b *Luther* himselfe professeth hee would never open his mouth against him. This kind of Primacie the *Grecians* likewise professed they would bee content to yeelde unto him, if other differences betweene them might be composed. ^c *Cassander* saith, 'Hee is perswaded there had never beene any controversies about the Popes power, if the Popes had not abused their authority in a Lordly and over-ruling manner, and through covetousnesse and ambition stretched it beyond the bounds and limits set and prescribed by Christ and the Church: and professeth that the abuse of the Papall power, which the flatterers of the Pope amplified, enlarged, and magnified beyond all measure, gave men occasion to thinke ill of the Pope, and in the end to depart from him: With whom *Gerson* agreeth, saying, that the Popes intermedling in some kindes and assuming more then was fit, gave occasion to the *Grecians* to depart from the Church of *Rome*, writing to the Pope at their parting in this sort; wee know thy power, thy covetousnesse wee cannot satisfie, live by thy selfe. So that I have truly said (whatsoever Master *Higgons* blattereth out to the contrary) that it was the pride of Antichrist, that made all the breaches in the Christian world.

^b In libro contra Papatum.
^c Concil. Florentini Sess. ult.
^d Consult. de Pont Romano.

^e De unitate Græcor. confid. 6.

But, saith Master *Higgons*, *Gerson* maketh the forme of the Churches government to bee Monarchicall, which thing is mainly opposite to the opinion of Protestants, who will not admit the Pope to bee a Monarch in the Church. It is true that *Gerson* maketh the government of the Church to be Monarchicall, but no otherwise, but as the government of the state of *Venice* is Monarchicall; wherein the Duke is greater then any one Senatour, but subject to the Senate, and hath neither absolute negative, nor affirmative; and therefore it is in truth & indeed, according to his opinion, rather Aristocraticall, then Monarchicall: though he make it to be so, in that amongst all the Bishops of the world, one is first, and in order and honour before all other. A head he maketh the Pope to bee, as a President of a company, not as an absolute commaunder. Whereas, saith ^f *John Bacon*, the denying the Pope to have an illimited power was condemned as hereticall in *Marsilius* of *Padua*, & *Io. de Ianduno*, some say they were condemned because they denyed him to have an illimited power, as head or chiefe of all Bishops, and with the colledge of them: and that it is not there defined that absolutely, in, and of himselfe, he hath illimited power of making lawes, and governing according to the same, without the concurrence of his brethren. But ^g *Gerson* saith, it is schismaticall not to acknowledge with all due respect the true Pope undoubtedly knowne to be so: therefore he must needs be an enemy to the Protestantall reformation. We say no, for, let the Pope as *Gerson* teacheth him to doe, disclaime the claime of absolute and uncontrouleable power, infallibility of judgement, right to dispose the kingdomes of the world, let him without particular intermedling suffer other Bishops to governe their owne diocesses, as they did in the Primitive Church, without so many reservations, preventions, and appeales received from all parts of the world, and wee will thinke, as *Gerson* doth, that, as it is Schismaticall to impugne the government of Bishops within their owne diocesses, the superiorities of *Metropolitans* in their Provinces, and of Patriarches in their larger circuites; so it is Schismaticall to deny the Bishop of *Rome*, contenting himselfe therewith, a primacie of order and honour, and a speciall interest in swaying the government of the whole Church, and managing the affaires thereof, as first amongst the Bishops of the world. Wherefore let us hearken to Master *Higgons* his suite: he beseecheth us, ^h to consider the resemblance and similitude of these things: he that rejecteth the Pope shall not be saved; and hee that

^f In Sent. prologo. qu. 10. art. 2.

^g De unitate Græc. confid. 3.

^h Pag. 8.

doth not hate him and the Popedome from his heart, shall not be saved; the one of these sayings is Gersons, & the other Luthers: & thus saith Higgons, they damne themselves mutually in a capitall point, and exclude each other from possibility of salvation. We have according to Master Higgons his request, diligently considered these things, and doe finde that betweene these sayings in shew so opposite, there is in truth and indeed no contradictions; and that *Luther* and *Gerson* are farre from damning one another in this point, as he falsely saith they doe: for it is true, as *Luther* saith, that men are bound to hate the Papacie, that is, the claime of uncontrouleable and absolute power of infallible judgement, and interest to dispose of the Kingdomes of the world, even in the judgement of *Gerson* himselfe; and they both agree, that for the preservation of order & peace, men are bound to acknowledge the Papacie, that is, to yeeld to the Bishop of *Rome* a Primacie of order and honour; if there be no other matter of difference, nor no farther claime made by him. Neither is it communion with the Pope as prime Bishop as maketh a man a formall Papist; as their formalist speaketh; but with the unjust claimes of the Pope. So that *Gersons* communion with the Pope, proveth him not a formall Papist: and therefore though Master *Powels* judgement be of value, Mr *Higgons* may not undoubtedly pronounce, that *Gerson* is damned to the nethermost hell, as he fondly saith he may: neither can hee shew any good reason, why we may not truly say, that *Luther* hath accomplished that reformation which *Gerson* desired; & therefore he might well have spared his *Risum teneatis amici?* & instead thereof intreated men to weepe for his pittifull over-sight, and folly, which he bewrayeth in the words immediatly following, *I will knit up*, saith hee, *this matter with the counsell of Gerson, which he giveth to the spouse of Christ, saying, the Church must intreate the Pope, the Vicegerent of Christ, with all honour, and call him Father, for he is her Lord and head: that she must not expose him to detractions: &c.*

c. Pag. 8.

d Ibid.

e Pag. 33.

f De nuptiis
Christi & Eccl.

Master *Higgons* is wont to compare them to the Devill, who alledge any sayings of Fathers, or Scriptures, in shew making for them, and leave out that which followeth, making against them: if this course be right and good, as no doubt it is, I will soone make the Reader know to whom Master *Higgons* is like, in citing *Gersons* testimony against us. For *Gerson* speaking of the respect that is due to CHRIST the Husband of the Church, and his Vicegerent, from her, as his Spouse and Wife, hath these words. *I delivered this first unto thee, that for the honour of CHRIST her husband, the Church Synodally assembled, or not so assembled, ought to carrie her selfe towards the chiefe Bishop with reverence and due respect in all loving sort, if hee behave himselfe towards her laudably, nay, if his entreating of her bee tollerable; because in many things wee offend all: and the judicall sentence of Divorce is to bee expected before hee bee cast off, as hitherto the discretion of our Fore-fathers hath observed towards inferiour Bishoppes. In the next place I deliver unto thee, that the Church, for the reverence of CHRIST her husband, ought to name his Vicegerent, and him whom hee hath appointed her keeper, Father; and both in her selfe and her children, to bee most ready to give all honour, and to yeelde all obedience to him, as to her Lord and head: and likewise to shew all due respect to the *Romane* Church, as joyned to her in a speciall degree of fellowship. Neither is it fit to expose such a Father to detractions, and wrongs, but to hide his turpitude as much as may bee. Notwithstanding in the third place I deliver unto thee, that if this Vicegerent, through frigiditie, or other impediment, become unfitte for the spirituall generation of children, hee may not bee esteemed a fitte husband for the Church, nor Vicegerent for her husband. Now the seede of this generation, is the holy word of God, and not the variable traditions of the sonnes of the world. Againe, I deliver, that the Church, if this Vicegerent of her husband become a Fornicator, or Adulterer, marrying a widdow, a woman put away from her husband, a woman of vile and base condition, and a Harlot, contrary to the commaundement of Almighty God in *Leviticus*: If hee hardly intreat the Church, if hee spoyle and robbe her of her Roabes by Dilapidation, or goe about to abuse her by Symonie, if hee smother her*

her children either in the wombe, or after they are come out of the wombe by ill example, if hee slay them with the sword of scandalous Doctrine, and such as killeth the soule, or pestiferous wicked courses of life, or hurtfull dissembling and winking at faults, and heresies, that should be suppressed: that the Church, I say, in these cases, may give him a bill of Divorce, especially if hee adde incorrigibility to his fault, least the keeping of him still, turne to the disgrace and dishonour of her husband, and the hurt of her children.

If it had pleased Master *Higgons* to suffer *John Gerson* thus fully to utter his minde, his Superiours I thinke would never have permitted him to produce a witnesse, to depose so directly against them in print; for what could *Luther* say more then *Gerson* doth? if the Pope, who is the chiefe Bishop of the world, will doe his duty, he is to be honoured, as chiefe of all Bishops: but if hee become scandalous, if he be unable to performe the dutie of teaching the people of God, if hee teach false doctrine, or wilfully neglect to reforme things amisse, and shew himselfe incorrigible: he may, nay he must be rejected by the Church, and a bill of Divorce must be given unto him. This I thinke will bee censured as hereticall by our *Romanists*. But howsoever, Master *Higgons* had no cause to exclaime as hee doth, that *Luther* whom hee calleth the *Cham* of *Saxonie*, did not demeane himselfe towards the Pope as hee ought to have done, and thereupon to compare him to furious *Aerius*, and to say, that I likewise approximate to them both, when I say, we have not received the marke of the Antichrist, & childe of perdition in our fore-heads, nor sworne to take the foame of his impure mouth, and the froath of his wordes of blasphemy, for infallible Oracles of heavenly trueth. For *Luther* did hide the turpitude and shame of his holy Father, as long as it was lawfull so to doe: but when the turpitude of this *Noah*, neither could nor would be hid any longer, when hee became unfit to beget sonnes unto God, when he became a Fornicatour, and an adulterer, when he married a woman refused by her husband, a base woman, nay a harlot: when hee choaked and smothered the children of the Church before, and after they came out of her wombe: when he slew them with the sword of scandalous doctrine, and such as killeth the soule, when hee spoyled the Church, and stript her out of all her Roabes, when hee abused and wronged her in most shamefull and vile manner, to the dishonour of Christ her husband, what remained for *Luther* and such other sonnes of the Church, as had any care of their mothers wel-fare, to doe, but to cast him off with disgrace, that in so shamefull manner dishonoured the sonne of God the Father, and wronged the Church their Mother?

But if this testimonie of *Gerson* serve not the turne, Master *Higgons* produceth another, that will better satisfie us touching the opinion hee held of the Pope: his words are these: *Nolo de sanctissimo Domino nostro, & Christo Domini, velut os in calum ponendo, loqui*: that is, I will not speake of our most holy Lord, and the Lords annointed, as it were setting my face against heaven. These words follow not in the same place where the other are found. And Master *Higgons* directeth us to no other place, as if they were found there; who yet is wont to complaine against mee, for that I cite in the same pagé, things found in diverse parts of *Gersons* workes, and not all together: the Reader may finde them in the third part of his workes, in his Apologeticall Dialogue. The occasion of these his words, is this: he complaineth in that Apologie, of the partialities and sinister courses hee saw to be holden in the Councell of *Constance*, by reason whereof the *French King*, and other Christian Princes, with their Bishops and Divines, could not obtaine, nor procure the condemning of certaine wicked and scandalous assertions of *Iohannes Parvus*, and some other prejudiciall to the state of Princes, and more pestilent and dangerous, as he saith, whether we respect the prosperity of the Kingdomes of the world, or the good manners and honest conversation of men, then those of *Wickliffe* and the *Bohemians*, that were condemned in that Councell. After this complaint, one of the speakers in that Apologeticall Dialogue asketh, if thinges went not better in that Councell, after a Pope was chosen, and the Schisme ended, then before? whereunto the other speaker answereth in this sort: 'I will not speake of our most holy Lord, and the Lords annointed, as it were setting my

'my face against Heaven ; not-withstanding hee had some sitting by his side , who, 'some say , proceeded not with that due care and diligence which they should have 'used , in the matter concerning the state of Princes , and the things concerning the 'Lords of *Polonia*: & these men feare not to say, that they were so backward, that they 'could not be stirred up sufficiently to the zeale & favouring of Catholique verity, nor 'be moved either by words of exhortation or writing , to determine such things as 'were proposed unto them. Thus doth he in mannerly sort decline the direct taxing of the Pope, which might have bin something offensive to some at that time ; and yet spareth him not, but condemneth his negligence, and want of zeale, in suppressing heresie, and defending and maintaining Catholique veritie, and addeth, that he would have them that are zealous of Christian Religion, the honour of the Pope, and the holy Councell, to consider, whether if care be not had for the extirpation of heresies, especially in matters solemnely denounced, prosecuted, and handled, some will not impute it to negligence, other to ignorance, other to a direct refusall to doe right, other to the covetousnesse of Prelates seeking their own things, & not those of Christ, other to the contempt of the Princes and Universities , that sought the condemnation of such errours, others to the weakenesse of the Ecclesiasticall power, in rooting out heresies , and the notorious negligence of the Court of *Rome* , in omitting to doe that which is fit, other to base corruption ? and thereupon sheweth, that an appeale was put in on the behalfe of the Lords of *Polonia*, to the next Generall Councell, against which exception was taken , that it was not lawfull to appeale from the Pope in any case, or to decline his judgement in matters of faith , contrary to the lawes of God, and the decrees of the same Councell , and to the utter overthrowing of all those things that were done in the Councell of *Pisa*, and *Constance* , in rejecting the pretenders, and electing a new Pope, professing that hee is well assured there will never bee any reformation of the Church by a Councell , without the presidency of a guide well affected, and prudent, stout, and constant, of which sort he insinuateth the Pope then beeing was not. Thus wee see *Gerson* thought it no impiety in modest sort to taxe the Popes negligence, and in most resolute manner to condemne as impious and against the Lawes of God and man, his pride in denying appeales from himselfe, as if no man might decline his judgement in matters of faith : Which things being so, let the reader judge whether that one poore sentence of *Gerson*, mangled, and rent from that which went before , and followeth after , doe bring more advantage to Master *Higgon*s his cause, then it doth prejudice the same , when it is joyned with the other parts of his discourse in the same place. But thus doe these *Madianites* slay themselves with their owne swordes, and turne their weapons upon themselves to the utter overthrow of their bad cause.

g ludge. 7. 22.

b Pag. 9.

i Part. 1. Serm.
coram Alex.
Papa 5.
& Part. 3. Dia-
log. Apologer.
de Concilio
Constantienfi.

From this particular of the Popes supremacie, wherein Master *Higgon*s hath foyled himselfe, and hurt his cause, hee^b proceedeth to some generall evidences, whence, as hee saith, it may be proved that *Gerson* never favoured the Protestantall reformation. The first is, for that speaking of the *Romish* Church, he saith : 'We must receive the certainty of our faith from it: The second, for that hee^a preached zealously at *Constance*, against the articles of *Wickliffe* and the *Bohemians*.

For answer to the first of these allegations, the reader must remember that *Gerson* doth clearely resolve, that the Pope may erre, not onely personally, but Episcopally, and judicially also ; and consequently , that wee must not ground our faith upon his resolutions, as certaine and undoubted. The like may be said of the *Romane* Church, that is the *Romane* Diocesse, Province, or Patriarchship: for if it have any more infallibility of judgement then other particular Churches , it hath it from the Bishop, which it cannot have, seeing he is not free from error himselfe; the meaning therefore of *Gerson* is not , that wee may or must take whatsoever the *Romane* Diocesse, Province, or Patriarchship delivereth unto us, to be undoubtably true ; but speaking of the *Indians*, who are Christians , and yet doubting whether they hold the faith of Christians sincerely or not, hee saith, it may be feared least they doe not, seeing they are divided from the *Romane* Church , from which the certainty of faith is to be sought,

sought to shew that the truth & certainty of faith is to be sought in the unity of the universall or Catholique Church, the beginning being taken from that which of all others is the first and chiefest, and hath hitherto bene most free from damnable heresies. For otherwise, that he is no way resolved that the determinations of the particular *Roman* Church Diocesan, Provinciall, or Patriarchicall, doe absolutely binde all to receive them, it is most cleare and evident; in that in his discourse of the meanes of procuring unitie betweene the *Greekes* and *Latines*, (one speciall cause of the breach betweene them, being the determination passed by the *Latines* touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, without the consent of the *Greekes*)¹ hee wisheth men to consider, whether, as wee are wont to say of the Articles of *Paris*, that they binde none but such as are within the Diocesse of *Paris*, so it may not bee said that the determinations of the *Latine* Church binde none but those that are within the compasse of the same? which he could not, nor would not doe, if he thought the infallible direction of all the rest, to bee in the *Romane* Church alone; and that all every-where were bound to receive as undoubtedly true, whatsoever it delivereth, as the *Romanists* at this day doe thinke. Besides this, it is to be observed, that by the name of the *Romane* Church, the person of the Pope, whom the *Romanists* name the *Virtuall Church*, is not meant, nor the Diocesse, or Province of *Rome* alone, but the whole *Latine* or *West* Church, subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the *West*, which wee are perswaded never yet erred from the Faith, but had alwayes in it many worthy men professing and maintaining the trueth of Religion, howsoever some erred damnably in the midst of it, and a separation be now growne betweene the true members of that Church, and such as were but a faction in the same. So that that which *Gerson* hath of fetching the certainty of our faith from the Church of *Rome*, proveth not that hee would have bene an enemy to the Protestantall reformation: for he speaketh not of our fetching the certainty of our faith from the Pope, or Court, or Diocesse of *Rome*, but of the *Indians* fetching the certainty of their faith from the *Romane*, that is the *Westerne* Church. But that he never thought that all Christians, and Churches of the *West*, are to fetch the certainty of their faith from the Pope, or Court of *Rome*, it is evident, in that^m he commended the *French King*, that condemned the heresie of *Iohn* the two and twentieth, touching the soules not seeing God till the Resurrection, with sound of trumpets (the Nobles and Prelates of *France* being present,) and beleevved rather the Universitie of *Paris* then the Court of *Rome*.^m Sermon in Paschate part. 4.

Neither is the next prooffe of *Gersons* preaching against the Articles of *Wickliffe*, and the *Bohemians*, any better then this: for hee preached against such Articles as were brought to the Councell of *Constance*, by the *English* and *Bohemians*: now those Articles were many of them impious and hereticall, nay hellish and blasphemous, in such sort as they were proposed by them, that brought them; asⁿ that God must obey the Devil, that Kings or Bishops, if they be reprobates, or if they fall into mortall sinne, cease to be Kings or Bishops any longer, and that all they doe is meere void: whereas *Wickliffe*, never delivered any such thing, nor had any such impious conceipt, as they sought to fasten on him: neither is it to be marvelled at, that impious things were falsely & slanderously imputed to him; seeing we are wronged in like sort at this day. For there are who shame not to write, that we affirme God to be the author of sin, that we teach, that God doth sin, that man sinneth not, that God onely sinneth, and that God is worse then the devil, with many other like hellish blasphemies, which we accurse to the pit of hell: many things no doubt were written by *Wickliffe* in a good & godly sense, which as they were wrested by his adversaries, were hereticall & damnable. For example, it is a damnable heresie to think that Kings & Bishops cease to be that they were, if they fall into mortall sin: or that reprobates cannot be truly Kings or Bishops: neither did *Wickliffe*, ever hold any such opinion; but as *Iohn Hus* shewed, he thought that godlesse persons howsoever officio, in office and place, they bee Kings and Bishops; yet merito, that is in merit, they are neither; because they are unworthy to be either: & are of such quality, as that if God would take the forfeiture, they might justly bee deprived, not of dignity alone, but of life and being also. Now then this is the goodly Argument which

¹ De unitate
Græc. consid. 6.

^m Sermon in Paschate part. 4.

ⁿ Concil. Constant. Sess. 8.

^o A letter of a
Catholique to
his Protestant
friend: or cer-
taine Articles
or forcible rea-
sons presented
Answered.

p Pag. 19.

De potestate
Eccl. confid. 12.In an Epistle
to the Earle of
Passun, prefixed
before his booke
against Henry
the Eighth.In Dialog. A-
polog. de
Concilio Con-
stantiens.

which Master *Higgons* frameth: *Gerson* condemned such hereticall and impious Articles, as were presented to him and other assembled in the Councell of *Constance*, as taken out of the writings of *Wickliffe*, and disliked some other that were indeed his, & might have a good sence, because they were delivered in a dangerous forme of speech, as likewise such as rather bewrayed his too passionate dislike of things amisse, carrying him too farre into contrary extremities, then an advised and wise consideration of the meanes, whereby they might be amended: therefore hee would never have allowed that reformation of religion, that now is. This argument I thinke will not hold: because we also condemne many of the Articles attributed to *Wickliffe*, no lesse then *Gerson*: and yet are no enemies to the Protestantall reformation, as Master *Higgons* calleth it. But Master *Higgons* saith, I must needes be found contrary to my selfe, in that I acknowledge *Wickliffe*, *Husse*, *Hierome* of *Prage*, and the like, to have bene the worthy servants of Christ, and holy Martyrs, and confessours: and yet praise *Gerson*, as a worthy guide of Gods Church, and one that desired the present reformation, who consented to the condemnation of *Wickliffes* Articles. We are wont to say: *Distinguish times, and the Scriptures will soone be accorded*: so let Master *Higgons* distinguish aright things that differ one from another; and this seeming contrariety will be found to be none at all. For *Wickliffe* & *Husse* might be worthy servants of God, in that they reproved the intollerable abuses of those times which *Gerson* never approved: and yet *Gerson*, though as zealous and religious as either of them, might condemne, as impious, some positions falsely imputed to *Wickliffe*, not knowing but that they were his, and dislike other that indeede were his, as not delivered in such sort, and such formes of words as was fit, or favouring of too much passion and violence, and therefore like a right wise and moderate man, he^r interposed himselfe betweene *Wickliffe*, and such as he was opposite to, disliking the one sort, as attributing too much to the Cleargy, and the other, as detracting too much from it. Touching *John Husse*, and *Hierome* of *Prage*, I could never yet find, in what point of faith they dissented from the Doctrine of the Church, then constantly resolved on, but they bitterly inveighed against the ambition, pride, covetousnesse, and negligence of the Cleargy; they urged the necessity of oftner preaching then was usuall in those times, & desired to have the Communion in both kindes, according to the ancient custome of the Primitive Church, and could not bee induced simply and absolutely to condemne the Articles of *Wickliffe*, but thought many of them might carry a good sence: and that the author of them was a man, that carryed a good minde, howsoever he might faile in some things: Neither was there any matter worthy of death proved against them, but they were unjustly charged with things they never thought of: so that *Luther* said truly, that they were Muderers and seven times Hereticke, that condemned the innocent men, *John Husse*, and *Hierome* of *Prague*: For it is most evident to any one, that will consider the acts of that Councell, that things were carried in it, in a most violent and tumultuous manner, with clamours and out-cries, against those poore men standing in their just defence, & clearing themselves from any thing their Adversaries themselves accounted to bee hereticall. And particularly concerning *Hierome* of *Prague*, it appeareth that Cardinalls that were chiefe Presidents of that Councell, sought all possible meanes to let him goe free, as *Pilate* did to acquit Christ; but the crie of the multitude prevailed: And therefore I thinke it will not be easily proved by Master *Higgons*, that *Gerson* had any hand in the turbulent and furious proceeding against the persons of these men, howsoever hee might mislike some things which they were charged with. So that he is neither pronounced to be an Hereticke, nor a Murderer by *Luther*, as Master *Higgons* untruly saith he is. What manner of proceeding there was in the Councell *Gerson* himselfe reporteth, shewing his dislike of the courses holden in it, and confessing that many intollerable things were done there, which neither could nor would have bene induced, if men had not bene content to endure any thing in hope of unitie, and peace, after so many calamities of the Church, most pittifully torne and rent in sunder by the former Schismes.

There is onely one thing more remaining in this chapter that toucheth me: and that
is

is, that speaking of the tyranny of the See of Rome, & such as withheld the truth of God in unrighteousness, and being named Christians served Antichrist, I adde, as Bernard complained of some in his time, in which addition Master Higgons chargeth me with fraudulency; saying, that I goe about to make the world beleve, that they, against whom Iohn Husse, Hierome of Prage, and the rest opposed themselves, served Antichrist even by the verdict of Saint Bernard himselfe. If Bernard say not expressly, that many, even exceeding many, so that they were without number, of the pretended friends and lovers of the Church of Rome, and such as possessed high places of rule and government in the same, served Antichrist, let him charge mee with ill dealing at his pleasure; but if hee doe, let Master Higgons know he hath wronged me in a very high degree. Let us heare therefore what Bernard will say, *Woe* saith he, to this generation, because of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisie: if yet it may be named hypocrisie, which in respect of the greatnesse of it, cannot; and in respect of the impudencie it is growne unto, seeketh not to be hid. A filthy, rotten, running soare, secretly passeth along through all parts of the body of the Church; the more largely, the more desperately it spreadeth it selfe: and the more inwardly, the more dangerously: for if an open enemy by professed heresie opposing himselfe, should rise up, he would be cast out: and if a violent enemy should seek to oppress the Church, Men would hide themselves from him; but now whom should the Church cast out? or from whom should she flye? all are friends, and all are enemies: all are tyed unto her in a bond of amity, and yet all are her adversaries: all are of her household, and yet none are at peace with her: all her neighbours, and yet all seek their owne: they are the Ministers of Christ, and they serve Antichrist: so that nothing remaineth, but that the divell, that feareth not to walke at noone day, should be revealed to seduce such as remaine in Christ, still abiding in their simplicity; for hee hath already swallowed up the rivers of the wise, and the fountaines of the mighty, and hath hope to draw in Jordan into his mouth, that is the simple and lowly in heart, that are in the Church. What is therefore the fraudulency Master Higgons so much complaineth of? Surely he saith, it was onely wickednesse of life Bernard complained of, and I seeme to extend his complaint farther. For answer whereunto, first I say, that I no way extend the words of Bernard to any particular kinde of evill of life, doctrine, or violation of discipline: but cite them in such generall sort, as they are found in him. Secondly, I say it is untrue, that Higgons saith, that Bernard complained onely of the evill lives of men in his time: for in his bookes of Consideration to Eugenius the Pope, hee blameth him for meddling with things more properly pertaining to men of another ranke and sort, asking of him *Quid fines alienos invadis? quid falcem vestram ad alienam messem extenditis?* that is, why doe you incroach upon the bounds of other men? and why doe you reach forth your sickle, and thrust it into the harvest of other men? adding, that, *if the dayes were not evill, hee would speake many other things.* Likewise he complaineth of the confusion, and abuse of appeales to Rome in this sort: *Præter fas & jus, præter morem & ordinem fiunt: non locus, non modus, non tempus, non causa discernitur, aut persona.* That is, appeales are made and admitted, besides law, and right, besides custome, and order: no difference is made of place, manner, time, or cause: so that the Bishops in all parts of the world are hindered that they cannot doe their duties: as also of the spoyling of the guides and governours of the Church of their authority, by exemptions and priviledges, freeing such as are under them from their subjection, *Murmur loquor, saith he, & quarimoniam ecclesiarum truncari se clamitant, & demembrari: vel nulla, vel pauca admodum sunt qua plagam istam aut non dolent, aut non timeant. Queris quam? Subtrahuntur Abbates, Episcopi, Episcopi Archiepiscopis, Archiepiscopi Patriarchis sive Primatibus.* That is, I utter the murmuring & complaint of the Churches: they cry out that they are mangled, and dismembred; there are either none, or very few, which either feele not, or feare not this plague: if you aske what plague? Abbots are exempted from the jurisdiction of their Bishops, Bishops of their Arch-bishops, they of their Primates. But hee dissenteth not from the Papists in matter of doctrine. Surely this is no truer then

Pag. 11.

Serm. 33. in Canica.

Lib. de consideratione ad Eugenium.

Lib. 3. de consideratione.

Ibid.

^a Bern. Sermon. 5
de verb. Esaiæ.

^b Sermon. 1. de
annunc. Dom.

^c Tract. de gratiâ
& lib. arb. in fi-
ne.

^d Ep. 175. ad
Canon. Lugd.

^e Pag. 12.

then the rest: for it will be found that *Bernard* hath written that which will not please our Adversaries very well, touching speciall faith, imperfection and purity of inherent righteousness, merites, power of free-will, the conception of the blessed Virgin and the keeping of the Feast of her Conception. For I would willingly learne of them whether they will graunt, that ^a all our righteousness is as the polluted ragges of a menstruous woman? that ^b wee must beleve particularly that our sins are remitted to us? that ^c our workes are via regni, not causa regnandi; that is, the way that leadeth to the Kingdome, but not the cause why we raigne? that ^d the blessed Virgin was conceived in sin, and that the feast of her conception ought not to bee kept? In all these things doubtlesse *Bernard* dissented from the Papists at this day: neither did hee know or understand any thing of their transubstantiation, locall presence, private masses, halfe Communi- ons, indulgences, and the like; which are matters of difference betweene us & our Ad- versaries at this day: so that there might be good conformity in substance betweene *Bernard* and *Wickliff*, & his followers, though many Articles falsely attributed to him are damned and hereticall, & some things were uttered unadvisedly by him: & there- fore that which followeth, of ^e *Falshood, Inflexions, Pretenses, and subtilties*, is but the bewraying the distemper of *Higgons* his idle braine; who having confounded himselfe in his owne intricate conceits, would make men beleve, other are like unto him; how orderly, plainly, and sincerely soever they handle things.

The third Part.

S. 1.

^a Pag. 12.

^b Dial. Apolog.

^c Part. 1. serm.
pro viago Re-
gis Roman. 2.
part. principali
direct 3.

IN the third part of this Chapter, hee reflecteth (to use his owne wordes) upon foure passages of mine; and professeth, ^a that he will detect sundry untruths, and vanities, wilfully committed in the same. Wherein the Reader shall finde him as false and as vaine a man as ever hee met with. The foure passages hee speaketh of are these: the first, that *Gerfon* reporteth, that sundry lewd assertions, prejudiciall to the states of Kings and Princes, were brought into the Councell of Constance, and that the Councell could not bee induced to condemne them. Secondly, that they made no stay to condemne the positions of *Wickliff* & *Hus*. Thirdly, that they condemned the positions of *Wickliff* & *Hus*, seeming to derogate from the state of the Cleargy. Fourthly, that they condemned the said positions, though many of them might carry a good and Catholique sense, if they might have found a favourable construction. In which of these passages is my falshood and untruth? Doth not ^b *Gerfon* report, that sundry lewd positions, prejudiciall to the state of Princes were brought to the Councell of Constance to bee condemned: and that by no exhortations, or entreaties, by word or writing, the Fa- thers assembled in it could bee brought to condemne them? Doth he not say, that they condemned the positions of *Wickliff* and *Hus*, that they imprisoned some for those errors in the beginning of the Councell, and burnt them afterwards? Doth he not say, the positions prejudiciall to the states of Princes, which he speaketh of, were more pestiferous in the life and conversation of men, and in the state of Com- mon-weales, then those they condemned? Doth hee not complaine of partiality and respect of persons, and the Cleargies seeking their owne, rather then that which is *Christ Iesus*? Doth hee not say, ^c many of the positions of *Wickliff* might have had a good sense, if they might have beene favourably construed? Doth hee not protest that he hath no hope of reformation by a Generall Councell, things standing as hee found them to doe? if there be any untruth in any of these passages, let the Reader censure me as he pleaseth. But if all these things be most undoubtedly true, let him accompt of *Higgons* as of an impudent young man, that hath strangely hardened his fore-head, as if he had beene a scholler in the schoole of impudency, a farre longer time then yet he hath beene. But happily he may finde vanity in these passages of mine, though no untruth.

Let

Let us see therefore, what he saith: *what advantage, saith hee, can Doctor Field* d Pag. 14.
 'gaine from *Gersons* improbation of the afore-said lewd assertions, prejudiciall to the
 'states of Kinges and Princes? why doth hee presse the authority of *Gerson*, whose
 'medicine he knoweth to be very sharpe, against the disease of all such Princes, as by
 'the infection of Heretiques are seduced from the integrity of the Catholique faith:
 'to wit, persecution by fire and sword. Surely heere *Theomistus Higgon* bewrayeth
 more then vanity: for, as if he meant presently to become a traytor against his Sove-
 raigne, whom he and his consorts suppose to be seduced from the Catholique verity,
 he beginneth at the very first to talke of sharpe medicines against such Princes; and
 those prescribed by *Gerson*, as hee telleth us, but he will be found a lying and cogging
 mate: for *Gerson*, in the place cited by him, hath nothing for the Popes deposing e Part. 4. decem
 Princes for heresie, or any thing else, which yet is that medicine he meaneth: nay wee confiderat. con-
 are assured he never held any such trayterous position; but, writing against the flatte- tra adulatoris
 rers of Princes, he wisheth Princes to take heed they listen not to such men, as will in- Principium.
 still into them many false opinions, touching their power and absolutenesse, contrary
 to the faith and truth of God; whereby, in the end, they may make themselves so
 odious as to be persued by fire and sword by their subjects. So that, whereas *Gerson*
 speaketh of errors in faith, concerning the state of Princes, bringing them to do things
 so odious, as to be persecuted with fire and sword, this good fellow turneth his words
 to another sence; as if he had meant, that for error in faith, the Pope were to depose
 Princes; and whereas, to meete with certaine false and foolish suggestions, made to
 some Princes, contrary to the doctrine of faith, he setteth down certain propositions,
 whereof the first is, *that Princes must not justifie themselves, and thinke they offend not,*
whatsoever they doe; and, that the Lawes Ecclesiasticall and Civill will availe for the
furtherance of this consideration; he turneth the words into this sence, that these Lawes
 are availeable for the deposing of Kings: so treacherous and trayterous is this Fugi-
 tive become already.

From this first observation he proceedeth to a second, saying, that 'if the reforma- f Pag. 14.
 tion wished for by *Gerson*, consisted onely, or principally, or at all, in the redresse of
 lewd assertions, prejudiciall to the states of Kings, the Protestants have not effected
 that which he desired, their positions being dangerous likewise; and thereupon brea-
 keth out into a long and large discourse concerning the positions of Protestants touch-
 ing the state & power of Princes. But surely he is like a Spaniell not acquainted with
 his game, that runneth after every bird that riseth before him; and is to be taught bet-
 ter before there will bee any great use of him. For I bring not the report of *Gerson*
 touching these assertions, so much to shew what he would have reformed, as to make
 it appeare how strangely things were carried in former times, and how little hope he
 and other good men had of any reformation by a Councell, seeing these positions so
 dangerous and apparantly false, could not be condemned in the Councell of *Constance*,
 by reason of a mighty faction prevailing in the same; and so all that he saith upon this
 false ground, is nothing to the purpose: notwithstanding if the man were worth the
 meddling with, or the matter required it, it were easie to shew, that Protestants are farre
 from holding any such trayterous opinions as Papists defend. But I have resolved to
 confine my selfe to the defence of my selfe against his childish exceptions, and no way
 to follow him into any other of his idle discourses.

Touching *Gersons* condemning certaine positions attributed to *Wickliffe* and
Hus; and *Husses* suffering in the cause of CHRIST, against *Antichrist*, and
 the idleness of *Higgon*, in charging mee with contradiction, in that I graunt the
 one, and affirme the other, I have spoken already. But so plentifull hee is in ob-
 jections, that nine things more remaine in this Chapter, not objected before, which
 hee objecteth to mee. The first is, the extenuation of the turbulent and impious
 positions of *Wickliffe*, in that I say they seemed to derogate from the Clergy. Se-
 condly, that I conceale the impiety of *Wickliffe* in other things. Thirdly, that I cite
 in one place, things found in divers places. Fourthly, that I exaggerate the severity
 of the Councell of *Constance* against *Wickliffe*, &c. and makes as if *Gerson* had disliked
 it,

it, whereas hee did not. Fifthly, that I say *Gerson* desired a reformation, and thought that it was to be assayed severally in the particular Kingdomes in the world, there being little or no hope of doing any good by a Generall Councell. Sixtly, that the proceeding in this worke of reformation severally in diverse parts of the world, without a common deliberation, was the cause of those differences, that now appeare in the reformed Churches, according as *Gerson* feared it would fall out. 7th, That I say *Gerson*, *Grofthead* & others, were of the true Church, who yet were members of the Church of *Rome*. Eighthly, that I misalladge a saying of *Gerson*. And the ninth, that whereas *Gerson* saith the Pope sought to bee adored as God, I say, they sought to be adored and worshipped as God. To every one of these I will answer in a word.

To the first, that I extenuate not the impious positions falsely and maliciously gathered out of *Wickliffes* workes, as that, *God must obey the Devil*, and if there be any other like, but accurse them to the pit of hell: but, speaking of those, which, in *Gersons* judgement, were not so hurtfull, neither to the conversation of men, nor the state of common-weales, as those against Princes, which the Councell of *Constance* could not be induced to condemne: I say of them, they seemed to derogate from the Clergy; because I know not certainly upon what ground, or in what sence, many of them, were uttered by him. To the second I answer, that I concealed not the impiety of any Articles where-with *Wickliffe* was charged, but having no occasion to speake of any other but such onely as were not so bad in *Gersons* judgement, as some, they in the councell could not be induced to condemne; I had no reason to censure them any otherwise then I did: for had they beene so bad, as Master *Higgons* would make them to be, the Pope and Councell were not very good, that could by no meanes bee induced to condemne such as were farre worse, as *Gerson* telleth us. To the third I say, that it is lawfull for a man to cite in one place out of one author, things found in him in diverse

g Pag. 8. He al-
leadgeth two
sayings of *Ger-
son* found in
two severall pla-
ces, as if they
were in one:
without specify-
ing whence the
latter of them is
taken.

places: or else Master *Higgons* is too blame, who doth so. To the fourth I say, that I exaggerate not the severity of the Councell against *Wickliffe* simply, but in comparison: and so doth *Gerson*, and disliketh it as much as I doe, condemning it of partiality. To the fifth, and sixth, I say, that *Gerson* affirmed the one, to wit, that no good was to bee expected by a Generall Councell; that the severall parts of the Christian world were to reforme themselves: and feared the other, namely that too great diversity would follow upon such divided reformations; as it will easily appeare, to any one that will take the paines to peruse the places cited by mee. Neither was it haste and precipitation, as Master *Higgons* is pleased to censure it, but necessity, that made our men to doe as they did, having no meanes to meete for common deliberation. To the seaventh I answer, that *Gerson*, *Grofthead*, and the rest, were members of the Church that was under the Papacie: but that they were not of the Papall faction, nor vassals of the man of sinne; but men of a better spirit. To the eighth I answer briefly, that I have most sincerely and truly alleadged the testimony of *Gerson*, and no way varied from his intention; which that the reader may the better be able to discern, I will first set downe what my allegation is, and then what exceptions *Higgons* taketh to it. My words are these. "Touching the second cause of the Churches ruine, which

h Third booke of
the Church, cap.
11.

is the ambition, pride, and covetousnesse of the Bishop, and Court of *Rome*, *Gerson* boldly affirmeth: that whereas the Bishops of *Rome*, challenging the greatest place in the Church, should have sought the good of Gods people, they contrarily sought onely to advance themselves: his wordes are these: in imitation of *Lucifer*, they will bee adored and worshipped as Gods: neither doe they thinke themselves subject to any, but are as the sonnes of *Belial*, that have cast off the yoke, not enduring, whatsoever they doe, that a man should aske them why they doe so: they neither feare God nor reverence men. This is my allegation: now let us see what it is that Master *Higgons* excepteth against in it: Are not these the wordes of *Gerson*? Hee cannot deny but that they are: but hee saith, *Gerson* uttered them, when there was a Schisme in the Church: It is true hee did so; but what then? Did not the true Pope, whosoever hee was, amongst those pretenders, take as much on him as the rest: and is not this note of disgrace fastned upon all? but that Master *Higgons* may know,

i Pag. 28, & 29.

ch 8

that *Gerson* spake as much of the Pope simply, as I have cited out of him, without any reference to pretenders, (as he would faine avoyde the evidence of this heavy sentence) let him consider what *Gerson* hath written in this Tract *de potestate Ecclesia*: where hee goeth about to stop the mouth of flattery, giving too much to the Cleargy: and vile Detraction, taking too much for it: and bringeth in flattery, speaking in this sort to them of the Cleargy, especially the Pope. "O how great, how great is the height of thy Ecclesiasticall power? O sacred Cleargy! how is secular power nothing, if it be compared unto thine! Seeing as all power both in Heaven & Earth was given to *Christ*, so *Christ* left it all to *Peter* and his successors: so that *Constantine* gave nothing to Pope *Sylvester*, that was not his before, but restored to him that which had beene unjustly with-holden: and there is no power temporall, or Ecclesiasticall, imperiall or regall, but from the Pope: in whose thigh *Christ* did write: *King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*: of whose power to dispute, it is sacrilegious: to whom no man may say, why doe you so? though he over-turne, teare in sunder, and overthrow all states, possessions and dominions, temporall and Ecclesiasticall: let me be reputed a lyar, saith he, if these things bee not found written by them that are wise in their owne eyes: and if they bee not found to have beene beleaved by some Popes: He addeth, *notum est illud satyrici*:

De potest. Eccles. confid. 12.

----- *Nihil est, quod credere de se*

Non possit, cum laudatur diis aqua potestas:

That is, according to the knowne saying of the Satyricall Poet: what should not hee perswade himselfe of himselfe, that is magnified, as equall to God in power. For that of the Comickall Poet, is true of the flatterer, that he maketh fooles to be starke madde. These are the sayings of *Gerson*, which I have laid downe at large, that the Reader may judge whether I have depraved the intention of *Gerson*, or not: and whether *Higgons* had any cause to traduce mee in such sort as hee doth. It seemeth the poore fellow was hired to say something against mee, or else he would never have adventured to vent such fooleries: yet the last accusation against me is not to be passed over. *Gerson* saith, the Popes will bee adored as God, and I feare not to adde, that the English Reader may understand me, that they will be adored and worshipped as God: out of these premises hee maketh an excellent conclusion, comparing *Gerson* to *David*, that commaunded *Ioab* to save the life of *Absalom*: and *Luther* to *Ioab*, that had no pittie on trayterous *Absalom*, in that the one would have the Pope well dealt withall, though he disliked his faults: and the other sought to tread him under his feete. But let the Reader know, that as *Gerson*, so *Luther* was willing to give all due honour to the Pope, contenting himselfe with that which of right pertaineth to him: but if he dishonour God, wrong the Church, suffocate and kill her children, and heretically refuse to be subject to the Church, and Councell: if he challenge infallibility of judgement, from which no man may appeale; *Gerson* will tread him under feete, and reject him as an Hereticke as well as *Luther*.

1 Pag. 30.

The fourth Part.

§. 1.

IN the fourth part of this Chapter Master *Higgons* undertaketh to prove that I have abused the name and authority of *Grosthed*, to justifie the *Lutheran* reformation: which he performeth full wisely in this sort: *Grosthed* was judged a Catholique, and a good man by some Cardinals in *Rome*: therefore hee could not desire that reformation of thinges amisse, that now is wrought. If the consequence of this Argument bee denied, he knoweth not how to prove it: but willeth his Reader to demaund of mee, whether these Cardinals, which judged *Grosthed* to bee a Catholique, and of the same Religion with themselves, were not reall members of the Antichristian Synagogue? proud *Romanists*? factious Papists? &c. which question is soone answered. For I have distinguished, as he knoweth

1 Pag. 32.

1 Pag. 33.

e De Prædesti-
natione.

d Pag. 34.

eth right well, the Church in which the Pope tyrannized, and the faction of Papists, that flattered him, and applyed to themselves to set forward his proud and unjust claimes, till they lifted him up into the throne and seate of *Antichrist*; the members of the Church, and of the faction: and though both these lived for a time in the same outward Communion, as did the right beleivers and they that denied the resurrection of the dead, amongst the *Corinthians*: yet did they differ as much in judgement, as we doe from the Papists at this day: so that these Cardinals that opposed themselves against the furious purposes of the Pope, intending to proceed against *Grossthead* for resisting his tyrannicall usurpations, and justified *Grossthead* as a good man, and the thinges hee stood upon, as right and just, and told the Pope of a departure from him, which hee must looke for, and by these ill courses, intended by him, he might hasten, may bee thought not to have beene members of the Antichristian faction, but of the poore Church oppressed and wronged by the same: as *Grossthead* also was. Neither is it so strange, that Cardinals, who are so neare the Pope, should be averse from his Antichristian courses: For *Cameracensis*, then whom that age had not a worthier man, either for life or learning, and *Cusanus* no way inferiour to him, howsoever they were not free from all errors of Papisme, yet wholly condemned the Papacie, as wee doe at this day; denying the Popes universality of jurisdiction, uncontroleable power, infallible judgement, and right to meddle with Princes states; making him nothing but the first Bishop in order, and honour, amongst the Bishops of the Christian Church. And *Contarenus*, as all men know, condemned sundry errors of the Papisme, and seemed no lesse to dislike the Papistes wilfull and obstinate maintaining of grosse errors, abuses, and confusions, then the temerity of those that disorderedly, as hee thought, sought to have an alteration. Thus is Master *Higgons* his great demaund easily answered: Onely one great and unexcusable fault I have committed; in that I say these Cardinals opposed themselves against the Pope, when hee intended to proceede violently against Bishop *Grossthead*: whereas I should have said, they interposed themselves. The poore man it seemeth is very weake in his conceipt, and therefore saith he knoweth not what: for did not the interposing of themselves, in such sort, as they did, imply a contrariety of judgement in them, opposite to that of the Pope? and was not their hindering, crossing, and stopping of him by all the meanes it was fit for them to use, an opposing against his rash purpose and resolution? Surely Master *Higgons* in this passage sheweth himselfe as very a babe as ever sucked a bottle. For all men know, that one may oppose himselfe unto another, as well by way of perswasion and entreaty, as of authority or violence.

e Pag. 33.

But to leave these trifling fooleries, and to come to matter of substance, because he saith, I expresse not the matters of quarrell, and differences betweene the Pope & Bishop *Grossthead* particularly enough; and that I conceale the correspondence hee held with the *Romane* Church in matters of faith; I will relate the whole storie at large, of such things as fell out betweene the Pope and this worthy Bishop, whereby I doubt not but it will appeare, that if *Grossthead* were now alive, he would detest such smattering companions as *Higgons* is, that labour so carefully to reconcile him to that *Antichrist*, with whom hee had warre both while hee lived, and after hee was dead.

The Popes in the time wherein *Grossthead* lived, not contenting themselves with the preheminance of being Patriarches of the West, which stood in confirming Metropolitanes, by imposition of hands, or by mission of the Pall, and in calling Patriarchicall Synodes, in certaine cases, to heare and determine matters of greater consequence, then could be ended in Provinciaall Synodes: but taking upon them, as if the fulnesse of all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction had rested in them alone, admitted appeals out of all parts of the West, not of Bishops onely, but of Presbyters, inferiour Clergy-men: and Lay-men also; reserved a great number of cases to their owne cognisance, debarring the Bishoppes and Metropolitanes from meddling with them: exempted whom they pleased from the ordinary jurisdiction of their Bishoppes, and challenged the right to conferre all kinde of dignities Ecclesiasticall, whither presen-
tative

tative, or elective, not onely when they were voyde, but before: whence came their expectative graces, and provisions; and, which much offended and grieved all good men, bestowed the dignities of the Churches abroad in *England* and other places upon strangers, that never came to those Churches they were intitled to; so that at one time, a survey being taken, it was found that strangers carryed yearely more then threescore thousand Markes out of *England*, which was more then the bare renew of the Crowne at that time. Amongst others, Bishop *Grosthed* received the Popes letters for the placing of certaine strangers in his Church of *Lincolne*; which he refused to doe, and wrote backe to the Pope, to let him know he was opposite to *Christ*, a murtherer of soules, and an Hereticke in these his courses: Upon the receipt of which letters; the Pope was halfe madde with anger, and calling his Cardinals together, sware by *Peter* and *Paul*, that if it were not that he were overcome by the goodnesse of his nature, hee would cast downe this Bishop into the pit of all confusion, which thing hee said he could easily doe, for that the King of *England* was his Vassall and Slave; and hee could commaund him, under paine of his high displeasure, to cast him into prison, or otherwise to proceed against him: but that howsoever hee would make him an example to all such as would dare in like sort to disobey his *Mandates*. Some of the Cardinals, more advised then the Pope, sought to pacifie him what they could, and to stoppe these his intended violent courses: telling him; Bishop *Grosthed* was in faith a Catholique, in life a most holy man, of great learning, and every where much respected: that the thinges hee stood upon, were just and right; and that therefore it was not safe for him to proceede against him, least some tumult should follow: which they besought him the rather to thinke of, for that there must be a departure from the Church of *Rome*, which they would not have him to hasten by this meanes. These perswasions prevailed so farre, that *Grosthed* was not accursed, nor deposed, but died Bishop of *Lincolne*; yet after his death, (it being easier to insult upon a dead Lyon then a living dog) the Pope tooke heart, and was resolved to accurse him, and to commaund his dead body to bee taken up, and to be buried in a dunghill. But the night before this vile act should have bin done, Bishop *Grosthed* did appeare unto him with his crosier staffe in his hand; and so rebuked the wicked Pope, for favouring the wicked, and persecuting the righteous; and besides strooke him in such sort with his crosier staffe, that he never enjoyed his Papall dignity after it. This apparition happily was nothing else but the apprehension of his guilty conscience, representing to him the person of him whom he intended to wrong, and terrifying him even unto the death. Howsoever it appeareth by *Mathew Paris*, that this worthy Bishop: (for so will I call him, notwithstanding any thing prating *Higgons* can say to the contrary) finding that the Pope sought to overthrow the order of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, to encroach upon all Bishops and guides of the Church, and to usurpe such an illimited, universall, and absolute authority, as no way pertained to him, feared not to call him *Antichrist*: to compare him and his Courtiers to that *Behemoth*, that putteth his mouth to the River of *Jordan*, thinking hee can drinke it up; to pronounce that it is most true, that before his time, was said of him, and his execrable Court.

Ejus avaritia totus non sufficit orbis:

Ejus luxuria meretrix non sufficit omnis.

That the Church was holden in Babylonicall captivity by this *Antichrist*, and that her deliverance would never be wrought but by the edge of the sword, that must bee bathed in blood.

This is the true report concerning *Grosthed*: in all which there are neither fictions, nor exaggerations, as *Higgons* pretendeth, by which it is evident that there was as little communion between the Pope, challenging as he did then, and doth now, infallibility of judgement, universality of illimited and uncontrouleable power, & right to dispose the Kingdomes of the World, as there is betweene, light and darkenesse, the Temple of God, and Idols, *CHRIST* and *Antichrist*. So that he was no Papist, seeing he overthrew the Papacie; and if in any thing he erred, as living in corrupt times,

2 Pag. 4.

it is not to be marvelled at ; neither did his error in some particular thing, so much prejudice his piety and sanctity, as that he may not be called a worthy and renowned Bishop, seeing he held the foundation, and strove for the truth, as farre as hee knew it, even to death. And therefore the exceptions of the Authour of the booke of the three Conversions against Master *Foxe*, touching this Bishop, and some other mentioned by him, and recorded in the number of Martyrs and Confessors, are little to be regarded: for that men might be members of that true Church whereof we are, holding the foundation, and carefully seeking out & maintaining the truth, as farre as they knew it, though they were otherwise perswaded in some things, then either M^r *Foxe*, or we are; which need not to seeme strange to Master *Higgons*, nor any other of that side: seeing they thinke many to have beene members of their Church, and Catholics that dissented from them in all the questions concerning the Pope, to which all other, as Master *Higgons* telleth us, are subordinate: and besides in the questions of originall sin, free-will, justification, merite, satisfaction, the number of the Sacraments, and sundry other like things.

Thus we see how zealously *Grosthead*, the worthy and renowned Bishop of *Lincolne*, opposed himselfe against the tyrannicall usurpations and incroachments of the Pope, and feared not to call him Antichrist for the same. Neither was he alone in this opposition, but we shall finde that the whole state of *England* after many complaints against the Popes incroachments, usurpations, and tyrannicall intermedling in things no way pertaining to him, to the overthrow of the Hierarchy of the Church; told him in the end, that if these courses were continued, they should bee forced to doe that which would make his heart to ake. Thus, saith *Mathew Paris*, at last the poore Church of *England*, that had bin long used as an Ass to carry the Popes burdens, in the end grew weary, & opened her mouth as *Balaams* Ass did, to reprove the folly of the Prophet: & that not without just cause, in the judgement of all the world: for howsoever the Church of *Rome* challenged to be the Mother of all Churches, and the Pope to be the Father of all Christians, yet the one proved a cruell stepmother, & the other an unkind & unnaturall Father: so that they both lost the hearts of all men. But what did the Pope upon the complaints of so great a Church & Nation as this of *England*? did he ease her burthens, or any way listen to her most reasonable suits? no verily; but was so unmercifull; as the same *Paris* testifieth, that having so sore beaten us, hee beate us againe in more cruell sort then ever before, only because we cryed: & therefore let him not be angry with us, because we have kept our word with him, that never kept any with us; and have indeed done that which maketh his heart to ake, as our fore-fathers threatned him long before: these groans of our wronged mother, & her often renewed bitter complaints, before any was found to worke her deliverance, doe justifie that which we have done to be no more then in duty we stood bound to do: neither is there any better prooffe of the goodnes of our cause, then that, that which we have done in the reformation of the Church, was long before wished for, expected, & fore-told by the best men that lived in former times in the corrupt state of the Church.

6 Lib. 1. pag. 84.

But because M^r *Higgons* is pleased to tell us, that if there be no better prooffe, the cause is bad, & the patrons worse: because these best men we speak of, will not speak for us: I will take a little paines to shew the goodnes of this proof, which I doubt not but the Reader will finde to be better, then that M^r *Higgons*, or any other of his *Romanists* shall ever be able to weaken it. All that which we have done in the reformation of the church, consisteth in 3 things: the first is the condemning of certain erroneous opinions in matters of doctrine: the 2^d, the shaking off of the yoke of Papall tyranny: & the 3^d, the removing of abuses & superstitious observations. Now then if it be proved that the best and best learned in former times, thought as wee doe in matters doctrinall: that they complained of the heave-yoke which the Pope laide on them, and desired the remooving of such abuses as wee have remooved, I thinke this prooffe will be found very strong and good: I will therefore first beginne with matters of doctrine, and so proceede to the other points, not intending to runne through all the controverted points of doctrine; but some onely for example: and because

because the question is only of the judgement of men, living in later times in the corrupt state of the Church under the Papacie, I will passe by the Fathers, and speake of such as lived since their time. Touching the Canon of Scripture, which is the rule of our faith: we deny the bookes of *Tobit*, *Iudith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom*, *Machabees*, the *Song of the three Children*, and the *Story of Bell and the Dragon*, to bee Canonically Scriptures: So did *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, *Petrus Clunienensis*, *Lyranus*, *Dionysius Carthusianus*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Waldensis*, *Richardus Armachanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, *Ockam*, *Cajetane*, and *Driedo*: to say nothing of *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Origen*, *Atanasius*, *Hilarium*, *Nazianzen*, *Cyrill of Ierusalem*, *Epiphanius*, *Ruffinus*, *Hierome*, *Gregory*, and *Damasen*. Here wee see a cloud of witnesses, deposing for us. And what better prooffe of the goodnesse of the cause can there be, then that so many worthies of the world, in so diverse places, & at so diverse times give testimonies to our opinion? Touching the creation, fall, and state of originall sinne, there were some, and they excellently learned, who thought as we doe, that man must either be lifted above himselfe by grace, or fall below himselfe by sinne, that there is no middle estate of pure nature, that originall righteousnesse was required to the integrity of nature, and consequently, that being lost, nature is corrupted, and deprived of all naturall and morall rectitude, so that a man, after the fall of *Adam*, till grace restore him, can doe nothing morally good, or that is not sin. These men defined originall sin to be, a privation of originall righteousnesse, that is, of that grace, without which a man can neither feare, love, nor serve God aright. And consequently, do teach, that after *Adams* fall, without grace renewing us, wee cannot keepe the commandments of God, do the workes of morall vertue, or any way dispose our selves to a true conversion and turning unto God. This opinion is learnedly defended by *Thomas Bradwardin*, in his discourses against the *Pelagians* of his time, and confirmed by him out of the Scriptures, and Fathers: and likewise by *Gregorius Ariminensis*; as it was before them, by *Augustine* and *Prosper*. Many there were who thought otherwise; whom Cardinall^m *Contarenus* blameth; as inclining too much to the *Pelagian* heresie; but the best men concurred in judgment with these. For prooffe whereof^a *Cassander* citeth an excellent saying of *Bonaventura*: *Hoc, inquit, piarum mentium est, ut nil sibi tribuant, sed totum gratia Dei; unde quantamcumque aliquis det gratia Dei, a pietate non recedit: etiamsi multa tribuendo gratia Dei, aliquid subtrahit potestati naturae, vel liberi arbitrij: cum vero aliquid gratia Dei subtrahitur, & natura tribuitur, quod gratia est: ibi potest periculum intervenire.* That is, it is the property of pious and good mindes, to attribute nothing to themselves, but to ascribe all unto the grace of God: for how much soever a man giveth to the grace of God, he offendeth against no rule of piety, no though by giving much to the grace of God, he subtract something from the power of nature, or free-will: but when any thing that pertaineth to grace is denyed unto it, and given to nature, there may be some danger.

Concerning justification, there is a very maine difference betweene the Papists, and us: for though we deny not, but that there is a donation and giving of the spirit to all them that are justified: changing and altering them in such sort as that they begin to do the workes of righteousnesse: yet we teach, that justification consisteth in such sort in the remission of sinnes, and the imputation of Christs righteousnesse, that the faithfull soule must trust to no other righteousnesse but that which is imputed: the other being imperfect, and not enduring the tryall of GODS severe judgement: Now that this was the faith of the best and worthiest men in the Church, in former times, it will easily appeare unto us. *The righteousnesse of another (saith Bernard) is assigned to man, because hee had none of his owne: and upon the Canticles he saith; I also will sing the mercies of the Lord for ever.* Shall I sing of mine owne righteousnesse? no Lord, I will remember thy righteousnesse onely: for that is mine seeing thou art made unto mee of God righteousnesse. Is there any cause for me to feare, least it should not suffice both us? it is no short cloake, which according to the Prophet; cannot cover two. With *Bernard* all other good men agreed, who in respect of the imperfection of our inherent righteousnesse, pronounced it to be as the polluted ragges of a menstruous

ⁱ See the places cited in the 4. booke of the Church, cap. 23.

^e De causa Dei contra Pelagianos.

^f In 2. Sentent. Dist. 26. quest. 1. art. 1. & dist. 30. quest. 3.

^m In lib. de predestinatione.

ⁿ Consultat. art. 18.

^o Epistola 190. p. 61. in Cantica.

9 Lib. 4. de consolatione Theologice profa 1.

De iustificat.

f Consult. art. 4

r De iustific.

u Contro. 2 de fide & iustificatione.

x In appendice cap. 12.

y Citatus à Cassandro in Consult. art. 6.

z Citat. à Cassandro. Ibid.

a Serm. 1. in festo omnium Sanctorum.

b Epist. ad Cardinalem Farne-
sium, de actis
Ratisbon.

menstruous woman. "Who is there, saith *Gerson*, that shall dare to boast that hee hath a cleane heart? and who shall say I am innocent? and I am cleane? who is hee that will not quake for feare, when he shall stand before God to be judged? who is fearefull in his counsels. Hence *Job* in his affliction saith unto God, I feared all my workes, knowing that thou sparest not the sinner: and againe, if he will contend with me, I cannot answere him one of a thousand. Whereunto the prayer of the Prophet agreeth; enter not into judgement with thy servant, O Lord, for no living man shall bee justified in thy sight: And againe, if thou shalt observe iniquities, O Lord, Lord who shall endure it? Furthermore we reade, that *Esay* wrapping up himselfe with other, and waxing vile in his owne eyes, in all humility professed, that all our righteousness is as the polluted ragges of a menstruous woman. Who therefore in boasting sort shall dare to shew his righteousness to God, more then a woman dareth shew the ragges of her confusion and shame to her husband? There are two kindes of justice, to which faith leadeth us, saith *Cardinali Contarenus*; the one inherent, the other imputed: it remaineth that wee enquire upon which of them wee are to stay our selves, and by which wee are to thinke that wee are justified before God, that is, accounted just and holy, as having that justice that pleaseth God, and answereth to that his law requireth, I truly, saith he, thinke that a man very piously and Christianly may say, that wee ought to stay, to stay I say, as upon a firme and stable thing able undoubtedly to sustaine us, upon the justice of Christ given and imputed to us, and not upon the holinesse and grace that is inherent in us. For this our righteousness is but imperfect, and such as cannot defend us, seeing in many things wee offend all, &c. But the justice of Christ, which is given unto us is true and perfect justice, which altogether pleaseth the eyes of God, and in which there is nothing that offendeth God: Upon this therefore as most certaine and stable wee must stay our selves, and beleve that we are justified by it, as the cause of our acceptance with God: this is that pretious treasure of Christians, which whosoever findeth, selleth all that hee hath to buy it. With *Contarenus* agree the Authours of the *Enchiridion of Christian Religion*, published in the Provinciaall Synod of *Colen*, in the yeare of our Lord 1536. Which as *Cassander* saith, the more learned Divines, in *Italy* and *France* approved: the Authours of the booke called *Antididagma Coloniense*, *Albertus Pighius*, and sundry other; who if they were now alive, and should thus teach, our Jesuited Papists would soone condemne them as Heretickes.

Touching merits, I have shewed else-where that *Scotus*, *Camaracensis*, *Ariminensis*, and *Waldensis*, doe thinke there is no merit properly so named. With whom agreeth *Adrian* the Pope, upon the fourth of the sentences, writing thus, like a Protestant as I thinke. "Our merits are as a staffe of reed, upon which if a man stay himselfe, it will breake and pierce the hand of him that stayeth on it, and our righteousness is as the ragges of a menstruous woman, &c." *Clethovans* upon the Canon of the Masse, upon these wordes, *not wazing our merits, but pardoning our offences*, asketh, what merit we can plead with God, to whom we owe all thinges? according to that, *When yee have done all, say that yee are unprofitable servants*: and how wee can applaud our selves in our good workes, whereas all our righteousness is as the polluted ragges of a menstruous woman before the Lord? Whereunto *Bernard* agreeth. There is extant an excellent Epistle of *Cardinal Contarenus*, wherein hee sheweth what reasons moved him, and the other of his side, to yeeld so farre to the Protestants, as to leave out the name of merit, and to acknowledge that there is no merit of workes properly so named. And as these Catholique Divines thought thus of justification, by imputation of Christs righteousness, the imperfection of our inherent righteousness, and our not meriting any thing with the merit of condignity; so they taught likewise that Christs righteousness is to bee apprehended by a lively faith, and defined a lively faith to bee that motion of the spirit, whereby men truly repenting of their former life, are raised and lifted up to God, and doe truly apprehend the mercy of God promised in Christ, so that they doe indeed feele in themselves that they have received remission of sinnes, and reconciliation by Gods goodness,

ness, and by the merit of CHRIST, and doe cry *Abba*, Father. Thus much was expressly delivered in the booke exhibited by the Emperour *Charles* to the Divines of both sides, whom he appointed to conferre together for the composing of the controversies of Religion: and the Divines agreed unto it. Likewise in the *Enchiridion* of Christian Religion, so much approved by all the more learned Divines of *Italy* and *France*, thus we read. We confesse that it is true, that it is altogether required to the justification of a man, that he certainly beleve not onely in a generalitie, that for *Christs* sake sinnes are remitted to such as truly repent, but that particularly they are remitted to himselfe by faith for *Christs* sake. With whom *Contarenius* agreeth in his Tract of Justification, the most reverend Canons of the Metropolitall Church of *Colein*, Authors of the booke called *Antididagma*, and sundry other. And before them all, *Bernard* delivered the very same: his words are these. 'If thou beleevest that thy sinnes cannot be done away, but by him against whom only thou hast sinned, & who cannot sin, thou doest well: but adde this moreover, to beleve that thy sinnes are remitted thee: this is the testimony which the holy spirit giveth in our hearts, saying: Thy sinnes are remitted thee. For so the Apostle supposeth, that a man is justified freely by faith. That the Pope may erre not personally onely, but judicially also, we have the opinion of *Ockam*, *Michael Casenas*, *Cameracensis*, *Cusanus*, *Almain*, *Gerson*, *Waldensis*, *Picco Mirandula*, Pope *Adrian* the 6. almost all the *Parisians*, all them that thinke the Councel to be above the Pope, the Fathers in the Councels of *Constance* & *Basil*, *Alphonsius à Castro*: and as some thinke, *Durandus*; *Cyprian*, and his colleagues, who resisted against the determination of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all the Christians of the East at this day. This might seeme to bee a good prooffe: yet *Stapleton* is so farre from yeelding to it, that he condemneth them all that thus thought, as ignorant and rash, especially the latter of them. That the Pope is onely first amongst Bishops, equall with him in power, not of order onely, but of jurisdiction also, *Cusanus* proveth at large, as *Ockam*, *Michael Casenas*, and their consorts did before: and with these in effect (though they expresse not the same so well,) *Cameracensis*, *Gerson*, *Almaine*, & all the rest agree, who thinke the Councell to be greater in authority, and in the power of jurisdiction, then the Pope: and make him to bee amongst Bishops, as the Duke of *Venice* is amongst the great Senators of that state, greater then each one, but inferiour to the whole company of Bishops. *John Bacon* our Countryman noteth, that many in his time were of the same opinion, who thought the Pope as Head or President of the Colledge and company of Bishops, and with them, to have an illimited authority, reaching to all persons and causes Ecclesiasticall but not as in, of, and by himselfe. This opinion, *Duarenius* followeth, and sheweth, that anciently the Pope tooke no more on him. The same opinion doe all the Christians of the East hold: and the practise & resolution of antiquity confirmeth the same. Touching the unlawfulness of the Popes meddling with Princes & their affaires, we have the testimonies of *Sigbertus*, *Cusanus*, & many more, whom I would produce, but that *M^r Blackwell* the Arch-priest in his examination, hath already produced a world of witnesses, deposing against the Pope in this behalfe, to whom I referre the Reader.

The like might be shewed in other points; but because I will not be tedious, I will leave these points of doctrine, and come to shew what complaints were every where heard in the Christian world, before wee were borne, against the Pope and Court of *Rome*. Of Bishop *Grossthead* and our English, I have spoken already: and have sufficiently shewed how they multiplied complaints against the Pope: let us therefore come to other: The Popes, saith *Nicholas Clemangis*, as they saw themselves to bee greater then other Prelates, so they lifted up themselves above other in desire of ruling, and over-ruling all: and finding that *Peters* patrimonie, though exceeding any one Kingdome of the world, would not suffice to maintaine their state, which they would have to be greater then that of Emperors, Kings and Princes: they entred into those sheepfolds of other men, which they found to abound with milke and wooll: for they took to them the power to confer benefices & Church-livings, which should fall void in any part of the christian world, overthrowing all those elections which the ancient

Cit. à Cassan. consult. art. 4.

d Ibid.

e De duplici fiducia.

f Serm. 1. de annunc. Dom.

g Hi omnes citantur à Stapletono. Relect. contr. 3. q. 4.

& Bell. l. 4. de Pont. c. 2.

h Bell. ibid. c. 7.

i Ubi supra.

k De concord. cath. l. 2. c. 13.

l Dial. l. 4. primi tract. tertie part. c. 2.

m Ibid. cap. 3.

n Sup. sent. prolog. q. 10. art. 2.

o De sac. eccl. minist. & benef. l. 3. c. 2.

p In Chron. an. 1088.

q De concord. cath. l. 3. c. 41.

r De corrupto Eccl. statu.

'ancient by so many Canons carefully sought to uphold: and hereby drew to them an
 'infinite masse of money: neither did they so stay, but tooke away from Bishops and
 'Patrons, all right of collation and presentation; forbidding them to place any till such
 'should bee provided for, as they had given the expectative hope of benefices not
 'voyde. Of these men there was an infinite number, not comming from the Univer-
 'sities and schooles of learning, but from the plough or baie trades, not knowing *Al-*
 '*pha* from *Beta*: who lived most wickedly, and dissolutely, & brought the holy Mini-
 'stery into so great contempt, that whereas anciently nothing was more honourable,
 'now nothing is more abject, and contemptible. Besides these greivances, upon eve-
 'ry vacancy, they exacted the benefit of a whole yeare out of every living, according
 'to a taxation set by them, which sometimes three yeares profit would not answer:
 'and yet not content herewith, they oftentimes imposed tenthes, and such like extra-
 'ordinary taxes upon the poore Cleargy: And as if nothing would suffice, over-
 'threw all the jurisdiction of other Bishops: brought all matters of suite to the Court
 'of *Rome*: and thereby also filled their coffers: and, that nothing might be wanting to
 'make the Church most miserable, the proud spirits of Cardinals, the Popes Assessors,
 'their swelling words, and their insolent gestures were such, that if a man would draw
 'a perfit picture of pride, the best way to expresse the same were to paint a Cardinall.
 'For though these men at the first were but of the inferiour Cleargy, yet in time they
 'so enlarged their Phylacteries, that they do not onely despise Bishops, whom in con-
 'tempt they call *Episcopellos*; but also Patriarches, Primates, and Arch-bishops as their
 'inferiours: and almost suffer themselves to be adored of them. Yea they think them-
 'selves to be Kings fellows: neither did they content themselves thus proudly and
 'insolently to advance themselves above these, under whom they should have bin, but
 'to maintaine their state, the unmeasurable and inextricable gulfes of their covetousnes
 'was such, that no words can expresse it. For they got diverse kindes of livings, that do
 'not well stand together: they became Monkes and Canons, Regulars and Seculars: and
 'under one habit, possessed the livings of all religious orders, and professions: not 2 or
 '3, 10 or 20, but a hundred, 2 hundred, yea sometimes 4 hundred or more: and those
 'not small and poore, but the best & fatteest that could be gotten. *Gerson* speaking of the
 'incroaching of the Court of *Rome*, writeth in this sort: '*In processe of time the Pope*
 '*drew many things to himselfe*: so that in the end, upon occasion given and taken (which
 'it is not needfull here to rehearse) almost the whole collation of livings and jurisdic-
 'tion of the Church, rested in the Pope and his Court, in such sort, that scarce was
 'there any Prelate found, that had power to give any the least benefice. Together with
 'these things concurred manifold exactions, to maintaine the state of the Pope and
 'Cardinals: and whether there were not many fraudes, abuses, and symonies commit-
 'ted, I referre to the judgment of such as are of experience. These things I have there-
 'fore insisted upon; because happily it may seeme to some more expedient for the
 'Universall Church, that all things should be brought backe to their auncient estate,
 'wherein they were in that Church that was in the Apostles times, as much as conve-
 'niently might be, the greater part of these jurisdictions being rejected, which have
 'made the Church meere brutish, and carnall, favouring almost nothing of the things
 'that concerne the salvation of soules, (not of themselves, but through the fault of
 'such as abuse them) or at the least that things should be brought to the state they were
 'in, in the time of *Sylvester* or *Gregory*, when every Prelate was left to himselfe
 'in his owne jurisdiction, and that part of the Church that was committed to his
 'charge, and the Pope held that which was his owne, without so many reservations
 'and so many great exactions, for the maintenance of that Court and Head, growing
 'happily too great for the other states and parts of the body to beare. So that, as there
 'were worthy men, that conspiring with us in matter of faith, opposed themselves a-
 'gainst errors, and false opinions, so there wanted not, that disliked and reproved the
 'Popes incroaching, tending to the dissolving of the whole frame of the Ecclesiasticall
 'Hierarchie, and the overthrow of the forme of government, settled by Christ, which is
 'no lesse hurtfull, then the bringing in of heresie and false Doctrine. And this is that
 'Babylonicall

/ De Concilio
 unius Obedi-
 entie.

Babylonical captivity, of which *Grosthed* complained: and in respect of these confusions, and not onely in respect of ill life, as Master *Higgon* untruly telleth us, *Bernard* and other complained, that the servants of *Christ* served *Antichrist*.

From the tyranny and usurpations of the Pope, so much complained of in the dayes of our Fathers, let us come to abuses and superstitious observations removed by us, and see whether they that went before us, will not give testimony to that which wee have done. And first to begin with the Sacrament of the Lords body and bloud: the first abuse in the celebration of that Sacrament, disliked by us is the mangling of it, and giving it to the Lay people onely in one kinde. Touching the ministration of the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, it is evident, saith *Cassander*, that all other Churches of the World even unto this day, and that the *Romane* or *West* Church for more then a thousand yeares, in the solemne, publike, and ordinary dispensation of this Sacrament, gave both kindes to all the members of the Church. The same doth *Rheanus* prove at large, writing upon *Tertullian*; and sheweth, that, for feare of shedding, the Challices, wherein the consecrated wine was, and out of which the people were to drinke the bloud of *CHRIST*, had certaine pipes of silver. Afterwards in proceffe of time, the consecrated bread was dipped into the wine, and so given to the people, that they might receive the whole Sacrament. But this kinde of dipping *Micrologus* saith, *Ordo Romanus* condemneth: and therefore prescribeth, that on Good Fryday, when there is no consecrating, but a receiving of the mysticall bread, that was consecrated the day before, they should by saying the Lords Prayer, and dipping the body of our Lord into Wine, not consecrated, consecrate the same: that so the people might bee partakers of the whole Communion: which thing were superfluous, if the body our Lord, kept from the day before, and so dipped, might suffice for a full and entire Communion: and he sheweth, that *Iulius* the Pope, writing to the Bishops of *Egypt*, condemned this kinde of dipping, and commanded them to give the bread and wine apart, as *Christ* did institute: yet in time they proceeded farther, and gave the Sacrament onely in one kinde to the people: which custome when some condemned; the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, thought good to confirme and allow; yet so, that the *Bohemians*, upon certaine agreements, were permitted to have the Communion in both kindes: and it is reported of Pope *Martin*, chosen in the Councell of *Constance*, that hee went home from the Councell, and ministred the Communion in both kindes, to diverse, not of the Clergy onely, but of the Laytie also. *Waldensis* also testifieth, that heere in *England*, some devout men of the Laitie, were permitted to communicate in both kindes in his time: and *Cassander* assureth us, that all the best men that professed themselves to bee Catholiques, especiall such as were conversant in reading the auncient writers, and monuments of antiquity, upon great reason desired to have the Communion in both kindes.

The next abuse was that of private Masses. I have shewed already that the name of Masse was given to the holy Sacrament; for that all non-communicants were dismissed, and all that staid were to communicate. And, as *Cassander* fitly noteth the whole composition and forme of the sacred Prayer, called the Canon, agreeth onely to a publicke ministration: there being often mention made in it of the people standing round about, offering and communicating; so that some auncient expositors of the *Romane* order, thinke the Canon ought not to be used, but in a publicke ministration. To which purpose *Micrologus* observeth that the prayers used after the Communion are applyable onely to such as have communicated; and therefore willet them not to neglect to communicate, that desire to enjoy the blessing of these prayers. *Clich.* *thoveus* upon the Canon of the Masse saith, that which some note, that the Priest, so often as hee celebrateth, should give the Sacrament to all that stand by, is Auncient and agreeable to the custome of the Primitive Church, when the faithfull did every day receive the Sacrament according to that Sanction of *Calixtus* the Pope; After the consecration let all communicate: and that of *Anacletus*, who willet them to bee excommunicated, that beeing present at the consecration, communicate not: which

*Consultat.
art. 22.*

*Annot. in lib.
de Corona m.
lit.*

*De officio
missæ cap. 19.*

*Lyndan. Pa-
nopolæ Evan-
gelicæ l. 4. c. 56.
2. Doctrinal.
Fidei tom. 2.
de Sacramento
Eucharistæ.
cap. 94.
Consultat.
art. 22.*

*In præfat.
O. d. Romani.*

*De officio
Missæ cap. 19.
Citat à Cas-
in præfat. ord.
Romani.*

e Defens. fid.
Trid. l. 2. fol.
239.
f Cit. à Cassan-
dro ubi supra.

g Damian. à
Goes de morib.
Æthiopum.
h Cit. à Cassan-
dro conf. art.
24. De solitariis
Missis.

h In rational.
Divinorum. l. 4.
rubrica de pa-
cis osculo. p. 76.
i Defens. fid.
Trid. lib. 2. fol.
239.

k Confut. art. 22

l De directione
cordis confid.
16. & seqq.
m In confut.
art. Lutheri.
n De Cōtra pro
mortuis.
o In Isaia 63.
p Erud. Theol.
de sacr. fid. l. 2.
part. 16. c. 11.
q In 4. sent. l. 3.
tract. 8. c. 5. q. 6.

which *Andradus* will not have to be restrained to the Ministers assisting, but ex-
tended to all the people, and that by the authority of *Dionysius*, and *Iustine Martyr*.
‘*Cocblaus* against *Musculus de sacrificio missæ*; hath these wordes: In olde time
‘both Priest and people, as many as were present at the sacrifice of the Masse, after the
‘oblation was ended, communicated with the Priest, as it is evident by the Canons of
‘the Apostles, and the Epistles of the most ancient Doctours, &c. Afterwards the de-
‘votion of the people decayed, yet the Clergy and Ministers communicated still; and
‘when all they did not communicate, yet at least the Deacons, and Subdeacons com-
‘municated, as the Authour of the *Romane Breviarie* testifieth. Whereupon, saith
‘*Cassander*, some godly and learned men doe wish, that this ancient custome were
‘restored, that at least the Ministers might communicate with him that celebrateth,
‘as agreeable to the practise of the Primitive Church, and making much for the dig-
‘nity and gravity of this Myserie. ⁸ In the Churches of *Æthiopia* all communicate
‘in both kindes, twise every weeke to this day. ^h *John Hofmeister*, expounding cer-
‘taine prayers of the Masse, hath these words: the thing it selfe proclaimeth it, that
‘as well in the *Greeke*, as *Latine* Church, not the Priest that celebrateth onely, but the
‘rest of the Presbyters and Deacons, and the whole people, or at least some part of
‘the people was wont to communicate: which custome how it ceased, and grew out
‘of use, may seeme strange; but it were greatly to be wished that it were restored a-
‘gaine: which thing might easily be effected, if the Pastors of the Churches would doe
‘their duty: for the Priests themselves are in fault, that few or none of the people are
‘found to communicate, in that they doe not invite and stirre them up to communi-
‘cate more often: as appeareth by the writing of a certaine Divine, not unlearned, in
‘the former age, in which hee reprehendeth certaine Pastours of that age wherein hee
‘lived, who tooke it ill, that some of their Parishioners, though living very laudably,
‘desired to communicate every Sunday. That the Sacrament was ministred in former
times in loafe bread, as we minister it at this day, it is evident by the booke called *Or-*
do Romanus, by ⁱ *Durandus*, & sundry other authorities. In auncient times the manner
was to give the holy Sacrament into the hands of the communicants, as wee doe, and
not to put it into their mouthes, as the Papists doe. ‘What shall I speak, saith ^k *Andra-*
ⁱ *dus*, of the use of the holy Eucharist, which now no man may lawfully touch but the
‘Priests, whereas it was wont to be carryed by the Deacons, to such as were absent,
‘and to be given to Lay-men into their hands: whence proceeded that exhortation of
‘*Cyrill of Hierusalem*, full of piety and religion, that each communicant should fasten
‘his eyes upon those hands that received the holy Eucharist, and kisse them with the
‘kisses of his mouth, that so hee might communicate to the rest of the members the
‘holinesse of the Eucharist. The custome of circumgestion, saith ^l *Cassander*, is con-
trary to the manner of the Auncient, and would never have beene liked of them, who
held this myserie in so great respect, that they admitted none to the sight of it, but
such as they thought worthy to bee partakers of it: whereupon all such as might
not communicate, were ejected before the consecration: and therefore it seemeth that
this circumgestion might bee omitted. *Crantzius* praiseth *Gusanius*, who being the
Popes Legate in *Germany*, tooke it away, unlesse it were within the Octaves of the
feast of *Corpus Christi*, the Sacrament being instituted for use, and not for ostentation.
Touching the honour of Saints, ^m *Gerson*, ⁿ *Contarenius*, and others reprehend sundry su-
perstitious observations, and wish they were wisely abolished. Whether the Saints
particularly know our estate, and heare our cries & groanes, not onely ^o *Augustine*, &
the ^p Authour of the *Interlineall Glosse*, but ^q *Hugo de sancto Victore* also will tell us, it is
altogether uncertaine, & cannot be knowne: whence it followeth, that howsoever be-
ing assured they pray for us in a generality, wee may safely desire to be respected of
God the rather for their sakes, yet it is not safe to pray to them. Neither is this a new
conceit of ours, but ^r *Guilielmus Altsiodorensis* saith, it was a common opinion in
his time, that neither we do properly pray to Saints, nor they in particular pray for us,
but that improperly we are said to pray to them, in that wee pray unto God that the
rather for their sakes, & at their suite we may finde favour and acceptation with him.
Touching

Touching the abuse of Images, and how much it was disliked in former times, let the Reader see *Cassander*. How great complaints were made long since against the forced single life of the Cleargy, and how many and great men desired the abrogation of the law, that forced men so to live, I have shewed at large ^{else-where}. That in the Primitive Church they had their prayers in the vulgar tongue, *Lyra* confesseth; and *Cajetane* professeth, that hee thinketh it would be more for edification, if they were so now; and confirmeth his opinion out of the Apostle *Saint Paul*. Thus have I given the Reader a taste of the judgement of those that lived in former times, both concerning matters of doctrine now controverted, the Popes inroachments now by us restrained, and also such abuses as we have removed, by which I thinke it will appeare to be most true, that amongst many good proofes of the equitie of our cause, there can no better bee desired, then that, what we have done in the reformation of things amisse, the worthiest men in the Church wished to be done, before wee were borne. And therefore Master *Higgons* hath little cause to say, *Our cause is bad, and the Patrons worse*. That which hee addeth: (*that it is to bee marvelled at, that I distill the religion and profession of Protestants out of Catholiques,*) is to bee laughed at as most ridiculous: for out of whom else should I distill it? but if he thinke they were all Papists, whom I cite for proofe of our cause, because they lived under the Papacie, hee is deceived: for a great difference is to bee put betweene the Church, and faction in the Church, we deriving our selves from the one, and they from the other.

In Consult. artic. 21. de Imaginibus.
 5. Booke of the Church, cap. 37.
 In 1. ad Corinth. 14.
 In Respons. ad articulos Parisienses.

* Pag. 84.
 † Pag. 107.

The second Chapter.

§. 1.

VV Herefore now let us returne to see, what Mr *Higgons* hath further to say; hee will convince mee, hee saith, of singular vanity, in that I say there is no materiall difference betweene those, whom hee and his consorts call *Lutherans*, and *Zuinglians*. That the reader may the better bee able to discerne, how ignorantly *Higgons* excepteth against mee, I will set downe at large what I have written touching this matter. Answering the calumination of Papists, traducing us for our divisions, my words are these: I dare confidently pronounce, that after due and full examination of each others meaning, there shall be no difference found touching the matter of the Sacrament, the Ubiquitary presence, or the like, betweene the Churches reformed by *Luthers* Ministry in *Germany*, and other places, and those whom some mens malice called Sacramentaries. And in my third booke, answering the objection of *Bellarmino*, charging the *Germane* Divines with the heresie of *Eutiches*, in that they say the humanity of Christ is every where, Ubiquity being an incommunicable property of the Deity, that cannot bee communicated to the humane nature of Christ, without confusion of the Divine and Humane natures, I have these words: he should remember, that they, whom he thus odiously traduceth are not so ignorant as to thinke, that the body of Christ, which is a finite & limited nature, is every where by actuall position, or locall extension; but personally onely, in respect of the conjunction and union it hath with God, by reason whereof it is no where severed from God, who is every where. This is it then, which they teach, that the body of Christ doth remaine in nature and essence finite, limited and bounded; and is locally but in one place: but that there is no place, where it is not united personally to that God, that is every where: In which sence they thinke it may truly be said to be every where. This construction of their sayings, who defend the Ubiquitary presence, is no private or singular device of mine, as Master *Higgons* would make men beleieve; but Master *Hooker*, a man so farre excelling *Theophilus Higgons* in learning & judgement, that hee is not worthy to be named the same day, hath the same precisely in the very same wordes, and alloweth it as Catholique and good; and indeede, who but an ignorant Novice that hath not learned the Principles of the Catechisme would

2 Pag. 36.

3 Booke, 3. cap. 42.

4 Ibid. cap. 35.

5 Ecclesiasticall policy, booke 5.

^d Pag. 37. impugne it? Yet Master *Higgons* saith, 'I have failed exceedingly in two points: the first in saying, there is no place, where the body of Christ is not united personally unto that God that is every where, and that it doth subsist every where, the second, in saying the humane nature of Christ may rightly be said to be every where, in as much as it is united personally to that which is every where. This second saying is none of mine; for I have no such words; as the reader will soone perceive if he peruse the place; but my words are these: The body of Christ is not every where by locall extension, 'but personally only in respect of the union it hath with God, by reason whereof it is 'no way severed from God, who is every where: and againe, there is no place where 'it is not united personally to that God, that is every where: in which sence the *Germane* Divines thinke it may be said to be every where.

^e In Apologia
quæst. 9. de ac-
cidentib. in Sa-
cramento.

^f Apologia
quæst. 5.

^g Apologia
quæst. 9.

^h Pag. 37.

ⁱ In 3. part.
summæ. quæst.
2. art. 6.

Wherefore let us see what Master *Higgons* can say against any thing delivered by mee, touching this point: he saith I have failed, for that, though the Divine person wherein the humane nature subsisteth, be every where; yet the humane nature subsisteth therein finitely and in one determinate place, the Union it selfe being a created thing. For the better clearing of this point, and the understanding of the Doctrine of the Church, resolved on by the best learned in the Schooles, wee must observe, that there is a beeing of essence, and a beeing of existence, or subsistence: the beeing of essence, which the humane nature of Christ hath, is finite and limited, as is the essence of all other men, but beeing of existence it hath none of its owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated to it, which is infinite and Divine. '*Deus in incarnatione verbi* (saith *Picus Mirandula*) *fecit essentiam humanitatis sine suo esse, ut dicitur à multis Doctoribus*: That is, Almighty God in the incarnation of the eternall word, produced the essence of the humanity, without that finite and created actuall existence, which, left to it selfe, it would have had, as many Doctours doe affirme; and 'the person of the Sonne of God, having in it the fulnesse of all beeing, drew the nature of man to the unity of that infinite beeing it had in it selfe, and communicated the same unto it: so that the humanity of Christ never had any other beeing of actuall existence or subsistence, but that the Sonne of God communicated to it. And farther the same ^s *Picus* saith, *Esse corporis Christi substantiale est increatum, Divinum, quod est suppositi Divini, cum in Christo non sit nisi unum, esse actualis existentie substantialis*. That is, the substantiall, actuall beeing of the body of CHRIST, is the increated beeing of the Sonne of GOD: seeing in CHRIST there is but one beeing of actuall existence. This which *Picus Mirandula* hath delivered, is the resolution of *Thomas Aquinas*, *Cajetane*, and all the best learned in the *Romane* Schooles: whence it followeth inevitably, that the humanity of Christ, in the being of actuall existence, and subsistence, which it hath, is not limited or contained within any bounds of place, but is every where; howsoever in respect of the being of essence, which is created & finite, it be shut up within the straites of one place, at one time: and therefore it is no better then Heresie, that *Higgons* hath, 'that the humanity of Christ subsisteth finitely in the person of the Sonne of God: for if it subsist finitely, the subsistence it hath is finite: and if it have a finite subsistence, then are there two subsistences in Christ, the one finite, the other infinite; and consequently, two persons: which is flat *Nestorianisme*. But, saith *Higgons*, the union it selfe in Christ, is a created thing: therefore the beeing of actuall existence, or subsistence, which the humanity hath, is finite. Truly it had beene fit the poore Novice had beene set to Schoole for a time, before hee had beene permitted to write: for he bewrayeth grosse ignorance in those things, which every one that hath saluted the Schooles doth know. The union of the natures of God and man in Christ, saith Cardinall ⁱ *Cajetane*, is to be considered, *vel quantum ad relationem quam significat, vel quantum ad conjunctionem in personâ, ad quam consequitur: quoniam plus differunt hac duo quam cælum & terra; Vnio enim pro relatione, est ens reale creatum: Vnio autem pro conjunctione naturæ humanæ in personâ divinæ, cum consistat in unitate, quæ est inter naturam humanam & personam filij Dei, est in genere seu ordine Substantiæ; & non est aliquid Creatum, sed Creator; quod ex eo constat, quod unum non addit supra Ens naturam aliquam, & unumquodque per illudmet, per quod est Ens, est & Vnum, &c. Ac per hoc*

hoc, natura humana in Christo, quia per esse substantiale subsistentia filij Dei est juncta natura divina, oportet quod illud unum esse, in quo indivisa sunt natura divina & humana in Christo, sit esse unum substantiale divinum; & verè sic est, quia esse subsistentia filij Dei, in quo non distinguuntur amba natura, Substantia est; Deus est, quia verbum Dei est. Una & eadem quippe Subsistentia subsistit filius Dei in natura Divina & in natura humana, & consequenter natura divina & humana in Christo sunt indivisa in illa subsistentia utrique communi, quamvis inter se valde distinguantur. The summe of that he saith, is this: (for I will not stand exactly to English his wordes:) that the union betweene the nature of God and Man in CHRIST, in respect of that being, of actuall existence, and subsistence, wherein they are conjoynd, (which is the same and common to them both, to wit, the subsistence of the Sonne of God, communicated to the nature of man, prevented that it should not have any created or finite subsistence of its owne) is no finite or created thing, but infinite and divine; but in respect of the attaining of the same, in time, and the relation of dependance the humane nature hath upon the Eternall Word, it is finite: and therefore, whereas there are two kindes of grace in Christ, the one of union, the other habituall; the latter is absolutely a finite and created thing, but the former, in respect of the thing given, which is the personall subsistence of the Son of God, bestowed upon the nature of man, is infinite, though the passive mutation of the nature of man, lifted up to the personall being of the Son of God, & the relation of dependance it hath on it, be finite, and in the number of created things. From that which hath bin said, it may be concluded unavoidably, that the humanity of Christ in respect of personall union, & in that being of actuall existence or subsistence which it hath, which is infinite and divine, is every-where, as God himselfe is every-where. But saith *Higgons*, there is an union *Hypostaticall* betweene the soule & body, & all the parts of it: yet is not the foot or hand everywhere, where the soule is, which is whole and intire in every part, because it is not in the head. The poore fellow, I see, hath yet learned but a little Divinity, and that maketh him thus to talke at randome. For howsoever the comparifon of the soule and body be brought to expresse the personall union in Christ, yet it is very defective, as *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth. First, because the body and soule are imperfect natures. Secondly, because they concur to make one nature. Thirdly, because neither of them draweth the other into the subsistence it hath, but both depend on a third subsistence, which is that of the whole: but in the mysterie of the Incarnation, the Eternall Word subsisting perfectly in it selfe, draweth unto it the nature of man; so that the humanity of Christ, having the same actuall existence that the Eternall Word hath, must needs bee, in respect of the same being, where-soever the Word is: But there is no necessitie that each part of the body should be where-soever the soule is, which is intirely in the whole body, and intirely in every part, because the body, and the parts of it, have neither the same being of essence nor existence that the soule hath. But, saith *Higgons*, the properties of the divine nature are by vertue of the personal union, attributed to the person *in concreto*, & not to the humane nature, *in abstracto*: so that though the man Christ may be said to be every-where, yet the humanity cannot. For answer to this objection we must note, that the communication of properties is of two sorts: the first is, the attributing of the properties of either nature to the person, from which nature soever it be denominated. The second, is the reall communication of the properties of the Deity to the nature of man, not formally and in it selfe, but *in supposito*, in the person of the Sonne of GOD, bestowed on it: in which sense *Bellarmino* confesseth, that the glory of GOD, and all power both in Heaven and in earth, are given to the humane nature of CHRIST: *Non in ipsa, sed in supposito, id est, per gratiam unionis*: And so the Divines of Germany doe say, the humanity of CHRIST is every-where, in the being of subsistence communicated to it, and the man Christ properly and formally. By this which hath beene said, the intelligent reader, I doubt not, will easily perceive the folly of silly *Higgons*, who being ignorant of the very principles and rudiments of Christian Doctrine, traduceth that as a *Pseudo-theological* determination and heresie, which is the resolved determination of all the principall Schoole-men

De incarn. l. 3. c. 8.

Pag. 38.

De incarn. l. 3. c. 16.

and best Divines, that ever treated distinctly of the personall union of the two natures in Christ.

m Judicium de
diffidio Cænæ
Dominicæ in
fine Miscellau.

Yet as if all were cleare for him, and against mee, encouraged by his good successe in this particular, hee proceedeth to the matter of the Sacrament, periwading himselfe, he shall be able to finde such and so many essentiall differences therein, as neither I, nor any man else shall ever be able to reconcile: whereas notwithstanding, if he had beene so much conversant in the workes of *Zanchius*, as hee pretendeth, he might have found in him a most godly and learned discourse touching this point, where in all that hee or any of his companions can say, is answered already, and the Divines of *Germany* and those other, in shew opposite, in such sort reconciled, that our Adversaries, if any thing would satisfie them, might lay their hands on their moutnes and be silent. In this discourse, first, hee sheweth that there is no question touching the preparation of them, that desire to bee worthy partakers of this heavenly banquet, neither concerning the use of this blessed Sacrament. Secondly, that it is agreed, that the very body and bloud of Christ are to be received by such as desire to be made partakers of the life of grace, or being already partakers of it, to bee strengthened, confirmed, and continued in the same. Thirdly, that the elements of bread and wine, presenting to our consideration the spirituall nourishing force, that is in the body and bloud of Christ, are not abolished in their substances, as the Patrons of Transubstantiation imagine, but onely changed in use, in that they doe not onely signifie, but exhibite and communicate unto us the very body and bloud of Christ, with all the gracious working of the same. Fourthly, that the meaning of Christs wordes, when he said, *this is my body, this is my bloud*, is, This which outwardly and visibly I give unto you, is in substance, bread and wine, and in mysterie and exhibitivie signification my body and bloud; but this which invisibly, together with the visible element, I give unto you, is, my very body that was crucified, and my bloud that was shed for the remission of your finnes. Fifthly, that the body and bloud of Christ, which the Sacraments doe not signifie only, but exhibite also, and whereof the faithfull are to be partakers, are truly present in the blessed Sacrament; but the one part denyeth that they are present, *secundum suum esse naturale*, that is, in the naturall beeing, or beeing of essence, because the body of Christ being finite, and having finite dimensions, cannot be in many places at one time; the other part on the contrary side answereth, that the body of Christ is finite indeed; but that, because it is personally joyned to the Diety, it is wheresoever the Diety is; yet doe not they of this part say it is every where, *localiter*, but *repletivè & personalitèr*; that is, not locally, but repletively and personally: which distinction *Zanchius* professeth he doth not well understand; but saith, if their meaning bee, that the body of Christ is present, *secundum esse personale*, that is, in that being of divine subsistence communicated to it, whereof I have spoken before, they say true, and contradict not the other, who speake of the naturall beeing of Christs body, or beeing of essence, and not of existence or subsistence, which is infinite and divine. And though Christs body be every where in that personall beeing; as well as in the Sacrament, yet is it not any where else presented unto us in the nature of spirituall food. So that there is no difference betweene these men, touching the presence of Christs body in the Sacrament; neither will there bee any found touching the eating of it: for whereas in eating there is implied a chewing or mastication of that which is eaten, a trajection from the mouth into the stomacke, and a turning of the substance of the meate into the substance of the eater; a bodily eating of Christs body there cannot bee, seeing it is impassible, and admitteth no such division as is made in chewing: and besides, if it should bee swallowed whole, it cannot bee turned into the substance of our bodies, but rather turneth us into the substance of it selfe: so that there is onely a spirituall eating of Christ, consisting in that chewing, that is, by meditation upon the severall and distinct things, that are found in his natures, powers, actions and sufferings; a trajection from the understanding part to the heart, and an incorporation of the beleever into him. Yet it is not to be denied, but that *Luther* and some other did teach, that even the wicked doe in a sort eat the flesh

flesh of Christ, not as if they did corporally touch his sacred body, much lesse reare, rent, or divide it with their teeth, or turne it into their substance; but for that they may be said, in a sort, to eate the flesh of Christ, though unprofitably, and to their condemnation, in that they truly receive the body of Christ; eating that outward substance of bread, with which it is truly present, though not locally: and to this purpose the same *Zanchius* reporteth, that a man of no vulgar note amongst the followers of *Luther*, did not feare to tell him, that he, and his, doe not say that we eate the body of Christ corporally, in such sort, as that our mouth and body should touch his sacred body, which is not locally present, but that the body of Christ is eaten bodily, onely in respect of the Sacramentall union, attributing that to the body of Christ, that properly agreeth to the bread, with which the body is present. These things are found in a discourse of *Zanchius* intituled, *Iudicium Hieronymi Zanchij de dissidio cena dominica*: written by him for the satisfaction of a Bishop of *Italy*, at the request and entreaty of *Paulus Vergerius*, and *Sturmius*.

By that which hath beene said, wee see there is no difference in judgement betweene them, who out of humane frailty are too much divided in affection: *Luther* uttered many things very passionately against *Zwinglium*, and others, conceaving that they made the Sacraments to bee nothing, but onely notes distinctive, serving to put difference betweene Christians, and such as are no Christians, as a Monkes Cowle distinguisheth a Monke from him that is no Monke, or empty signes, without all presence of grace, and exhibition of the things they signifie. But if hee had fully understood the meaning of them, hee was so violently opposite unto, hee would not have censured them so hardly as hee did. If Master *Higgons* had ever read this Tract of *Zanchius*, hee would not have willed me to excogitate, or scanne out any reconciliation betwixt Lutherans, and Sacramentaries in the matter of the Sacrament.

The second part of the Chapter.

S. I.

W Herefore let us come to the next part of this Chapter; wherein^a hee undertaketh to demonstrate, that the things alleadged by me, to take away the offence and scandall of the seeming differences amongst Protestants, are but false and empty pretences. The first thing that^b I alleadg is, that it is not to be marvelled at, that the *Tigurins*, *Gesnerus*, and others disliked the distempered passions of *Luther*, or that some difference were amongst them, seeing the like were in former times betweene *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, *Ruffinus*, *Augustine*, and others. The second, that the Papists have their differences also, and those farre more materiall and unreconcilable, then any are amongst us. The third, that our differences, grow not out of the nature and quality of our doctrine, and that wee want not a certaine rule, by the direction whereof all controversies may be ended.

Against the first of these my allegations, first hee opposeth a divelish untrueth, affirming, that *Gesnerus*, and the *Tigurins*, did not onely dislike the distempered passions of *Luther*, but hate him with mortall hatred, and accurse and execrate him, as possessed of a legion of Divells; which neither *Higgons*, into whom a lying spirit is entred, nor any of those Divells he is growne so familiar with, shall ever prove. So that there is no cause of trembling, but at the fearefull judgement of God, against such as Master *Higgons* is, that forsake the love of the Trueth, whom he giveth up into a reprobate sence. Secondly, in opposition to that which I alleadg, hee undertaketh to prove there were no such differences betweene the Ancient, as those betweene the followers of *Luther* and *Zwinglium*: but demeaneth himselfe like a false gamester; for whereas I place the differences and conflictes betweene *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome*

in the front as hottest and most violent; the one of them refusing to pray with the other; the one challenging the other for manifold breaches of Canons, and the one professing, hee hoped the other should never die a Bishop; the other, that he should never returne to his country alive (both which things fell out according to their uncharitable wishes & desires, *Epiphanius* dying by the way, as he was returning home, and *Chrysostome* being cast out of his Bishopricke, and dying in banishment) he scarce taketh any notice hereof, but saith only, the differences betweene *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, exceeded the conflicts betweene *Chrysostome*, and *Epiphanius*: which yet I thinke he will hardly prove. Touching *Ruffinus* and *Hierome*, it is certaine the one of them charged the other with heresie, and used much bitter speeches one against another, to the great scandall of the world. The differences betweene *Augustine* and *Hierome* were carried more temperately: neither doe I say, they exceeded in passion, as *Luther* and *Zwinglius* did; yet did *Augustine* charge *Hierome* with taking on him the patronage of lying, and affirming that the Authours of Canonickall Scriptures lyed in some passages of the same, the consequence whereof he thinketh to bee most dangerous and damnable. Besides this, they differed about the ceasing of the legall observations; so that their differences were greater then those of *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, if they had rightly understood one another. Yet will Master *Higgon* shew a great difference betweene the differences of the Auncient, and those of *Luther*, and *Zwinglius*: First, because *Chrysostome* and *Epiphanius*, *Hierome* and *Ruffinus*, had an ordinary vocation, whereas *Luther* and *Zwinglius* are supposed to have beene raised up extraordinarily. Secondly, for that they quarrelled only about the bookes of *Origen*, and the improbation thereof; but the differences betweene *Luther* and *Zwinglius*, were founded originally in matters of faith, pertaining to the necessity of salvation. Thirdly, in respect of extent; in that their differences were not the differences of whole Churches, as these are; and of duration, in that their divisions were soone extinguished, but these are propagated in succession, and increased with continuall addition. To every of these pretended differences I will briefly answer; and first to the first; that we never thought that *Luther* and *Zwinglius* had an extraordinary calling as the Apostles, and other sent immediatly of God had, but that God stirred and moved them extraordinarily with Heroicall resolution, to use that ordinary ministeriall power, which they had received in the corrupt state of the Church, for the reprehending and reforming abuses in the same; and therefore they might be subject to errors and infirmity, as *Chrysostome* and *Epiphanius* were, notwithstanding any thing we say or conceive of them. To the second we say, Master *Higgon* sheweth himselfe in it, either faithlesse, or ignorant. For we know *Epiphanius* was an *Anthropomorphite*, and that hee was willing for that cause to condemne the bookes of *Origen*, wherein this grosse error is condemned, & besides tooke part with *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, who though he were of another minde, yet fained himselfe to be an *Anthropomorphite*, and to condemne the bookes of *Origen*, as contrary to that conceipt, & deposed *Chrysostome*; for which his temerity he was anathematized by the Church of *Rome*, if we may beleve *Nicephorus*. Neither were these the private differences of particular men, but of the greatest Churches of the world, as *Chrysostome* confesseth in his Epistle to the Bishop of *Rome*, saying, that all the Churches every where by reason hereof were brought upon their knees. Touching *Ruffinus* it is evident, that he was challenged for favouring the heresies of *Origen*, whose workes he translated: so that it was no matter of circumstance, but of substance, in highest degree, about which *Hierome* and he calumniated one the other: & for prooffe hereof, *Anastasius* Bishop of *Rome*, writing to the Bishop of *Hierusalem* touching *Ruffinus*, saith, he had so translated the bookes of *Origen* out of Greeke into Latine, as that hee approved the errors contained in them, & was like a man that consenteth to the vices and faults of other men. Yea *Hierome* feared not directly to pronounce him to be an Hereticke, and more blinde then a Mole.

We reade, that in the time of the first Councell of *Ephesus*, called for the suppressing of the heresie of *Nestorius*, there grew most bitter contentions betweene *Cyri*

Page 34. 35.

See these things at large in the 5. booke of the Church. chap. 33.

e Vide Apolog. Hieron. contra Ruffin.

f Vide Acta Conc. Ephes.

of *Alexandria*, and *Iohn of Antioch*, so that the Churches subject to them were divided one from another in such sort, that they *Anathematized* one the other, imputing heresie each to other: yet were they in truth and indeed of the same judgement, and in the end it was found, that these contentions grew out of dislikes, mistakings, and misconstructions of things well meant, but not so taken. The like may be said of *Theodoret*, who notwithstanding all the conflicts betweene him and *Cyrill*, and the condemnation passed upon him, as if hee had beene an Heretique, was in the end found to be an Orthodox by *Leo*, and the Bishops of the *West*; and upon a full and cleare declaration and profession of his faith, received as a Catholique Bishop into the Councell of *Chalcedon*. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his oration made in the praise of *Athanasius*, sheweth, that there was a maine division of the Christians of the *East*, and the *Romanes*, or those of the *West*: the one part suspecting the other of heresie, upon a meere not understanding one another: the *Romans* professed to beleieve, that there are three persons in the blessed Trinitie, but could not bee induced to acknowledge three *Hypostases*; whence the Orientall Christians thought them to bee *Sabellians*, who thought that there is but one person in the Godhead, called by three names: on the other side, the Orientall Christians professed that they beleieved three *Hypostases* in the Godhead, but would not admit three persons; whence they of *Rome* thought them to be *Arrians*, who beleieved, that there are three distinct substances in the God-head: the word *Hypostasis* in the Schooles of secular learning, importing substance, as *Hierome* noteth: but *Athanasius* perceiving that they differed not in judgement, and that the *Greekes* meant the same by their *Hypostases*, that the *Latines* did by their name of Persons, left them free for the manner and forme of speech, and made a peace betweene them, by letting them know, they all meant one thing, though they expressed the same differently; whereas otherwise it was to bee feared, they would have beene divided with endlesse divisions, about these few Syllables. About this matter *Hierome* living in the East parts, wrote to *Damasus*, Bishop of *Rome*: his wordes are these.

“They urge us to acknowledge three *Hypostases*: we aske them what they meane by the *Hypostases* they speake of, and they tell us three persons subsisting: we answered, that we beleieve so, but the sence satisfieth them not; they urge us to use the word it selfe, some poyson lying hid in the very syllables, &c. Let it bee sufficient for us to say, there is one substance in God, and three subsisting Persons, perfit, equall, and coeternall: if it seeme good unto you, let us speake no more of three *Hypostases*, but let us acknowledge one only: there is some ill to be suspected, when in one sence diversity of words is found; let it suffice us, to beleieve as I have said: or, if you thinke it right, that we admit three *Hypostases*, with their interpretation we will not refuse so to do: but beleieve me, there lyeth some poyson hid under their wordes: the Angell of Satan hath transfigured himselfe into an Angell of light.

By this which hath been said, it is evident, that there have bin as great and hot contentions in former times, amongst right beleivers as are now betweene the professors of the reformed religion, and that those divisions were not about matters of circumstance, or personall onely, as *Higgons* falsely pretendeth, but of whole Churches, disliking, condemning, and refusing to communicate one with another, upon supposed differences in maters of faith and religion. Wherefore to draw to a conclusion, wee deny not, but that *Luther*, and some other adhering to him, upon some misconstruction of the opinion of *Zuinglius*, and the rest, were carried too farre with the violence of their ill-guided zeale: but we say also, that there were as fierie conflicts in former times betweene *Cyrill* and *Theodoret*: betweene *Cyrill* and *Iohn of Antioch*: betweene *Chrysostome* and *Epiphanius*: who yet were Catholique Christians all of them, as I take it, notwithstanding the unkindnesses that passed betweene them; and as *Iohn of Antioch*, and *Theodoret* were reconciled to *Cyrill*, and those of that side, upon a more full explication of their positions formerly disliked; so it is reported by *Melancthon*, that *Luther* a little before his death, confessed unto him, that he had exceeded & gone too far in the controversies betweene him and his opposites about the Sacrament: and that thereupon being wished to publish some qualification of his former writings that were

2. Actione 1.
& 3.

b Tomo 2. operum Hieronymi.

* See touching this report of Melancthon, the Admonition of the Divines of the County Palatine concerning the booke, intituled Liber Concordia.

too violent and bitter, he said he had thought upon that matter, and would so doe, but that he feared the scandall that might grow upon such his retractation, & that therefore hee was resolved to referre all to God, and to leave the matter to *Melancthon*, who might doe something in it, after his death. This conference betweene *Luther* and him, *Melancthon* made knowne to many, and ever constantly shewed himselfe a most godly, peaceable, and religious man, carefull to hold the unity of the spirit, in the bond of peace; howsoever it pleaseth prating *Higgon*s to wrong him, and to compare him to the *Moone* in mutability.

i Pag. 45.

k Pag. 46.

Wherefore leaving my first allegation, let us come to the second; which is, that there are more and more materiall differences amongst Papists, then amongst us, which *Higgon*s saith, is a poore recrimination. For that ^k the eye being judge, there is a comfortable Harmony in the *Roman Church*; the same Doctrine preached, the same Sacraments ministred, and the same Government established: whereas Protestants are divided in judgement, touching matters of faith, and have a distinct government in *England*, *Scotland*, *Helvetia*, and *Saxony*. This exception consisteth of two parts: the first, clearing the Papists from the differences and divisions, they are charged with: The second, charging Protestants with divisions and differences both in matters of faith and government. For answer to the former part of this exception, first I say, if there be no contradiction betweene these assertions, *the Pope is above Generall Councils*; *the Pope is not above Generall Councils*: *the Pope hath the universality of all Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction in himselfe*, *the Pope is but onely prime Bishop in order and honour before other, equall in commission with him, and at the most, but as the Duke of Venice amongst the Senators of that state*: *the Pope may erre judicially*; *the Pope cannot erre judicially*: *the Pope is temporall Lord of all the world*; *the Pope is not temporall Lord of all the world*: *the Pope, if not as temporall Lord of the world, yet, in ordine ad spiritualia may dispose the Kingdomes of the world*; *the Pope may not meddle with Princes states in any case*: *men are justified by imputed righteousness*; *men are not justified by imputed righteousness*: *men are justified by speciall faith*; *men are not justified by speciall faith*: *men may bee certaine, by the certainty of faith, that they are in state of grace*; *men cannot bee so certaine*: *there is merit of condignity, properly so named*; *there is no merit of condignity*: *the blessed Virgine was conceived in sinne*; *the blessed Virgine was not conceived in sinne*: then doubtlesse all the Pastours and Bishops of the *Roman Church*, preach the same Doctrine; otherwise let the reader assure himselfe, Master *Higgon*s hath stretched his stile, to use his owne wordes, till hee forced it to breake into a vast and notable untruth. Secondly, I say the forme of ministring the Sacraments, hath not beene alwayes the same in the *Roman Church*. For, (as *Cassander* noteth in his preface before the booke called *Ordo Romanus*, published by him) the ancient formes of divine service were abolished and new imposed, & prescribed violently, so that all that resisted, were sent into banishment: and since that first alteration, as *Platina* noteth, a number of Tautologies, and Barbarismes are crept in, making ingenuous men abhorre from the celebration of the holy mysteries. Thirdly, I thinke it will easily appeare, there was no such sweet harmony in the *Roman Church* touching matters of government, as Master *Higgon*s speaketh of, when the Pope was not onely resisted, but called *Antichrist*, in respect of his infinite reservations, admittances of appeales, his provisions, and granting of expectative graces, and the like usurpations, prejudiciall to the right of all other Bishops, and the liberty of the Church. For answer to the second part of his exception, first, I confidently affirme, and the proudest Papist under heaven shall never prove the contrary, that Protestants have no reall and essentiall differences in matters of faith and doctrine. Secondly, I say, that their differences in the forme of government, are not such as our Adversaries pretend. For ^m they that admit government by Bishops, make their authority to bee fatherly, not princely, directing the rest, not excluding their advise and assistance: subordinate to Provinciaall Synodes, wherein no one hath a negative voyce, but the major part of the voyces of the Bishops and Presbyters determineth all doubtles, questions, and controversies: and ⁿ they that retaine not the name of Bishops, yet have a president in each company of

l In vita Gregorii primi.

m D B Hon of the perpetuall government of the Church. .
Pag 307.
n Beza de ministerium Evangelij gradibus.

of Presbyters, and thinke it a part of Gods ordinance, that there should bee such a one to goe before the rest, and to be in a sort over them; who, though they give not the name of Bishops, nor so much authority to these Presidents, as Antiquity did, yet is not their error in this point matchable with the errors that are amongst Papists, contradicting one another, touching the Pope and his government, in things most essentially concerning the power and authority of that supposed Ministeriall head of the Church.

Wherefore, let us come to my last allegation, excepted against by Master *Higgons*; which is, that wee want not a most certaine rule to end all controversies by, which is the written word of God, interpreted according to the rule of faith, the practise of the Saints from the beginning, the conference of places, and all light of direction, that either knowledge of tongues, or any parts of good learning can yeeld. In excepting against this rule, Master *Higgons* sheweth the weakenesse of his braine: for what if *Luther*, *Zwinglius*, and other, complained against such as they thought to be opposite to them in opinion, touching some particular points, that they had not due regard to this rule, or that they used it not aright? What if all bee not presently of one minde and judgement in all things? will that improve the rule of judging, which wee propose? and not rather argue the imperfection of such as should judge according to it? But hee craveth leave to except against the rule proposed by me, for three respects: first, because the principles of our religion exclude the meanes of reconciliation, to wit, the gravity of Councils, the dignity of Fathers, and the authority of the Church. For answer whereunto wee say, that we exclude not the gravity of Councils: for wee absolutely, without all restriction, receive all the lawfull Generall Councils, that ever were holden touching matters of faith; and though we make God, speaking in his word, to be the onely judge authentically defining, and prescribing, what men shall beleieve, under paine of condemnation; yet wee thinke Councils have a judgement of jurisdiction, and that they may subject all gaine-sayers to excommunication, and like censures. Neither doth it any way derogate from the authority of Bishops assembled in Councils, that we make them judges to determine according to the word of God, and the resolutions of the Church from the beginning, and not the rule it selfe: for what man in his right wits, will attribute any more unto them, and make them judges at liberty, tied to the following of no rule of direction? or like God, that is a rule to himselfe in all his actions, and hath no Law prescribed to him by any other? Yet because Master *Higgons* willet the reader to compare *Campians* fourth reason with my assertion, I will likewise intreat him to see a worthy discourse of *Clemangis*, wherein he proveth at large that Bishops assembled in Generall Councils must prove and confirme their determinations by other arguments, then by their owne authority; and giveth many reasons, by which a man may reasonably perswade himselfe, that such Councils are not absolutely and generally free from danger of erring: whence it followeth, that they neither are the rule, that is to be followed in determining controversies, nor after they are determined. Touching the dignity of Fathers, and authority of the Church, we esteeme them both as becometh us: for whatsoever the Fathers generally, and with one consent deliver in matters of faith, we admit and receive as true without farther examination: as likewise, whatsoever the Church consisting of all Christians, not noted for heresie or singularity, that are and have beene since the Apostles times: but of particular Fathers, & parts of the Church, wee judge according to the rule of Gods word, and the generall resolution of the Fathers; and the whole Church that hath beene since the Apostles times.

His next exception against our rule, is, because wee admit not the Pope to bee judge of, all controversies in *CHRISTS* stead, which hee must frame in this sort: The Pope is supream judge of controversies in religion: therefore the Word of *GOD* interpreted in sort before expressed, is not the rule that is to bee followed in determining things doubtfull: and then the consequence will be naught, and the antecedent false: for, though we should grant the Pope to be appointed judge of controversies in *Christs* stead, yet I hope his Holinesse is bound to follow

6 Pag. 47.

p Disputatio
Nich. Clemangis
habita per
scriptum super
materia concilii
generalis, cum
quodam Scholastico
Parisiensi.

9 Pag. 48.

* Cyprian lib. 2
Epist. 1.
f Concil. Car-
thag. inter ope-
ra Cypriani.

* Lib. 1. Epist. 3.

* Pag. 43.

follow some rule of direction in judging : and if any, what other then that mentioned by mee, I cannot conceive. But whatsoever become of the consequence, the antecedent is false : for he shall never prove, while his name is *Higgons*, that the Pope is supreme judge of controversies. And the ignorance, or impudencie of the man deserteth just reproofe, in that he feareth not to abuse the authority of *Cyprian* to that purpose; who was so farre from taking the Pope for his judge, that hee freely dissented from him, and professed that 'one Bishop is not to judge another, but that they are to be judged of God only, and the whole company of Bishops: neither doth the place produced by him out of *Cyprians* Epistles, prove any such thing as he would enforce: for it is most evident, that *Cyprian* speaketh of one Bishop in each Diocesse, and not of one Bishop in the whole Christian Church, when he saith, '*Heresies arise from no other cause, then that the Priest of God is not obeyed, and that men thinke not of one Priest and judge in Christs stead* : as it will easily appeare, to any one, that will take the paines to see the place. But saith *Higgons*, "the Lutherans seeke to predominate, and the Calvinists will not obey : therefore, there must bee an umpier betweene them, and consequently, the Pope must end the quarrell. Whereunto I answered in a word, that howsoever the violent humors of some men make a rent in the Church, yet there is no difference in judgment amongst those whom he calleth Lutherans and Calvinists, in any matter of faith: and therefore the mediation of moderate men, interposing themselves, or the authority of Princes, professing the reformed Religion, may in that good time that God shall thinke fit, easily make an end of contentions, without seeking to the *Romish* Babilonicall Monarch.

* Pag. 49.

His third exception is a meere begging of that which is in controversie, which shall never be granted him. For, I say confidently as before, that the matters wherein the followers of *Luther*, and the rest, professing the reformed religion, seeme to differ, are neither many in number, reall in evidence, nor substantiall in waight : as he vainely braggeth hee can prove out of *Luther*, *Hunnius*, and *Conradus* on the one part, and *Zuinglius*, *Sturmius*, *Clebitius*, &c. on the other part. And therefore here is no reproofe of that I have said of the reconciling of these differences, but a prooffe of his vanity in bragging of that, which hee will never be able to performe. That which I have written touching the reconciling of these men, in shew so opposite, in the matter of the Ubiquitary presence, and the Sacrament, which I am well assured this Fugitive cannot improve, nor any of his great Masters, who have the schooling of him, will satisfie the Reader, I doubt not, touching the possibility of a generall reconciliation. The lyes, scoffes, and fooleries of *Higgons*, in these passages, touching my pretending, that the Sacramentaries subscribe to the *Augustan* confession, my art of reconciling, and the like, I passe by, as not worth the thinking of, & conclude this point, with this confident asseveration, that the differences betweene those whom the Papists malice, and other mens passion, calleth *Lutherans* and *Sacramentaries*; are either not reall, or not so materiall but that they may be of one Church, Faith and Religion.

The third Chapter.

§. i.

* Bellar. de No-
tis Ecclesie lib.
4. cap. 10.
b Booke. 3. cap.
41.

IN the next Chapter he chargeth me with falshood and incivility, in traducing *Bellar- mine*, and saith I have devised three criminations against him. The first supposed crimination, joyned with falshood, as he saith is this; *Bellarmino* saith: '*Videmus omnes illas Ecclesias, quæ ab isto Capite se dividerunt, tanquam ramos præcisos à radice, continui- aruisse*: and ^b I say he affirmeth: that all Churches of the world, that ever divided them- selves from the fellowship of the *Romane Church*, like boughes broken from a tree, and deprived of the nourishment they formerly received from the roote, presently withered away and decayed. Surely it is a greivous crime that I have committed: yet I hope if I meete with mercifull men, it will bee forgiven me: for I thinke that boughes broken from a tree

tree will wither away. But saith M. *Higgon*s, Cardinall *Bellarmino* meant nothing, but that the divided Churches lost their glory, and splendor, & so withered, but withered not away. This I think the poore fellow will not stand unto; for these Churches, by the very act of their separation, in his judgment, became, hereticall and schismaticall; and so lost, not only their glory and splendor, but their being also, & their life they formerly had, and consequently, like boughs broken from a tree, withered away; which yet, neither he, nor the Cardinall can ever prove. For there appeared still all signes of life in them, after their separation as before; and some of them hold a more sincere profession of Christian verity to this day, then the *Romanists* do: and we would rather joyne our selves to the *Grecians* then to them, as neither erring so dangerously, nor so pertinaciously, as they do. For that which he bringeth out of *Iustus Calvinus*, concerning *Hieremy* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* his renouncing our society, and allcading the Counsell of *S. Paul* for his warrant, where he saith, *reject an Hereticke after the first or second admonition*, is a lye, as many other sayings of the same Author are likewise.

c Pag. 32.

The second crimination he speaketh of, he saith, is contrived in this manner. *Bellarmino* saith, that none of the Churches divided from *Rome*, had ever any learned men after their separation: but here he sheweth plainly that his impudency is greater then his learning, for what will he say of *Oecumenius*, *Theophylactus*, *Damasce*n, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Elias Cretensis*, *Nilus*, *Cabasilas*, and innumerable more living in the *Greeke* Churches, after their separation from the Church of *Rome*? Surely these were more then matchable with the greatest *Rabbins* of the *Romish Synagogue*. M. *Higgon*s should put a difference betweene a crimination, and a just defence of men wronged by the unjust crinations of *Bellarmino*, from which I indeavour to cleare them. But let it be as he will have it, what hath he to say unto it? much surely, if he could prove what he saith: for he saith, there are 3 untruthes found in it; the first is, that, whereas I charge *Bellarmino* to affirme, that none of the Churches divided from *Rome* had any learned men after their separation, he saith onely, that none of the Churches of *Asia* or *Africa* had any. How great a vexation it is for a man to be matched with such Triflers as this is, the reader may easily judge by this particular. For if never any of the Churches of *Asia* and *Africa* had any learned men, after their separation from *Rome*, neither the *Ethiopian*, *Armenian*, *Nestorian*, nor *Greeke* Churches had any: The *Ethiopian*, and *Nestorian* Churches being wholly in those parts, & the greater part of the *Greeke* Church also: now if none of these had any, I thinke none had. But that these had, I shew by naming sundry particular men of great worth, in the *Greeke* Church. This M. *Higgon*s found to touch his Cardinall too neare, & therefore he saith, he purposely declined the naming of the *Greeke* Church, by restraining himselfe to the Churches of *Asia*, and *Africa*, whereas hee should have said hee purposely enlarged himselfe to all the Churches of *Asia* and *Africa*, that hee might draw into the generallity of his speech, not the *Grecians* only, whose greatest number of Churches are in *Asia*, but the *Armenians*, *Nestorians*, and *Ethiopians* also. Now then, see what M. *Higgon*s hath done? he hath confessed that the *Greeke* Churches, which all men know to be principally in *Asia*, & reckoned among the Churches of *Asia*, though some parts of them be in *Europe*, to have had learned men since their separation; whence it followeth, that the Cardinall without shame denied that any of the Churches of *Asia* had any, so that in reason hee should not be angry with me, in that knowing his Cardinals learning to be very great, yet to magnifie his impudencie in this point, I preferre it before his learning. The second untruth that M. *Higgon*s would fasten upon me, is, that I say, *Damasce*n lived after the separation of the *Greeks* from the *Latins*: which thing I still affirme to be most true, and *Higgon*s himselfe in a sort confesseth as much: for he saith out of *Bellarmino*, that *Damasce*n lived about the yeare of our Lord 740, and that the violent separation of the *Greekes* from the *Latines*, was occasioned principally about the yeare 766, 26 yeares after. Now, as I thinke, in that he saith the violent separation was then, he insinuateth that there was a separation before: which thing if he deny I will easily prove against him. For it appeareth that the separation betweene the *Greeks* and the *Latins* began not in the yeare 766, but before: in that in the yeare 766 a great

d 3. Booke chap. 41.

c Pag. 33.

f Pag. 34.

g Rhegino
Chron. lib. 2.
h Sigebert. in
chro. anni 766.

i Damas. l. 1. de
fide orthod.
cap. 11.

Councell was called at *Gentiliacum*, to compose the differences betweene them, as we reade in *Rhegino*,^g *Sigebertus*, and others; & the matter came to a publike disputation betweene them, before *Pipin* the father of *Charles* the Great; but that *Damasen* lived after the separation betweene the *Greeks* & *Latins*, it is evident, in that the separation betweene them, being occasioned specially by the different opinion which they held, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, as *Higgons* telleth us, *Damasen* was opposite to the *Latines* in that point: in so much that he saith expressly, that *the spirit is by the sonne, but not from the sonne*. The third imagined untruth is, that I say *Damasen*, *Oecumenius*, *Theophylact*, and the rest, were more then matchable with the greatest *Rabbins* of the *Romish* Synagogue, whereas *Bernard* & some other were matchable with them. For answer whereunto, let the reader observe, that I never call the whole *Latin* Church by the name of the *Romish* Synagogue, but the faction that prevailed in it; & therefore I meane not all the Doctours of the *Latine* Church, by the name of the *Rabbins* of the *Romish* Synagogue, but such onely as served as vile instruments to advance Papall tyranny, superstition, & error. So that though *Bernard*, *Alexander* of *Hales*, *Bonaventura*, *Scotus*, *Lyranus*, *Gerson* & some other should be granted to have bin matchable with *Damasen*, *Theophylact*, & *Oecumenius*, yet will it not follow that I have uttered any untruth: for I deny that any of these were of the Papall faction.

The next supposed crimination, is a most just reproofe of the grosse oversight of *Bellarmino*, where he saith, *none of the Churches separated from Rome, or none of the Churches of Asia and Africa, as Higgons restraineth his words, could ever hold any counsell after their separation*; which cannot bee avoyded by *Higgons*, though it seemeth he would willingly doe the Cardinall some good service, that he might become fellow Chaplaine with *Mathew Tortus*. For, if the Cardinall meane Generall Councils, it is not to be marvelled at, seeing they are but a part: if Nationall, or Provinciaall, it is too childish, and may be refuted by sundry instances. Whereunto *Higgons* hath nothing to say, but that if *Bellarmino*'s wordes bee extended to the *Greeke* Church, his fault is unexcusable: seeing that Church hath holden Provinciaall Councils, since her separation, whereof, as Master *Higgons* thinketh, he speaketh, and not of Generall: but that his words are restrained to the Churches of *Asia*, and *Africa*, which could never hold any such after their separation. In this Apologie of Master *Higgons* there are more absurdities, then words. For first, he can give no reason why the supposed Schismaticall Churches of *Asia* and *Africa*, should be lesse able to hold Nationall, or Provinciaall Synodes then those of *Europe*. Secondly, the *Greeke* Church is principally in *Asia*: so that if the *Greeke* Church had the power of convocating Provinciaall Synodes, some of the Churches of *Asia* were not excluded from partaking in it. Thirdly, if this were not the common misery of all divided Churches, this infelicity grew not from their separation, but from some other cause, and then it maketh nothing for prooffe of the necessity of adhering to the Church of *Rome*, as to an head, to which purpose *Bellarmino* bringeth it. Fourthly, that other Churches may hold Provinciaall Synodes, and namely those of *Asia* & *Africa*, it is most evident. For first touching the *Ethiopian* Christians, *Damianus à Goes*, out of the report of a learned Bishop of those parts, sheweth, that they have Councils, and that they make Lawes in them. Of a Synode holden by the *Nestorians*, wee reade in *Onuphrius* in the life of *Iulius* the third. In the Councell of *Florence* we reade of certaine Orators sent thither from the *Armenians*, in the name of the Patriarch of *Armenia* and his Clergy; which could not be done without some Synodall meeting. Lastly, seeing many Councils were holden in ancient times, in shew Generall, by such as were Hereticks: what reason can *Higgons* give, why these Churches having a subordination of inferiour Clergy-men, Bishops, & Metropolitans, cannot so much as call a poore Provinciaall Synode? If this be not childish trifling to say no more, let the reader judge, how partiall soever he be. And therefore, I say now againe, as at first, that if *Bellarmino* meane generall Councils when he saith, the divided Churches could hold none after their separation, it is not to be marvelled at, seeing they are but a part; if Nationall or Provinciaall, it is childish; seeing it is most evident they might hold such councils: neither can his years, dignity, or other ornaments,

k De moribus
Æthiopum.
l In addit. ad
Platinam

Master

Master *Higgon*s speaketh of, priviledge him so farre, but that we may and will taxe his wilfull over-sights, as they deserve, notwithstanding the boyish prating of *Theophylus Higgon*s. The conclusion of this chapter, touching our want of good manners towards *Bellarmines* grace, & other such lights of the world, as shine in the darkenesse of Popish blindnesse, and superstition, sorteth so well with the next part of this chapter, which is concerning my incivility towards the Cardinall, that one answer may suffice for both. That I have not wronged him by imputation of false crimes, I hope the Reader will beare mee witnesse, upon view of that I have answered in my owne defence.

The second part of the third Chapter.

5. 4.

VV Herefore let us see wherein my incivility consisteth. It is forsooth in aggragation of base, odious, and unworthy names, as *Cardinall Heretike*, *Hereticall Romanist*, *Impious Idolater*, *Shamelesse Iesuite*, *Shamelesse Companion*, with his idle braine, and senselesse fooleries. This is Master *Higgon*s prooffe of my incivility. If I make it not not appeare to all men that have their senses, that I have reason to phrase the Iesuite, as *Higgon*s speaks, so as I have done, let me be condemned of incivility; But if I had just cause to use him as I did, let this foolish flatterer hold his peace. Wherefore to begin with the first. Shall he charge us with twenty execrable & damnable Heresies, all which he knowes we accurse to the bottomlesse pit of Hell, & may not I call him a *Cardinall Heretike*, or *Hereticall Romanist*, without note of incivility? Shall he at his pleasure, because he weareth a red Hat, charge us with Heresie & Impiety, for impugning the adoration of Images, forbidden by Almighty God, & may not I call him an impious Idolater? Shall it be lawfull for him to say, that *Elizabeth*, our late Queene of blessed memory, tooke upon her, and was reputed to bee chiefe Priest in these her dominions; and shall it not be lawfull for me, in reproofe of so impudent a slander, and defence of my late dread Sovereigne, the Lords annointed, and the wonder of the world, to tell the Jesuiticall Friar, that he is a shamelesse Iesuite that durst to say? Shall he without conscience or feare of God, against his owne knowledge, charge us with the hellish Heresies of the *Manichees* touching two originall causes, of things, of one good, of things good, the other evill, of things evill; and shall it not be lawfull for me to aske the question, whether hee be not a shamelesse companion in so charging us? Shall a Jesuiticall Frier be freely permitted in so vile sort to wrong so many mighty Monarches, States, & people of the world, as professe the reformed religion, & may a man say nothing to him without incurring the note of incivility, and want of good manners? Shall he charge us with palpable, grosse, & senselesse absurdities; and may not we tell him the grosse absurdities which hee untruly imputeth unto us, are but the fancies of his owne idle braine? Shall hee be suffered to utter senselesse fooleries in wronging *Calvine*, & other men as good as himselfe; & may we not tell him, he doth so? Shall it be lawfull for *Theophylus Higgon*s to use all words of disgrace that he can devise against *Luther* & *Calvin*, men of as good worth as the Cardinall; & may no man say any thing to the Cardinall, because he is a Cardinall? How much soever he forget himselfe, truly I am not ignorant, that these ministers of Antichrist take very much upon them. For as *Clemangis* long since feared not to write, their spirits are so high and lofty, their words so swelling, & their behaviour so insolent, that if a Painter would paint pride, he could not do it better then by representing to the beholders the forme & figure of a Cardinall: which kind of men, though they were originally of the inferiour clergy, yet together with the increase of the pompe of the See of *Rome*, grew so great, & enlarged, & spread out their Phylacteries in such sort, that they despise, as farre inferiour to them and much below them, not Bishops alone, whom in contempt they use to call pettie Bishops, but Patriarches, Primates, and Archbishops also; almost suffering

Lib. 4. de notis
Ecclesiz. cap. 9.

1bid.

1bid.

1bid.

De notis Ec-
clesiz. l. 4. c. 11.

1bid. cap. 9.

De corrupto
Eccles. statu. 3

* See that which
Bellarmine
hath lately writ
ten to this pur-
pose.

f Cap. 2.

† Cap. 11.

u Pag. 57.

x Cap. 2.

y Cap. 11.

suffering themselves to be adored and worshipped of them: and yet not content therewith, * seeke to be kings fellowes: for the maintenance of which their imagined and fained greatnesse, like wild Boares, they made havocke of the Vineyards of the Lord of hostes. Thus wrote he almost 200 yeares since: but Gods name be blessed for it, these wilde Boares have beene well hunted out of many parts of Christendome since that time. But Master *Higgon*s, as if he meant to make an oration in the praise of his Cardinall (to reprove as he saith, the temerity of such, as steepe their pens in gall and wormewood to vent malicious untruths against this happy man) commendeth him for his intellectuall and morall parts, setting them out at large in the particulars, and (as his manner is to cast in things sodainly without all cause or reason that are no way pertinent) he telleth of a crime which I lay unto him, and though I pardon him, yet so uncourteous he is, that he saith I doe it in malice. The crime, as he will have it called, is this. I charge *Bellarmino* that he forgetteth himselfe very strangely in his discourse touching the notes of the Church; in that in the former part of it, he denyeth truth of profession or Doctrine to be a note of the Church, and in the latter maketh Sanctity of doctrine or profession, (which he defineth to be the not contayning of any untruth in matter of faith, or unjust thing in matter of manners of conversation) to be a note of the Church. Betweene which two assertions, as I thinke, there is a manifest contradiction. For if truth of doctrine and profession, and Sanctity of doctrine or profession be all one, as I thinke they will be found to be; then to say, truth of doctrine and profession is no note of the Church; and to say, Sanctity of doctrine or profession is a note of the Church, as *Bellarmino* doth, is to utter manifest contradictions. This is the want of memory I finde in *Bellarmino*: for which Master *Higgon*s (who amongst other good naturall parts commendeth him highly for *tenaciousnesse of memory*) is offended with me. But because he is become so jealous of his Cardinals Honour, I will shew him another Scape or two in this kind. In the former part of his discourse touching the notes of the Church, he denyeth Sanctity or purity of doctrine, free from error, to be a note of the Church, because it may be found in a false Church, for that Schismatickes, who are only Schismatickes, pertaine not to the true Church, whose profession notwithstanding is free from all error, as was the profession of the Donatists and Luciferians in the beginning: and yet in this latter part he maketh this purity from error, a note of the Church. In the former part he denyeth it to be a note, because it agreeth not inseparably to the true Church, as notes should doe, seeing the Churches of the *Corinthians* had it not: and yet in the latter part he maketh this purity of doctrine to be a note of the Church. In the former part he will have nothing to be a note of the Church, that may be claimed or pretended by any but the true Church, and thereby excludeth purity of profession, which is claimed by all mis-beleevvers: and yet in the latter admitteth it, notwithstanding any challenge, Heretiques, or Mis-beleevvers make unto it. By this which hath beene said, I hope it doth appeare that Master *Higgon*s had little reason to charge me with want of conscience in accusing *Bellarmino*: But for want of civility of manners, and respective demeanor towards his person, whereof hee complaineth; let him know, that if he involve himselfe in infinite contradictions, as he doth: if he wrong us and the Princes, People, and States of our profession by hellish and diabolicall slanders, as he doth: if he basely abuse *Luther*, *Calvine*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, and others, his equalls in merit and esteeme: if he set his face against heaven, and open his mouth to the dishonour of our late Sovereigne of famous memory, and his most excellent Majesty now regnant, as he doth; we will be bold to cast this dirt into his face againe, if he were a beter man then all Master *Higgon*s his base and flaving commendation of him can make to be.

S. 2.

Here M. *Higgon*s leaveth me, and passeth to D. *Morton*: yet so good a will he hath to say something against me, though never so idly, that within two or three pages hee returneth to mee againe, and chargeth mee full wisely, with perplexing and involving my selfe in manifest contradictions. The first contradiction he would force upon

a Pag. 63. & 64.

upon me, is this. *The Elect notwithstanding any degree of sinne which they runne into, retaineth that grace which can and will procure pardon for all their offences: and yet: sometimes there is nothing found in the Elect, that can or doth cry to God for pardon.* It is strange truly, that such as *Higgon* is, should be permitted to play the fooles in print as they doe. But our Adversaries know it is good to keepe men busied in any sort; and that the greatest part of their Adherents will applaud any thing, though never so senselessly written against us: For otherwise I know they cannot but laugh at the serious folly of this their Novice in this passage. For I never say, the Elect have alwayes in them that grace that can and will procure them pardon for all their sinnes and offences, as hee chargeth me, but that the Elect called according to purpose, have that Grace that excludeth sin from raigning, and that this Grace once had by them, is never totally nor finally lost. Now what contradiction is there betweene these propositions? *The Elect at sometimes (to wit before they be called) have nothing in them that cryeth for pardon and remission of their sins: and the Elect after they are once called according to the purpose of Gods will, do ever retaineth that grace that can and will procure pardon and remission of all their sins.* Surely even as much as there is betweene these: *Paul sometimes was an enemy to Christ and Christians, and a Persecutor; And Paul after his calling, was never an enemy to Christ nor Christians, nor never persecuted any of them, but suffered persecution himselfe together with them.* The second supposed contradiction is this. *All sinnes done with full consent exclude grace.* *David*, who was an elect and chosen servant of God, sinned with full consent after his calling, and yet *David* never fell totally from grace. Heere truly there is a reall and true contradiction, but one of these assertions is none of mine: for I deny that *David* ever sinned with full consent after his calling, though his sinnes were very grievous and highly displeasing to Almighty God. For the better clearing whereof we must observe, that there are three degrees of sinne. The first is of those motions to evill that arise in men, and sollicite them to the doing of that which is displeasing unto God: yet so, that no consent is yeelded to them. The second is, when the violence and importunity of those ill motions is such, that men chuse rather to give way unto them, then to bee any longer disquieted and tormented by them, and yet wish they were free from such sollicitations and provocations. In those that thus sin, there is a deliberate consent, but it is not absolute and full, but mixt; Such was the sinne of *Peter* denying his Master, which proceeded from feare, and whereunto he so consented, that he still retained the good opinion he formerly had of him, and love towards him, and wished, no doubt from the depth of his Soule, there might never any such thing have fallen out, that might draw him to doe that he did. And such was the sin of *David*, who chose rather to commit that vile act with the wife of *Uriah*, then to be tormented any longer with the importunity of those burning & inflamed desires that violently seized on him, though he wished in his heart that never any such motions might in such violent sort have arisen in him. The 3^d degree of sin is in them that absolutely & fully consent to the motions of evil, as making them their chief delights & contentments. In them who sin only in the first degree, grace not only remaineth, but keepeth her standing, resisting against evill, & entreating for pardon of that which it cannot avoid. In them that sin in the 2^d degree, it remaineth, but carried into captivity. In the 3^d it hath no place at all: To the same purpose it is, that some worthy Divines of our profession, make three kinds of the being of sin in us: for first it is inhabiting only: 2^{ly}, it is regnant, yet not as a king who ruleth & raigneth with the love & liking of his subjects; but as a Tyrant, that they hate & would depose if they knew how: 3^{ly}, it is regnant as a king, welcommed & joyfully received into all the powers & faculties of the soule. In the first sort it is in them that give no consent to the motions of evill that arise in them. In the second, in them that give consent, but not free and absolute, but mixt. In the third, in them that give it the whole heart. In the first it neither excludeth grace, nor driveth it from the standing and command it should have in the soule of a good man. In the second, though it exclude it not, yet it weakeneth and hurteth it sore, scattering the forces of it, leaving it but dissevered desires, and no entire good affections: so that they are never able to recover themselves againe without forraine helpe: But when

such succour commeth, these remaines of good begin to recollect themselves againe, to take heart, and to joyne with the same; as we see in *David* reprov'd by *Nathan*.

The third contradiction, that Master *Higgons* would fasten on mee, is, betwene that saying of mine; *The elect and chosen Servants of God doe carefully endeavour, that no sinnes may have dominion over them; and therefore notwithstanding any degree of sinne they runne into, they retaine that grace, that can and will procure pardon:* and that in the Articles of religion, agreed on in the beginning of her late Majesties raigne, that *'after we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and by the grace of God rise againe.* Which is no contradiction in trueth and in deed, but in the mis-

construction Master *Higgons* maketh of things well meant. For when the Article saith, we may depart from grace, the meaning of it is, that the elect of God, called according to purpose, may swerve from the directions of grace, in some particular things, and fall into grievous sinnes, out of which they are to be raised by repentance, and not that they may totally fall from it. Neither doe I deny, but that the elect may commit sin, yea grievous sinnes, and such as are in their owne nature mortall, though not mortall in that (not obtayning full consent) they cannot bring death upon the doers of them. Wherefore to conclude this point, into which Master *Higgons* digresseth, after his idle manner, and to send him backe to the matter he hath in hand; I say, that there is no contradiction betwene any assertion of mine, and the Articles of Religion, agreed on in the convocation: and farther adde, that there is no Papist of judgment, and consideration, that can possibly dissent from us in this point, touching the constant perseverance of the elect and chosen servants of God called according to purpose, and their never wholly falling from grace. For first, they all agree together with us, that they cannot finally depart away. Secondly, that some good motions and affections will ever remaine in them, after they have beene once seasoned with the liquor of renewing and sanctifying grace. Thirdly, that they loose not their right to the rewardes which God in the covenant of mercy promised to their former ver-

tuous and good endeavours, nor the benefit of their repenting from dead works formerly repented of, when they fall into sinne, though they can make no use thereof, while they continue in such an estate of sinne. For, saith *Scotus*, as a man that hath much owing unto him upon good assurances, and is possessed of things of good value, being excommunicated or out-lawed, still retaineth the interest and right to all things that formerly he had, though he can make no use thereof, nor by course of law force them to doe him right, that goe about to do him wrong, nor recover that which is due unto him, if it be detained from him; but all prosecution of his right is suspended, till hee procure himselfe to bee freed from the sentence of excommunication or out-lawry: So the remission of originall sinne, the right to externall life obtayned in Baptisme, the force and vertue of former repentance and conversion from sins past, & the right to the rewards of actions of vertue formerly done, remaine still in the elect and chosen, called according to purpose, when they fall into grievous sinnes tyrannizing over them, though during the time of their being in such grievous sins, the actual claime to the benefit of these things, and the enjoying of them be suspended; which upon their repentance for those particular sinnes that caused such suspension, is revived and set a-foote againe, in such sort, that the repentance past sufficeth for remission of former sinnes, and the good actions past shall have their rewards. So that a man elect and chosen of God, and called according to purpose, that hath done good & vertuous actions, though they be deaded in him, for the present, by some grievous sinne, yet still they remaine in divine acceptation, and he still retaineth the right and title he had to the reward of eternall life, promised to those workes of vertue done by him, though he can make no actuall claime to the same, while he remaineth in such an estate of sinne: but after that such sinne shall cease and be repented of, hee recovereth not a new right or title, but a new claime by vertue of the old title. Wherefore if it be demanded whither *David* and *Peter* when they fell into those grievous sinnes of uncleanness, and abnegation of Christ, continued in a state of justification? We answer, that they did in respect of the remission of their sinnes, and the title they got to eter-

b Art. 16.

c Hugo de San.
Victore de Sa-
crament. fidei l.
2. part. 13. c. 12.

d In quantum
Sen dist. 22. qu.
1. art. 2.

nall life in their first conversion, which they lost not by those their finnes committed afterwards: For the remission of all their former finnes, whereof before they had repented, remained still, and Gods acceptation of them to eternall life, notwithstanding these finnes, upon the condition of leaving them, together with his purpose of rewarding their well-doings: but in respect of the actuall claime to eternall good things they were not, as men once justified are, notwithstanding lesser finnes, which though they cause a dislike, yet neither extinguish the right, nor suspend the claime to eternall life. Thus having runne through all those passages of Master *Higgon* his booke, that any way concerne me, I leave him to be-thinke himselfe, whether hee had any reason to traduce mee in such sort as he hath done; and remit the wrongs hee hath done me without cause, to the righteous judgement of God, to whom hee must stand or fall.

The end of the first part.

Aaaa 4

THE





THE SECOND PART,
CONCERNING THE AV-
THOR OF THE GROUNDS OF
the Old and New Religion, and such excep-
tions as have beene taken by him
against the former Booke.



Aving answered the frivolous objections of Master *Higgon*, I will leave him; and passe from him to his friend and colleague, the Author of the Treatise of the grounds of the Old and New Religion; who also is pleased in his idle discourses, to take some exceptions against that which I have written. But because he is a very obscure Author, & such a one as the world taketh little notice of, I will not much trouble my selfe about him, nor take so much pains in discovering his weaknesse, as I have done in dismasking the new convert, a man, as it seemeth, of more esteeme. Yet that the world may see what goodly stuffe it is, that these

namelesse and Apocryphall Booke-makers daily vent amongst our seduced countrymen, I will briefly and cursorily take a view of all such passages of his Treatise as any way concerne me. Amongst which, the first that offereth it selfe to our view, is in his Preface to the Reader, where he citeth with great allowance and approbation, that which I have in my Epistle Dedicatory: That all men must carefully seeke out which is the true Church, that so they may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and rest in her judgement: but presently chargeth mee, that in my fourth Booke following, I bereave her of almost all such prerogatives as I formerly yeelded unto her; so that men may not safely follow her directions, nor rest in her judgement, in that I say, that Generall Councils may erre in matters of greatest consequence, and free the Church her selfe from errour, onely in certaine principall points and Articles of Christian Religion, and not generally in all. This is a bad beginning, being a most shamelesse untruth. For in the places cited by him, I lay downe these propositions: First, that the Church including in it all faithfull ones since *Christ* appeared in the flesh, is absolutely free from all errour and ignorance of divine things. Secondly, that the Church including all those beleevvers that are, & have beene since the Apostles times, is simply free from all errour, though happily not from all ignorance. Thirdly, that the Church including onely the beleevvers living at one time in the world, is free not only from errour in such things as men are precisely bound expressely to know & beleve, but from pertinaciously erring in any thing that any way pertaineth to Christian faith and religion. Fourthly, that wee must simply and absolutely, without all doubt or question,

¶ Pag. 4.

¶ Pag. 5.

question follow the directions, and rest in the judgement of the Church, in either of the two former senses. Fifthly, that we must listen to the determinations of the present Church, as to the instructions of our Elders, and fatherly admonitions & directions: but not so as to the things contained in Scripture, or beleaved by the whole Universall Church that hath bin ever since the Apostles times. Because, as *Waldensis* noteth, the Church, whose faith never faileth, is not any particular Church, as that of *Africa*, or *Rome*, but the Universall Church: neither that Universall Church, which may be gathered together in a generall Councell, which is found sometimes to have erred, but that which dispersed through the world from the Baptisme of *Iohn* continueth to our times. Sixtly, that in the judgment of *Waldensis*, the fathers successively are more certaine judges in matters of faith, then a generall Councell of Bishops, though it be in a sort the highest Court of the Church, as the Treatiser saith. All these propositions are found in *Waldensis*, who wrote with good allowance of Pope *Martin* the first, and the whole consistory of Cardinals; so that the Treatiser cannot charge me with any wrong offered to the Church, in bereaving her of her due prerogatives, but he must condemne him also, and blame the Pope and his Cardinals for commending the writings of such a man to the world as good, profitable, and containing nothing contrary to the Catholique verity, that forgot himselfe so farre as to bereave the Church of almost all her prerogatives: which he cannot doe, but he must condemne *Vincentius Lyrinensis* likewise, a man beyond all exception, who absolutely concurrereth in judgement with *Waldensis* touching these points: ^a assuring us, that the state of the present Church, at sometimes may be such, as that we must be forced to flye to the judgment of Antiquity, if we desire to finde any certaine direction. A judgement of right discerning, saith *Ockam*, there is ever found in the Church, seeing there are alwayes some right beleivers; but a right judgement of men, by their power of jurisdiction maintaining truth, and suppressing error, may be wanting. Nay, that sometimes there was no such judgement in the Church, it is most evident. For *Vincentius Lyrinensis* saith, the *Arrian* heresie infected not some part onely, but almost the whole Christian world, so that almost all the Bishops of the *Latine* Church were mis-led by force or fraud. Yea, ^d *Athanasius* and *Hierome* report, that *Liberius* Bishop of *ROME* was carryed away in that tempestuous whirlewinde, and subscribed to heresie: so that there was no sette Tribunall on earth in those dayes, to the determinations whereof it was safe to stand.

^a Doctrinal. fid.
lib. 2. art. 2. cap.
19.

^b Contra Hær.
novar. cap. 6.

^c Dialog. lib. 5.
part. 1. cap. 28.

^d Athanasius in
Epist. ad solitar.
vit. agent. Hier.
in Catal. script.
Ecclesiast. in
Fortunatio.

§. 2.

IN the next place, the Treatiser chargeth me, that whereas *Luther* defendeth that infants in Baptisme actually beleave, I endeavour to wrest his words to habituall faith; which sence, he saith *Luthers* discourses will not admit; and for prooffe hereof referreth the Reader to certaine places in *Luther*, and to the positions of his followers: but as *Festus* said unto *Paul*, ^e thou hast appealed to *Cesar*, to *Cesar* shalt thou goe; so seeing this Treatiser, referreth the Reader to *Luthers* discourses, and the doctrine of his Disciples, to these I will send him, which will turne greatly to the Treatisers disadvantage. For the Reader cannot but find by *Luthers* discourses, and the doctrine of his Schollers, that I have rightly delivered his opinion to be, that infants are filled with habituall faith when they are regenerate, and not that they have any such acts of faith, or knowledge of God, as men of yeares have. Let us therefore heare what *Luther* himselfe will say: some men, saith ^f he, will object against that which I have said touching the necessity of faith in such as are to receive the Sacraments with profit, that infants have no faith, nor apprehension of Gods mercies, & that therefore either faith is not so necessarily required to the due receiving of the Sacrament, or that infants are Baptised in vaine. Here I say, that which all say, that other mens faith, even the faith of such as present them to Baptisme, steedeth little children. For as the word of God is mighty when the sound thereof is heard, even to the changing of the heart of a wicked man, which is no lesse unapt to heare the voice of God, & to listen unto it, then any litle babe;

^e Act. 25. 12.

^f De captivit.
Bab. cap. de
baptismo.

so

^g Chem. in ex-
am. Conc. Tri-
dent. de baptis-
m. can. 13.
^h Form. con-
cord. inter. The-
olog. Sax. & Lu-
ther. Germ.

ⁱ Instit. l. 4. cap.
16. sect. 17. &
19.

so by the prayer of the Church, which out of faith (to which all things are possible) presenteth it to baptism, the child is changed, cleansed, and renewed by the infusion of faith, or by faith, which is infused and poured into it. Thus doth *Luther* expresse his owne meaning touching this point. Now let us heare what his followers will say. It was agreed upon, saith ^g *Chemnitzius*, amongst the ^h followers of *Luther*, that when we say infants beleeve or have faith, we must not imagine that they doe understand or feele the motions of faith. But their error is rejected, who suppose that infants baptized please God, and are saved without any operation or working of the holy spirit in them; whereas Christ pronounceth, that unlesse a man be borne a new of water & of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heaven. So that this is all that *Luther* and the rest meant, that children cannot be made partakers of those benefits that God offereth to men in Baptisme, nor inherit eternall life, by vertue of the faith of the Church, without some change wrought in them by the spirit, fitting them to be joyned to God, which change or alteration in them they call faith: not meaning to attribute unto them an actuall apprehension of Gods mercies; for they constantly deny, that they feele any such motions of faith; but a kind of habituall faith onely, there being nothing in faith, but such an act of beleeving, as they deny; or the seed, roote, and habit, whence actuall motions in due time doe flow. With whom ⁱ *Calvine* agreeth; for whereas the Anabaptists object against him, defending that Infants are capable of regeneration, that the Scripture mentioneth no regeneration but by the incorruptible seed of the word of God, which infants cannot heare: he answereth, that God by his divine power may renew and change them by some other meanes. Secondly, he addeth, that it is not absurd to think, that God doth shine into the hearts of those infants, which in infancie he calleth out of this world to himselfe, and that he doth make himselfe knowne unto them in some sort; seeing they are presently after to be received & admitted to the cleare and open view, and sight of his glorious face and countenance, and yet faith, he will not rashly affirme that they are indued with the same faith, which we finde in our selves, or that they have knowledge like unto that of faith. And in the next Section, speaking more generally, & not restraining himselfe to such as die in infancy, he saith, that they are Baptized into future repentance, and faith: which vertues though they be not presently formed in them, yet a seed of either of them lyeth hid in them. The Papists are distracted into contrary opinions touching this point: For some thinke that grace the roote of faith, and other vertues, is infused into children in Baptisme, but not faith; other, that not onely grace, but the habite of faith, hope, and charity, is poured into them likewise; which opinion, as more probable was admitted in the Councell of *Vienna*, and is embraced by us as true. Wherefore let the Reader judge whether I have wrested the wordes of *Luther*, or the Treatiser wronged mee.

§. 3.

Pag. 22. 23.

IN the third place, he laboureth to demonstrate and prove, that there is a contradiction betweene the reverend Bishop of *Lincolne*, and Doctour *Morton*, & my selfe, touching the power of ordination, which that learned Bishop appropriateth unto Bishops, and we communicate in some cases to Presbyters. But this silly objection is easily answered, for his meaning is, that none but Bishops regularly may ordaine, which we confesse to be true; as likewise none but they onely may confirme the baptized by imposition of hands; and yet thinke, that in case of necessity, Presbyters may performe both these things, though of ordinary right belonged to Bishops only.

Part. 1. Sect. 1.

Pag. 30. 31.

LEt us passe therefore from the preface to the book it selfe, the first thing that he objecteth in the booke it selfe, is, that I give Apostolique power to the present Church; whence he thinketh it may be inferred, that the Church cannot erre in matters

matters of faith or ceremonies. That I give Apostolique power to the present Church, hee endeavoureth to prove, because I say, She hath authority to dispense with some constitutions of the Apostles, touching order and comeliness; which he thinketh she might not doe if shee had not the same authority, by force whereof they were made: but hee could not but know that this prooffe is too weake, if he were not very weake in understanding. For the Apostles made these constitutions not precisely in that they were Apostles, as they reported the precepts of CHRIST, & delivered the Doctrine of faith; but by vertue of their Pastorall power in generall, common to them with other Pastors of the Church: though in that they were no ordinary Pastors but Apostles, they had absolute infallibility, & could make no lawes or constitutions but good and profitable, in which respect no other are equall to them. So that the Pastors of the Church now have that power by which the Apostles made their Ecclesiasticall constitutions touching order and comeliness, but not with like assurance of not erring, in making or reversing such lawes: & therefore the Treatiser cannot from hence inferre, that the present Church, and the guides of it, have infallible judgement touching matters of faith or ceremonies.

§. 2.

IN the next place, first he produceth my distinction of the Church, considered as it comprehendeth all the faithfull that are and have beene since Christ appeared in the flesh, or onely such as are and have beene since the Apostles times, or such alone as are at one time in the world. Secondly an assertion, that the present Church may be said at all times to be the pillar of truth, & not to erre, because it ever retaineth a saving profession of heavenly truth, that is true doctrine, concerning all such principall points as are of the substance of Faith, and needfull to bee knowne and beleevd expressly by every man. Thirdly, he addeth, that we deny so much as the vertuall beleefe of other things to be necessary; which he pronounceth to be an absurd opinion. For the confutation of my distinction of the Church considered in those three different sorts, hee asketh if there be now presently any Church in the world including in it all the faithfull that are and have beene since CHRIST appeared in the flesh, or at least since the Apostles times; which is a most childish and senselesse demand. For it will easily be answered, that the Church that includeth in it all the faithfull ones, is now extant in the world, as he is pleased to speake, in that some of her parts, betweene which and the rest there is a connexion, are now in the world, though all be not; as time, whereof the parts are present, past, & to come, is now, though all parts of it be not now. But his inference upon supposall of our answer is more strange then the question. For if it be granted, that the Church including in it all these holy ones, hath not all her parts in the world at one time, he inferreth from thence, that the promises of *Christ* cannot be verified of it. As if *Christ's* promises were verified of the Church, only in respect of those parts that it hath in the world at one time: whereas *Bellarmino* himself teacheth, that the promise of the Churches being in all parts of the world, is not verified of it at one time, but successively: in that though it be not in all parts & Provinces of the world at one time, yet at one time or other it spreadeth it selfe into every part of it. And *Stapleton* defineth the Church according to the state of the New Testament, to be a collective multitude of men, professing the name of *Christ*, beginning at *Hierusalem*, & from thence dispersed throughout the world, increasing & spreading it selfe through all nations, alwayes visible and manifest, mixt of good & bad, elect & reprobate, in respect of faith & Sacraments holy, in respect of origin & succession Apostolique, in extent Catholique, in connexion and order of parts one, in duration & continuance perpetuall, expressing unto us that Church that includeth all faithfull ones since *Christ* till now, nay till the end of the world. Which is no doubt a reall body, and hath many excellent promises made unto it, though all the parts of it bee not in the world at one time. But let us goe forward, and wee shall see how this silly Treatiser forgetteth himselfe. For first hee confesseth, that the diverse considerations of the Church proposed by mee, may bee in our understanding, and yet presently addeth, that wee cannot distinguish them really one from another: which hee goeth about to prove, because the

Pag. 53.

^a Bell. Tom. 1.
controv. 4. l. 4.
cap. 7.

^b Relect. controv. 1. de Eccl. in se q. 4. art. 3.

Pag. 53. 54.

the Church in the first consideration includeth in it the same Church as it is taken in the second and third: but the prooffe is too weake; for every child will tell him, that these considerations may bee really distinguished one from another, because though the former includeth the latter, yet the latter includeth not the former. For as every man is a living thing, but every living thing is not a man; so the Church consisting of all faithfull ones, that are and have beene since Christ appeared in the flesh, includeth in it all those that now presently are in the world: but the Church consisting of those onely that are at one time, includeth not the other, but is included in it as a part in the whole, and consequently cannot challenge all the priviledges belonging to it, more then the part of a thing may challenge all that pertaineth to the whole: so that the Church in the former consideration may be free from error, though not in the latter. But the Treatiser will prove it cannot: seeing if the Church including in it all faithfull ones, that are or have beene since Christ, be free from error; every part of it must be free, and consequently the present Church; as a man cannot be said to be free from sicknesse, unlesse every part of him be free. For answer whereunto we say that the Church being a collective body, may be said to be free from error in another sort then a man is said to be free from sicknesse, for a man cannot be said to be free from sicknesse unlesse every part be free; but the Church may rightly be said to be free from error, if all her parts erre not, though some doe: for otherwise I would aske of this Treatiser, whether the Church were free from error in the dayes of *Athanasius*, when, as *Vincen- tius Lyrinensis* saith, almost all the Bishops of the *Latine* Church were misled by force or fraud, and when *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome* subscribed to heresie, as *Athanasius* and *Hierome* testifie; If the Church were not free from error at that time, where is the priviledge of never erring? If it were, it was but in respect of some few parts: whence it will follow, that the Church may be said to be free from error, though many parts bee not, if any continue sound; for here the greater and more principall parts did erre. But that the Church may be said to be free from error, though all parts be not, it is evident, in that they who most stiffly maintaine the not erring of the present Church, yet confesse, that some parts of it doe erre. For *Stapleton* and *Bellar- mine*, who both thinke the present *Roman* Church to be free from error, yet deny that she is free in all her parts, and tell us, there are some who are parts of this Church and Catholiques, that thinke the Pope may judicially erre, unlesse a generall Councell con- curre with him, which in their opinion is an error and neare to heresie. Yea the same *Bellarmino* saith, that the particular *Romane* Church, that is, the Clergy and people of *Rome*, subject to the Pope, cannot erre, because though some of them may, yet all cannot. It is true therefore which I have delivered, notwithstanding any thing the Treatiser can say to the contrary, that the Church including all the faithfull that are and have beene since the Apostles, may be said to be free from error, because in re- spect of her totall universality she is so: it being impossible that any error should bee found in all her parts, at all times, though in respect of her severall parts shee be not. For sometimes and in some parts she hath erred, and in this sense can no more be said to be free from error, then a man may be said to be free from sicknesse, that in some parts is ill affected. But as a man that hath not beene alwayes, nor in all parts ill, may be said to be free from perpetuall and universall sicknesse; so the Church is free from per- petuall and universall error. This the Treatiser saith is a weake priviledge, and not answerable to the great and ample promises made by Christ: whereas the Fathers knew no other, whatsoever, this good man imagineth. For *Vincen- tius Lyrinensis* con- fesseth, that error may infect some parts of the Church, yea that it may sometimes infect almost the whole Church: so that he freeth it only from universall and perpe- tuall error. But, saith the Treatiser, what are poore Christians the nearer for this priviledge? how shall such a Church be the director of their faith? and how shall they know what faith was preached by the Apostles, what parts taught true doctrine, and when and which erred in subsequent ages? Surely this question is easily answered. For they may know what the Apostles taught by their writings: and they may know what parts of the Church teach true doctrine, by comparing the doctrine each part teacheth

pag. 54. 55.

c Adversus Pro-
phanas herefe-
on novationes.
cap. 6.

d Epist. ad soli-
tariam vitam
agentes.

e Catal. script.
Eccles. in For-
tunatiano.

f Relect. con. 3.
quæst. 4.

g De Roman.
Pontif. lib. 4.
cap. 4.

h Contr. hæres.
cap. 6.

teacheth, with the written word of God, and by observing who they are that bring in private and strange opinions, contrary to the resolution of the rest. But if happily some new contagion, endeavour to commaculate the whole Church together, they must looke up into Antiquity; & if in Antiquity they find that some followed private and strange opinions, they must carefully observe what all, not noted for singularity or heresie in diverse places and times, constantly delivered, as undoubtedly true, and received from such as went before them. This course *Vincentius Lyrinensis* prescribeth. But the Treatiser disclaimeth it, not liking that all should be brought to the letter of holy Scripture, and the workes of Antiquity; which setting aside the authority of the present Church, he thinketh, yeeld no certaine and divine argument. So that according to his conceipt, we must rest on the bare censure and judgement of the Pope: for hee is the present Church, and Antiquity is to be contemned as little or nothing worth. Having justified the distinction of the diverse considerations of the Church impugned by the Treatiser, that which hee hath touching the two assertions annexed to it, will easily bee answered. For the one of them is most true, his addition of not erring, being taken away: and the other is but his idle imagination, for we never delivered any such thing.

Part. 1. 96.

§. 3.

IN the third place he excepteth against mee, because I say the words of the Apostle in the Epistle to *Timothy*, touching the house and Church of God, are originally understood of the Church of *Ephesus*, wherein *Paul* directeth *Timothy* how to demean and behave himselfe: but because I have cleared this exception in my answer to *Higgon*, I will say nothing to him in this place, but referre him thither.

Pag. 56.

§. 4.

FROM the Apostle, the Treatiser passeth to Saint *Augustine*, and chargeth me that I wrest his words, when he saith, he would not beleeve the Gospell if the authority of the Church did not move him to a sense never meant by him. These words of *S. Augustine* are usually alleadged by the Papists, to prove that the authority of the Church is the ground of our faith, & reason of beleeving: in answer whereunto I shew that the Divines give two explications of them. For *Ockam* and some other understand them not of the multitude of beleevers that now are in the world, but of the whole number of them that are and have beene since Christ appeared in the flesh, so including the Apostles; & in this sense they confesse that the Church, because it includeth the writers of the books of the new Testament, is of greater authority then the books themselves. Other understand by the name of the Church, onely the multitude of beleevers living in the world at one time: and thinke the meaning of *Augustine* is, that the authority of this Church was an introduction unto him, but not the ground of his faith, and principall or sole reason of beleeving. The former of these explications, this grave censor pronounceth to be frivolous. First, because if we may beleeve him, *S. Augustine* never used these wordes, Catholique Church, after this sort in that sense. Secondly, because he speaketh of that Church, which commanded him not to beleeve *Manichæus*, which undoubtedly was the present Church. Thirdly, because as he supposeth, I can alleadge no Divine, that so interpreted the wordes of *Augustine*; that which I cite out of *Ockam* being impertinent. To every of these reasons I will briefly answer. And first that *Augustine* doth use the words, Catholique Church, in the sense specified by me, it is evident. For writing against *Manichæus*, he hath these wordes. *Palam est quantum in re dubia ad fidem & certitudinem valeat Catholica Ecclesie autoritas, quæ ab ipsis fundatissimis sedibus Apostolorum, usq; ad hodiernum diem succedentibus sibimet Episcopis, & tot populorum consensione firmatur*; that is, it is apparant, what great force the authority of that Church hath, to settle the perswasion of faith, & cause certainty in things doubtfull, that from the most surely established seats of the Apostles by succession of Bishops even till this present, and consent of people is most firmly settled. To the second reason we answered, that the Church including the Apostles, and all faith-

Pag. 64.

Pag. 66.

Contra Fau-
stum Manichæ-
um: l. 1. c. 3.

¶ Part. 3. lect. 3.
de vita spiritu-
ali animæ co-
rol. 7.

c De dogmati-
bus extra cano-
nem Scripturæ
constit. l. 4. c. 4.

d De via inve-
stigandæ veræ
intelligentiæ,
sacræ scripturæ
l. 2. c. 7.

e Dial. l. 1. part.
2. c. 4.

f Doctrin. fid.
l. 2. art. 2. c. 21.

full ones that have beene since, comprehendeth in it the present Church, and so might command *Augustine* not to listen to *Manicheus*. So that this commanding proveth not that he speaketh precisely of the present Church. To the third I say, that the Treatiser is either strangely ignorant, or strangely impudent, when he affirmeth, that I can alleadge no Divine that understandeth the words of *Augustine* of the Church, including in it the Apostles, & such as lived in their times. For first *Durandus* understandeth them of the Primitive Church, including the Apostles. Secondly, *Gerson* will tell him, that when *Augustine* saith, he would not beleve the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not move him, he understandeth by the name of the Church, the Primitive congregation of those Faithfull ones which saw and heard *Christ*, and were his witnesses. Thirdly, *Driedo* writeth thus: when *Augustine* saith, he would not beleve the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not move him, he understandeth that Church which hath ever beene since the beginning of the Christian Faith, having her Bishops in orderly sort succeeding one another, and growing & increasing till our times, which Church truly comprehendeth in it the blessed company of the Holy Apostles, who having seene *Christ* and his miracles, and learned from his mouth the Doctrine of Faith, delivered unto us the Evangelicall Scriptures. And againe the same *Driedo* saith, that the authority of the Scripture is greater then the authority of the Church that now is in the world, in it selfe considered. But if wee speake of the universall Church, including all Faithfull ones that are and have beene, the authority of the Church is in a sort greater then the Scripture, and in a sort equall. For explication whereof hee addeth, that as touching things that cannot be seene, nor knowne by us, we beleve the sayings & writings of men, not, as if they had in them, in themselves considered a sufficient force to move us to beleve; but because by some reasons we are perswaded of them who deliver such things unto us, & thinke them worthy to be beleved. So *S. Augustine* might rightly say, hee would not beleve the bookes of the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not move him, understanding the universall Church; of which he speaketh against *Manicheus*, which, including the Apostles, hath had in it an orderly course of succession of Bishops till our time. For the faithfulness, truth, & credit of this Church was more evident, then the truth of the bookes of the New Testament, which are therefore received as sacred and true, because written by those Apostles to whom *Christ* so many wayes gave testimony both by word and worke: and the Scriptures are to be proved by the authority of the Church which included the Apostles; but in the Church that now is, or that includeth only such as are now living, God doth not so manifest himselfe as he formerly did: so that this Church must demonstrate her selfe to be Orthodox, by proving her faith out of the Scripture. With *Driedo* *Ockam* concurreth, his words are these: sometimes the name of the Church comprehendeth not onely the whole congregation of Catholiques living, but the faithfull departed also; & in this sense blessed *Augustine* useth the name of the Church in his book against the *Manichees*, cited in the Decrees, 2. dist. c. palam: where the Catholique Church importeth the Bishops that have succeeded one another from the Apostles times, & the people subject to them. And in the same sense *Augustine* useth the name of the Church, when he saith, he would not beleve the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not move him: for this Church comprehendeth in it the Writers of the bookes of the Gospell, and all the Apostles: so that from the authority of *Augustine* rightly understood, it cannot be inferred, that the Pope the maker of the Canons, is rather & more to be beleved then the Gospell: yet it may be granted, that we must more & rather beleve the Church which hath beene from the times of the Prophets & Apostles till now, then the Gospell: not for that men may any way doubt of the Gospell, but because the whole is greater then the part. So that the Church which is of greater authority then the Gospell, is, that whereof the Writer of the Gospell is a part. Neither is it strange, that the whole should bee of more authority then the parts. These are the words of *Ockam* in the place cited by me. Wherefore let the Reader judge whether that I cite out of *Ockam* be impertinent, as the Treatiser saith or not. To *Durandus*, *Gerson*, *Driedo*, & *Ockam*, we may adde *Waldensis*, who fully agrees with them, shewing

shewing at large, that it pertained to the Church only in her first, best, and primitive state & age, to deliver a perfect direction touching the Canon of the Scripture; so that shee hath no power or authority now, to adde any more bookes to the Canon already received, as out of her owne immediate knowledge. But it sufficeth to the magnifying of her authority in the present estate, that even now, no other bookes may be received, but such only as in her first and best estate shee proposed. Farther adding, that the saying of *Augustine*, that he would not beleieve the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not move him, is to bee understood of the Church, including the Primitive Fathers and Pastors, the Apostles Schollers. By this which hath bin said, it is evident, as I thinke, that the former of these two constructions which I make of *Augustines* words, hath bin approved by farre better men then this Treatiser. And that therefore he sheweth himselfe more bold then wise, when he pronounceth it to be frivolous. And surely, if we consider well the discourse of *S. Augustine*, I thinke it may bee proved unanswerably, out of the circumstances of the same, that he speaketh not precisely of the present Church. For it is that authority of the Catholique Church he urgeth, that was begun by miracles, nourished by hope, increased by charity, and confirmed & strengthened by long continuance. And of that Church he speaketh, wherein there had bin a succession of Bishops from *Peter* till that present time. So that he must needs meane the Church, including not onely such faithfull ones as were then living when hee wrote, but all that either then were, or had beene from the Apostles times. Wherefore let us passe to the other construction of *Augustines* words, which is, that the authority of the present Church, was the ground & reason of an acquisite faith, & an introduction leading him to a more sure stay, but not the reason or ground of that faith, whereby principally he did beleieve. This construction the Treatiser saith, cannot stand, because *Aug.* saith, if the authority he speaketh of be weakened, he will beleieve no longer. Whence it seemeth to be consequent, that it was the cause of all the perswasion of faith that he had, then when he wrote; & not only of an acquisite faith, preparing & fitting him to a stronger, more excellent, & farther degree or kind of faith. For the clearing of this point, we must note, that there are 3.^d sorts of such men as beleieve: ^h Hugo de sancto victore in sententiis. for there are some that beleieve out of piety onely, not discerning by reason, whether the things they beleieve, be to be beleieved as true or not: the 2.^d have a light of divine reason shining in them, & causing an approbation of that they beleieve: the 3.^d sort, having a pure heart & conscience, begin already inwardly to taste, that which hereafter more tully shall be enjoyed. Resting in the first degree, as the authority of the Church moveth us to beleieve, so if it be weakned, that kinde & degree of faith, that it layeth on it, falleth to the ground, having no other sufficient stay: But if we speake of faith in respect of her two other degrees, shee hath a more sure and firme ground and stay to rest upon. And therefore *Aug.* affirmeth, that the truth, clearly manifesting it selfe ^{Ubi supra.} unto us, is to be preferred before all those things that commend unto us the authority of the Church; and that there are certaine spiritually minded men, who in this life attaine to the knowledge of heavenly truth, & sincere wisdome, without all doubt discerning it, though but in part & weakly, in that they are men. Of which number there is no question, but that *Aug.* was one; so that the authority of the Church, could not be the sole or principall motive or reason, at that time, when hee wrote of his present perswasion of the truth of heavenly mysteries, contained in the Gospell of Christ, as the Treatiser would make us beleieve: but having to do with the *Manichees*, who promised the evident and cleare knowledge of truth, but failing to performe that they promised, urged him to beleieve that, which they could not make him know to bee true; he professeth, that if he must beleieve without discerning the truth of that he beleieveth, he must rest on the authority of the Catholique Church: For the *Manichees* had no authority sufficient to move a man to beleieve in this sort. Now the Catholique Church commanded him not to listen to *Manicheus*, in which behalfe, if they would & could weaken the authority thereof, he professeth he neither can, nor will beleieve any more, with such a kind of faith as they urged him to; which is, without all discerning of the truth of the things that are to bee beleieved. Thus we see the discourse of

S. Augustine no way proveth, that the authority of the Church was the sole or principall ground of the highest degree, or kind of faith, he had; but it is most evident out of the same, that it served onely as an introduction to lead to a more sure perswasion then it selfe could cause.

§. 5. & 6.

Pag. 78.

Pag. 81.

^a Triplication.
pag. 188.
^b Pag. 179.

THe next thing the Treatiser hath, that concerneth mee, is, that I acknowledge in the Church a rule of faith, descending by tradition from the Apostles, according to which the Scriptures are to be expounded. Whereunto I briefly answer; that indeede I admit such a rule so descending unto us; but that the rule I speake of, is nothing else but a summary comprehension of the chiefe heads of Christian doctrine, every part whereof is found in Scripture, and from them easily to bee collected and proved, delivered unto us by the guides of the Church, from hand to hand as from the Apostles. So that my wordes make nothing for proove of the Papistes supposed unwritten traditions: wherefore let us passe to that which followeth, which is the Sophisticall circulation, which I say Papistes runne into, in that they beleeve that the Church is infallibly lead into all truth, because it is so contained in the Scripture; and that the Scripture is the word of God, because the Church infallibly led into all truth, telleth them it is. In this passage he saith I wrong *Stapleton*, in that I charge him, that in his triplication against *Whitaker*, he affirmeth other matters to be beleevd, because they are contained in Scripture, and the Scripture, because it is the word of God: and that it is the word of God, because the Church delivereth it to be so: and the Church, because it is lead by the spirit: and that it is lead by the spirit, because it is so contained in the Scripture & the Creed. For that, as he saith, *Stapleton* in the last place maketh no mention of the Scripture, but of the Creed onely. Wherefore let us heare *Stapleton* himselfe speake. Whereas *D. Whitaker* objecteth, that Papists according to *Stapletons* opinion, beleeve whatsoever they beleeve, not only by, but for the Church: & that ingenuously he had confessed so much: he ^a answereth, that indeed he had so professed, and that he would ever so professe: & in ^b another place, whereas *D. Whitaker* saith: Papists beleeve the Church, because God commandeth them to doe so: and that God doth so command them, because the Church, whose authority is sacred, telleth them so: he answereth, that they doe not beleeve that God commaundeth them to beleeve the Church, either properly, or onely, because the Church telleth them so: but partly, because of the most manifest authorities of Scriptures, sending them to the Church to be taught by it: partly moved so to doe by the Creede of the Apostles, wherein wee professe, that we beleeve the Catholique Church: that is, not only that there is such a Church, but that we are members of it; and that God doth teach us by it. Is heere no mention of the Scripture, but of the Creed onely? Doubtlesse the Treatiser hath a very hard fore-head, for otherwise hee could not but blush, and acknowledge that he wrongeth me, and not I *Stapleton*. But to make good that which I have written: that Papists either fall into a Sophisticall circulation, or resolve the perswasion of their faith finally into humane motives, and inducements; first, it is to be observed, that no man perswadeth himselfe of the trueth of any thing, but because it is evident unto him in it selfe, to be as he perswadeth himselfe, either in abstractive knowledge, or intuitive, intellectuall or experimentall, or of affection; or else because it is so delivered to bee, by some such as hee is well perswaded, both in respect of their understanding discerning aright, and will to deliver nothing, but that they apprehend to bee true. In the former kinde, the inducement, motive, or formall cause of mens assent to such propositions as they assent unto, is the evidence of them in themselves, which either they have originally as the first principles, or by necessary deduction from things so evident, as conclusions thence inferred; In the latter, the authority and credit of the reporter. The former kinde of assent, is named *assensus evidens*, the latter *inevidens*, of which latter sort faith is, which is named a firme assent without evidence, because many of the things which we are to beleeve, are not, nor cannot be evident unto us originally in themselves, as the first principles of humane knowledge, nor by deduction, from

from, and out of things so evident, in such sort as conclusions in sciences are. Yet is not this assent without all evidence. For though the things beleev'd be not evident in themselves, yet the *medium*, by vertue whereof we beleve them, must be evident: and the proove of them by vertue of that *medium*. Now the *medium*, by vertue whereof we beleve things no way evident unto us in themselves, can bee nothing else but the report of another: neither is every report of another a sufficient *medium* or inducement to make us beleve things we know not, but it must be the report of such an one as we know cannot be deceived, nor will not deceive. It must therefore be evident to every one, that firmly and without doubting beleeveth things not knowne unto him upon the report of another, that he that reporteth them unto him, neither is deceived, nor can deceive. Whence it followeth necessarily, that things are as he reporteth. These things presupposed, I demaund of this *Treatiser*, whether hee and his consorts assent to the Articles of the Christian faith, induced so to doe by the evidence of the things in themselves, or by the report of another. That they assent not unto them, induced so to do by the evidence of the things in themselves they all professe, but by the report of another. I demaund therefore, who that other is? whether God or man? if man, then have they nothing but an humane perswasion, very weakly grounded, & wherein they may be deceived, for every man is a liar. If God, let them tell me whither it be evident in it selfe, that God delivereth these things unto them, and pronounceth them to be as they beleve, or not: If not, but beleev'd only, then, as before, by reason of authority: & that either of God, or man. Not of God, for it is not evident in it selfe, that God delivereth any thing unto them, not of men, for their report is not of such credit as that we may certainly and undoubtedly stay upon it: seeing they may be deceived, and deceive other. They answer therefore, that it is no way evident unto them in it selfe, that God delivereth the things they beleve: but that they perswade themselves, he delivered such things upon the report of men; but such men as are infallibly led into all truth. See then if they doe not runne round in a circle, finding no stay. They beleve the resurrection of the dead, and the like things, because God revealed it; they beleve that God revealed it, because it is so contained in the Scripture: and the Scripture, because it is the word of God: and that it is the word of God, because the Church so delivereth: and the Church because it is a multitude of men, infallibly led into all truth: and that there is a Church infallibly led into all truth, because it is so contained in Scripture: and the Scripture because it is the word of God: and so round without ever finding any end. Out of this circle they cannot get, unlesse they either ground their Faith upon the meere report of men, as men, and humane probabilities: or confesse that it is evident unto them, in it selfe, that God spaketh in the Scripture, and revealeth those things which they beleve: which if they do, it must be in respect either of the manner, matter there uttered, or consequent effects. In respect of the manner, there being a certain divine vertue, force, & majesty, in the very forme of the words of him that speaketh, in the Scripture: in respect of the matter, which being suggested and proposed to us, findeth approbation of reason, inlightned by the light of grace: in respect of the consequent effects, in that we finde a strange and wonderfull change wrought in us, assuring us the doctrine is of God that hath such effects, which is that we say, and which they condemne in us. The *Treatiser* would make us beleve that there are two opinions amongst them touching this point: whereof the one is, as he telleth us, that we beleve the Church, because the Scripture teacheth us, that she is to be beleev'd: & the Scripture, because the Church delivereth it to us to bee the word of God. And the other, that by the assistance of God together with the concurrence of our naturall understanding, we produce an act of supernaturall Faith, by which we firmly beleve the Articles of Christian Faith, not for any humane inducements, but for that they are revealed by Almighty God, without seeking any further: which if it be so, it must be evident in it self to them that follow this opinion: that God hath revealed & delivered the things they beleve, & that by one of the 3 wayes before mentioned, & then they fall into our opinion: for if it be not evident to them in it self, that God speaks in the Scriptures, & reveales the things they are to beleve, they must go further, to be assured that he doth

so speake and reveale the things that are to bee beleaved, either to proove of reason, or authority. For no man perswadeth himselfe of any thing, but upon some inducements. Proove of reason demonstrative, I thinke they will not seeke; and probable inducements they may not rest in; therefore they must proceede to some proove by authority, which can bee no other but that of the Church, and then they joyne with them that follow the other opinion, and beleve the articles of Christian faith, contained in Scripture, because God hath revealed them; and that God hath revealed them, because the Church telleth them so; and the Church, because the Scripture testifieth of it that it is led into all truth, which is a very grosse sophisticall circulation. This the Treatiser did well perceive, and therefore to helpe the matter, he distinguisheth the cause of beleaving, and the condition necessarily requisite, that the cause may have her working, in shew, making the Divine Revelation, the reason or cause that we beleve, and the Churches proposing to us the things to be beleaved, a condition only, and not a cause: in sort, as the fire alone is the cause of the burning of the wood, but the putting of one of them to another, is a necessary condition, without which that cause can produce no such effect: but this shift will not serve the turne. For it is the fire onely that burneth the wood, though it cannot burne unlesse it be put unto it: so that in like sort, if the comparison hold, the Divine Revelation must, of, and by it selfe alone, move, induce, and incline us to beleve the things proposed by the Church, as being evident unto us, to be a Divine Revelation, though without the Churches proposing, we could take no notice of it. Even as in naturall knowledge, it is the evidence of truth, appearing unto us, originally found in the first principles, and secondarily in the conclusions from thence deduced, that is the sole and onely cause or reason of our assent to such principles and conclusions, though without the helpe of some men of knowledge, proposing them to us, and leading us from the apprehension of one of them to another, happily we should not at all attaine such knowledge. But this evidence of the Divine Revelation in it selfe, the Treatiser will not admit. For it is no way evident in it selfe, to him, that God hath revealed any of the things he beleeveth; but the onely proove, besides humane motives or reasons, (which are too weake to be the ground of Faith) that he hath, is the authority of the Church. So that the Ministry of the Church, is not onely a condition, but a cause of that perswasion of faith which they have: yea the authority of the Church is the formall cause of all that faith, seduced Papistes have. And therefore the distinction of a cause and condition helpeth them not: It is true indeed that the Ministry of the Church, proposing to men thinges to bee beleaved, is onely a condition requisite to the producing of a supernaturall act of faith, in respect of them that have some other thing to perswade them, that that is true which the Church proposeth, besides the authority of the Church; but in respect of such as have no other proove of the trueth thereof it is a formall cause. Now this is the condition of all Papists: For let them tell me whether they beleve the Scripture to be the Word of God, without any motive at all or not? and if they doe not, as it is most certaine they doe not, whether besides such as are humane they have any other then the authority of the Church? if they have not, as doubtlesse they have not, they make the authority of the Church the formall cause of their faith, and fall into that sophisticall circulation they are charged with. For they beleve the articles of religion, because revealed; and that they were revealed, because it is so contained in the Scripture; and the Scripture, because it is the Word of God; & that it is the Word of God, because the Church telleth them it is; and the Church, because it is guided by the spirit; and that it is so guided, because it is so contained in the Scripture: this is such a maze as no wise man will willingly enter into: and yet the Treatiser commendeth the treading of these intricate pathies, and telleth us that two causes may bee causes one of another. That the cause may bee proved by the effect, and the effect by the cause; and that such a kinde of argumentation, is not a circulation, but a demonstrative regresse: that two causes may be causes either of other, in diverse respects wee make no question. For the end of each thing, as it is desired, setteth the efficient cause a worke; and the efficient causeth the same to bee actually enjoyed.

joyed. Likewise, wee doubt not, but that the cause may be proved by the effect, and the effect by the cause in a demonstrative regresse, For the effect, as better known unto us then the cause, may make us know the cause; and the cause being found out by us, may make us more perfectly, and in a better sort to know the effect, then before; not onely that, and what it is, but why it is also. So the death of little infants proveth them sinners, and their being sinners proveth them mortall. The bignesse of the footstep in the dust or sand, sheweth the bignesse of his foote that made that impression: And the bignesse of his foote will shew how bigge the impression is that hee maketh: but this maketh nothing for the justifying of the Romish circulations. For here the effect being knowne in a sort in it selfe, maketh us know the cause; and the cause being found out and knowne, maketh us more perfectly to know the effect then at first wee did; but the case is otherwise with the Papistes; for with them the Scripture, which in it selfe hath no credit with them, but such onely as it is to receive from the Church, giveth the Church credit; and the Church, which hath no credit but such as it is to receive from the Scripture, giveth the Scripture credit by her testimony. And they endeavour to prove the infallibility of the Churches judgement out of the Scripture, and the trueth of the Scripture out of the determination and judgement of the Church. Much like, as if when question is made touching the quality and condition of two men, utterly unknowne, a man to commend them to such as doubt of them, should bring no other testimony of their good and honest disposition, but the testimony of each of them of the other. It is true then which I have said, that to a man admitting the Old Testament, and doubting of the New, a man may urge the authority of the Old; and to a man doubting of the Old, and admitting the New, the authority of the New; but to him that doubteth of both, a man must alleadge neither of them, but must bring some other authority or prooffe: so likewise, to him that admitteth the Scripture, and doubteth of the Church, a man may urge the authority of the Scripture; but to him that doubteth of both, as all doe when they begin to beleve, a man must alleadge some other prooffe; or else he shall cause him to runne round in a Circle for ever, and never to finde any way out. Wherefore to conclude this point, let our Adversaries know, that we admit and require humane motives and inducements, and amongst them a good opinion of them that teach us, as preparing & fitting us to faith. Secondly, that wee require a supernaturall ayde, light, and habit; for the producing of an act of faith. Thirdly, that wee require some divine motive and inducement. Fourthly, that this cannot be the authority of the Church, seeing the authority of the Church is one of the things wee are to be induced to beleve. Fifthly, that wee require the ministry of the Church, as a propounder of all heavenly truth; though her authority can be no prooffe in generall, of all such truth. Sixtly, that the Church, though not as it includeth only the beleivers that are in the world, at one time, yet as it comprehendeth all that are, or have beene, is an infallible propounder of heavenly truth, and so acknowledged to be, by such as are assured of the truth of the doctrine of Christianity in generall. Seaventhly, that the authority of this Church is a sufficient prooffe of the truth of particular things, proposed by her to such as already are by other divine motives assured of her infallibility.

§. 7.

FROM the authority of the Scripture, which he would faine make to be wholly dependant on the Church, the Treatiser passeth to the fulnesse and sufficiency of it; seeking amongst other his discourses, to weaken those proofes which are brought by mee, for confirmation thereof. Affirming, that though I make shew, as if it were a plaine matter, that the Evangelists in their Gospels, Saint *Luke* in the Actes of the Apostles, and Saint *Iohn* in the Apocalyps, meant to deliver a perfect summe of Christian doctrine, and direction of faith, yet I bring no reason of any moment to prove it. Whereas yet in the place cited by him, I have these wordes, containing in them, as I suppose, a strong prooffe of the thing questioned. Who seeth not that

Pag. 88. & 89.

the Evangelists writing the history of CHRIST'S life and death, *S. Luke* in the booke of the Acts of the Apostles, describing the comming of the Holy Ghost, the admirable gifts and graces powred upon the Apostles, and the Churches founded and ordered by them, and Saint *John* writing the Revelations which he had concerning the future state of things to the end of the world, meant to deliver a perfect summe of Christian doctrine? if the prooffe contained in these words be not sufficient, for my part I know not what may bee, for what can be necessary to be knowne of Christians, over and above that which is found in the old Testament, besides the Incarnation of *Christ*, his words, actions, & sufferings; the manner of the establishment of Churches in the faith of *Christ*: and the ordaining and appointing of fit guides to take care of the government of the same, and the future state of things to the end of the world? But he saith, no one of the Evangelists intended to set downe all that *Christ* did and suffered, as it appeareth that no one of them hath so done; and that it cannot bee said that all jointly have so done, seeing that could not proceed but from some common deliberation, or the disposition or inspiration of the Holy Ghost, moving them to write: neither of which can be said. For that there was no such deliberation, he saith it is evident, in that no man mentioneth any such thing, & in that it is knowne they wrote in divers countries at divers times, upon divers occasions; and that the inspiration of the holy spirit did not direct them to the writing of all things necessary, hee saith it is likewise most cleare, in that I confesse there are some things wanting in their bookes, which the Church beleeveth: which could not be if the spirit had moved them to write all. This objection will soone be answered. For first it is certain that some one of the Evangelists intended to write all things which *Christ* did and spake: *S. Luke* professing that he had so done, Which yet is not to be understood of all things simply, but such onely as he did & spake in that time, within the compasse whereof he confined his narration. Neither doth this prejudice the fulnesse of the Evangelicall history. For as *Baronius* noteth, the later Evangelists taking a view of that the former had written, for the most part added what things they found omitted by them: So *Marke* & *Luke* write of the ascension of *Christ*, not mentioned by *S. Mathew*, because he ended his story before he came to it. And *John* finding as *Hierome* saith, that the other three had written onely the history of one yeare, after *John* the baptist was cast into prison, wherein *Christ* suffered; approved that which they had written as true, & omitting that yeare, because the things that fell out in it were reported by them, recorded such things as fell out before the imprisonment of the Baptist, which they had not written, as not fetching the beginning of their narration so farre off. If it be said by this Treatiser, that many things that *Christ* did are so omitted, that they are found in none of the Evangelist: for that *John* who wrote last of all, & knew well what the rest had written, hath these words: *Many other signes also Jesus wrought in the sight of his Disciples, which are not written in this booke, but these things were written that you may beleve that Jesus is the Christ the son of God, and that beleiving, you may have everlasting life through his Name.* And againe, *there are also many other things which Jesus did, which if they should be written every one, I suppose the world would not be able to containe the Bookes which should be written.* *Baronius* will tell him that the Evangelists when they tooke in hand the writing of the sacred stories, intended not to write all the things generally that *Christ* did: but such & so many only, as might serve to confirme the Faith, and to demonstrate that *Jesus* is the Son of GOD: & that the things which they have written are sufficient to salvation, that men beleiving may have eternall life. So that though there were no common deliberation or consultation amongst the Evangelists, & though they wrote at diverse times, & in diverse places, yet by the sweet disposition of the holy Spirit that moved them to write, it might, and did so fall out, in that one saw what another had written, that the later addeth such things as they found omitted by the former, & so left unto us a perfect & full narration concerning *Christ* his incarnation, life, death, resurrection, & ascension, as also the things he did & spake during the time of his conversing amongst men. So that the Treatiser is not able to prove that the Evangelicall history is imperfect: but there is one thing wherein hee gloryeth, as if hee had gotten some great advantage,

^a Act. 1.
Luke 1.

^b Annal. tom. 1.
34. 223.

^c Catal. scriptor. in Iohanne
Baron. Annal.
tom. 1. 99. 5.

^d Cap. 20. 30.
31.

^e Cap. 24. 25.

^f Annal. tom. 1.
34. 223.

advantage, which is, that I confesse, that there are some things found in the Epistles of the Apostles, occasionally written & beleev'd by the Church, that are not found in the history of the Evangelists, the book of all the Acts of the Apostles, nor the Revelation of Saint *Iohn*: whence hee thinketh he may inferre, that either the Authors of those books, meant not to deliver a perfect summe & direction of Christian faith as I affirme; or that they missed of their purpose: which may not be granted. But let him know, that there is no consequence of any such absurdity as hee imagineth, from any thing I have written. For the things beleev'd by the Church, and not found in the former bookes, but in the Epistles of the Apostles, are nothing else but distinct and cleare determinations of doubts arising touching matters of faith or manners, out of, and according to the summe of Christian Doctrine, found in the former bookes: or historicall narrations of such things as passed betweene the Apostles themselves, or betweene them and the Churches founded by them, or some particular persons in them, not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles: or lastly, Apostolicall prescriptions of things pertaining to decencie, order and comelinesse in the performance of the acts of Gods worship & service. Now I thinke it will not follow, that if there be found in the Apostolicall Epistles, some more distinct and cleare resolutions and determinations of doubt, out of the forme and direction of Christian Doctrine, found in the former bookes, then are there found, or a prescription of some outward observations, that the former bookes containe not a perfect summe and direction of Christian faith: much lesse will it be consequent that these bookes containe not a perfect direction of Christian faith, because some historicall narrations, not found in them, are beleev'd in the Church: as that *Paul* left his cloake at *Troas*, that hee mediated for *Onesimus*, and sought to reconcile him to his Master, and the like. The Treatiser therefore passeth from this exception, and asketh how I will prove, that all things beleev'd by the Church, & not contained in the former bookes are found in the Epistles of the Apostles; to whom I answer, that when hee shall give an instance of things beleev'd by the Church, & not found in the former bookes, either it shall be proved that they are not beleev'd by the Church, or they shall be shewed him in those Epistles. Wherefore let us see what he hath more to say. One of the Apostolicall Epistles he saith is lost, namely that which *Paul* wrote to the *Laodiceans*, in which there might be something necessarily to be beleev'd that is not found in any other book of the New Testament. Therefore it may be thought that there is some want & imperfection in the books of the New Testament. This truly is a very idle and silly objection: for though there was a certaine Epistle to the *Laodiceans* carried about and read by some in ancient times, yet, as *Hierome* testifieth it was exploded by all: and *Chrysostome*, and *Theodoret* are of opinion, that *Paul* never wrote any Epistle to the *Laodiceans*: but that the Epistle he speaketh of, was written from *Laodicea*, or by the *Laodiceans*, to informe him of the state of things amongst themselves, or amongst the *Colossians*, by whom he would have it read. And *Cardinall Baronius* himselfe approveth their opinion, rather then the other. That which he hath, of my admitting traditions, I will answer when I come to examine his next Section.

§. 8.

IN his next Section he hath these words. *Barlow & Field*, two famous English Protestants, admit certaine Apostolicall traditions. And farther hee addeth, that I allow of certaine rules for the discerning of Apostolique traditions, from such as are not such. Whereunto wee answer, that we admit sundry kindes of tradition, and yet deny, that any thing concerning faith, or the necessary direction and information of mens manner is to be beleev'd and received, that is not written. For wee say, nothing was delivered by tradition, but the bookes of Scripture, things in some sort therein contained, and thence deduced; and certaine dispenseable observations, not at all, or hardly to be discerned from Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Neither is it new, or strange, that we should admit some kindes of traditions; For *Clementine* acknowledgeth all those kindes that I mention; which will no way help the Papists, For the question betweene them & us, is not whether there be any traditions or not. For it is most cer-

Pag. 89.

Catal. script. Ecclesiast. in Paulo.

In Epist. ad Colos. Homil. 12.

In Epist. ad Colos. in princip. citat. à Baron. Annal. Tom. 1. 60. 13.

Ibid.

Pag. 94.

In examine Concilij Tridentini decret. prim. sessionis.

caine

Part. 1. pag. 83.
& seqq.

Epist. ad Ne-
porem.

Pag. 96.

Booke 4. cap. 10.

Pag. 96.

taine that the bookes of Scripture are delivered by tradition. But it being presupposed, that the holy men of God, taught immediately by Christ his Sonne, recommended certaine bookes to posterities, and agreed on, which those bookes are; whether they containe all things necessarie to be knowne, and practised by Christian men for the attaining of everlasting life and salvation; Wee say they doe, they deny it. Yet will the Treatiser prove from hence, contrary to my assertions, that according to my owne grounds, tradition is the very foundation of my faith. For if Protestants receive the number, names of the Authours, and integrity of the parts of bookes, divine, and canonicall, as delivered by tradition, as I say they doe: and if without tradition wee cannot know such divine bookes, hee thinketh it consequent that tradition is the ground of our faith. But indeede there is no such consequence as hee imagineth. For it is one thing to require the tradition of the Church, as a necessary meanes, whereby the bookes of Scripture may be delivered unto us, and made knowne; & another to make the same tradition the ground of our faith, seeing in the judgment of the Treatiser himselfe, every thing is not the ground of our faith, builded upon Scripture, without which we cannot know the Canonicall bookes of Scripture from such as are not of that ranke. As it is evident, in that he distinguisheth the ground of our faith, & reason of our beleiving, from the condition required to the producing of such an act of faith; denying the Churches proposing of things to be beleaved to bee the ground of our faith, and yet requiring it, as a necessary condition, without which ordinarily men cannot beleieve. So that though we know the names of the writers of the bookes of holy Scripture by tradition, and that there were no more bookes, nor no more partes of bookes, of this kinde left to posterities, by the Apostles, but such as the Church delivereth to us; yet it is not consequent, that wee have no other ground of our perswasion, that the bookes delivered to us, and the parts thereof are canonicall, but tradition: for the evidence of divine power, and majesty, shewing it selfe in them more then in all humane compositions whatsoever, proverth them to have proceeded from the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, breathing in them nothing but heavenly grace. The wordes of holy Scripture, saith *Picus Mirandula*, are rude and plaine, but full of life and soule; they have their sting; they pierce and enter in, even to the most secret spirit, and strangely transforme him that with due respect readeth them and meditateth on them. And besides, there are sundry divine and convincing reasons; that the summe of Christian doctrine contained in these bookes, is nothing else but heavenly truth; and being without the compasse of that wee naturally understand, revealed trueth. So that the Treatiser doth greatly forget himselfe, when hee pronounceth it to bee false, that I say, that the Scriptures winne credit of themselves, and yeelde sufficient satisfaction to all men of their divine truth. This is the summe of all that hee hath of traditions. For where hee saith, I affirme that without the Creed of the Apostles, wee cannot know the Scriptures to bee of God; hee sheweth himselfe to care little whether that hee writeth bee true or false. For I no where have any such thing; but where hee saith, I affirme that Papists make traditions Ecclesiasticall, equall with the written word of God, and that this is one of my ordinary untruths, hee deserveth a sharper censure: For if the Reader be pleased to peruse the place cited by him, he shall finde that I say no such thing, nor any thing that the Pope himselfe can possibly dislike. For, delivering the opinion of Papists touching traditions, their diverse kindes, and the credit that is to bee given unto them, I shew; that they make divine traditions equall with the words, precepts and doctrines of Christ, left unto us in writing; apostolicall, with the written precepts of the Apostles; and ecclesiasticall, with the written precepts of the Pastours of the Church; confessing, that there is no reason why they should not doe so, if they could prove any such unwritten traditions. Is this to say that Papists make Ecclesiasticall traditions equall with the written Word of God? Is this one of my ordinary untruthes? or rather is not this a bewraying of an extraordinary impudency in him that so saith? Surely I feare the Reader will have a very ill concept of him, upon the discerning of this his badde dealing. Yet hee goeth forward, charging mee, that

I make the baptisme of Infants to be an unwritten tradition; whereas yet he knoweth right well, that howsoever I grant it may be named a tradition, in that there is no expresse precept or example of it in Scripture; yet I affirme that it is no unwritten tradition, in that the grounds, reasons, and causes of the necessity of it, are there contained, & the benefits that follow it. Neither doth the place alledged by him out of *Augustine* prove the contrary: the words of *Augustine* as commonly we reade them, are these: the custome of the Church in baptizing infants, which is not to be despised or lightly regarded, were not to be beleaved, were it not an Apostolique tradition. But, whosoever shall consider the place, will soone perceive that *Augustines* meaning is, that the custome of the Church in baptizing Infants, which he saith, is not to be despised, or lightly regarded, is to be beleaved to be no other but an Apostolical tradition; & not that it were not to be beleaved if it were not an Apostolicall tradition; howsoever, as it seemeth *esse* instead of *esse* is crept into the text. For it is something harsh to say, the custome of the Church in baptizing infants is not to be beleaved, unlesse it were an Apostolicall Tradition. Seeing such a custome might be beleaved, though it were not an Apostolicall Tradition. And besides the drift of *Augustine* in that place, is to urge the necessity of this custome, and to have it beleaved to be Apostolicall; and not to weaken it, as if it had no support, but bare tradition: which can neither stand with the opinion of *Augustine*, the truth of the thing it selfe, nor the judgement and resolution of our Adversaries themselves, who thinke that the Baptisme of Infants may be proved unanswerably out of Scripture, in that *Christ* saith, the Kingdome of Heaven belongeth to little children, and yet pronounceth, that except a man be borne anew of water, & of the spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heaven. Wherein yet they contradict themselves, as they doe likewise in some other things, which they produce as instances of unwritten traditions, and yet goe about to prove them by Scripture. Neither will the Treatisers evasion serve the turne, that they goe not about to prove any thing necessary out of Scripture, that they pretend to be holden by unwritten tradition, but probably onely; for we know they bring *Pedobaptisme* as an instance of unwritten traditions: and yet say, it may be unavoidably proved out of Scripture, as they propose the testimonies of it. The like may be said of the consubstantiality of the Sonne of God with the Father, and the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from them both, brought by them as instances of unwritten verities, and yet proved as strongly by them out of Scripture, as any other point of Faith. For if they shall say, an Heretique will not yeeld himselfe convinced by such proofes: it will be answered, that no more he will by any other in any other point; nor by the tradition of the Church neither; which yet I suppose they will not make to be a weake proofe in that respect,

*De Genesi ad
literam. lib. 10.
cap. 23.*

*d Bellarade sacr.
bapt. l. 1. c. 8.*

§. 9.

THE next exception taken against me is, that I have not well said, that a man may still doubt and refuse to beleave a thing defined in a Generall Councell, without Hereticall pertinencie, and that Generall Councils may erre in matters of greatest consequence. What I have written, I will make good against the Treatiser. For it is not so strange a thing, as he would make us beleave, to thinke, that Generall Councils may erre, & that a man may doubt of things defined in them, without hereticall pertinency, seeing not only our Divines generally so thinke, but sundry of the best learned in the *Romane* Church in former times, were of the same opinion, as I have else-where shewed at large. Neither were it hard to answer the authorities hee bringeth to prove, that Generall Councils cannot erre; if a man would insist upon the particular examination of them. But this may suffice in a generality, that the Fathers produced by him, blame and condemne in particular, the calling of things in question, that had beene determined in the Councell of *Nice*, and some other of that sort: and not generally the doubting of any thing determined in any Councell, how disorderly soever it proceeded. In the second Councell of *Leo* ep. 25.

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Ephesw,

Pag. 106.

62. Sam. 10. 4.

Ephesus, there wanted not a sufficient number of worthy Bishops, yet because he that tooke on him the Presidentship, used not accustomed moderation, neither permitted each man, freely to deliver his opinion, it was not accepted, nor the decrees of it received. From the not erring of Councils, the Treatiser passeth to the question concerning the Churches authority, in making new Articles of faith: and seeketh to cleare the Roman Church from the imputation of challenging any such authority by my confession: my words alleadged by him to this purpose are these. Our adversaries confesse, that the approbation and determination of the Church, cannot make that a truth which was not: nor that a Divine and Catholique truth, that was not so before. But the good man hath used this poore sentence of mine, as *Hannu* used the messengers of *David*, whose garments he cut off in the middle: a wrong afterwards severely, & yet most justly, revenged by *David*. For it followeth in the same sentence, that Papists do thinke, that the Church, by her sole and bare determination may make that veritie to bee in such sort Catholique, that every one must expressly beleieve it, that was not so, and in such degree Catholique before. Whereby it appeareth, that they attribute a power to the Church, in a sort, to make new Articles of faith, in that she may make things formerly beleaved, onely *implicitè*, to bee necessary to bee expressly beleaved; not by evidence of prooffe, or apparant deduction, from things expressly beleaved, but by her bare and sole authority; which not onely we, but sundry right learned, godly, and wise, in the midst of the Church of *Rome* ever denied. Wherefore let us passe from this imagined advantage, to consider the rest of his exceptions.

S. 10.

Pag. 137.

IN my third booke, and first Chapter, speaking of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, I have these wordes: In the second generall Councell holden at *Constantinople*, he was preferred before the other Patriarches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and set in degree of honour next unto the Bishop of *Rome*; in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, hee was made equall with him, and to have all equall rights, priviledges, and prerogatives: because hee was Bishop of new *Rome*, as the other was of old. Hereupon the Treatiser breaketh out into these wordes: I cannot doe otherwise, but marvaile, that a man of his place and learning, doth not blush to commit such a notorious untruth, to the print and view of the world. For not to speake of the falshood of the first part of his affirmation, because it is in some sort impertinent, that which hee saith of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, is most untrue, repugnant to all antiquity, and not onely contrary to all proceedings, and the history of the said Councell, but also to the wordes of the Canon by him alleadged. Who would not thinke that there were some grosse oversights committed by mee, in these passages, uppon such an out-crie? Wherefore, let us consider the severall parts of this his exception against mee.

First, hee saith, the Bishop of *Constantinople* was not preferred before the other two Patriarches, of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and set in degree of honour next unto the Bishop of *Rome*, in the first Councell of *Constantinople*, as I have said; and that I say untruly, when I say hee was. Let us therefore, heare the wordes of the Canon it selfe, and then let the Reader judge betweene us. The wordes of the third Canon of that Councell are there; *Constantinopolitanus Episcopus obtineat principium honorem ac dignitatem, secundum ac post Episcopum Romanum, ideo quod Constantinopolis nova Roma est.* that is: Let the Bishop of *Constantinople* have the chiefeft honour and dignity after the Bishop of *Rome*, because *Constantinople* is new *Rome*. If the wordes of the Canon suffice not to justifie my assertion, let us heare the Treatiser himselfe; in the same page hee citeth these wordes of the Bishops assembled in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, in their Synodall Epistle to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*: Wee have confirmed the rule of the hundred and fifty holy Fathers, which were gathered together at *Constantinople*, under *Theodosius* of happie memory, which commaunded, that the See of *Constantinople* which is ordained the second, and to have second honour after your most holy and Apostolique See, &c. Is not heere as much said as I have written?

written? Did not the holy Fathers, assembled at *Constantinople*, decree, that the Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, shall be preferred before the Bishoppes of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, and set in degree of honour next unto the Bishoppe of *Rome*? and doe not the Fathers in the Councell of *Chalcedon* say they decreed so? Have all these holy Fathers committed notorious untruthes to the print and view of the world? It is well the Treatiser concealed his name, for otherwise hee must have heard further from mee.

But happily I mis-reported the Councell of *Chalcedon* when I said that in that Councell, the Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, was made equall with the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have equall rights, priviledges, and prerogatives, because hee was Bishoppe of new *Rome*, as the other of old. Let us therefore heare the words of the Bishoppes assembled in the Councell. The^a Fathers, say the Bishops of that Councell, did rightly give preëminences, and priviledges, to the Throne of old *Rome*, because that Citie was Lady and Mistresse of the world, and the hundred and fifty Bishops more deerely beloved of God, moved with the same respect, gave equall preëminences, and priviledges to the most holy throne of new *Rome*, thinking it reasonable that that Citie honoured with the imperiall seate, and Senate, and enjoying equall preëminences, and priviledges, with the elder princely City, should be made great as the other, in ecclesiasticall affaires, being second after it. Out of this decree, ^b *Nilus*, in his booke of the Primacie of the Pope, observeth first, that in the judgement of these holy Bishops, the Pope hath the primacie from the Fathers, and not from the Apostles. Secondly, that hee hath it in respect of the greatnesse of his Citie, being the seate of the Empire, and not by reason of his succeeding *Peter*, which utterly overbroweth the Papacie. And therefore this good man, after all this out-cry raised against mee, as if I had mis-reported the Councell, is forced to deny the authority of the Canon, as not being confirmed by the Bishoppe of *Rome*. See then how hee demeaneth himselfe. First, hee urgeth, that the Bishoppe of new *Rome*, or *Constantinople*, could not have equall priviledges with the Bishoppe of olde *Rome*; because hee was to bee second, and next after him; whereunto *Nilus* answereth, that if that reason did hold, the Bishoppe of *Alexandria*, could not bee equall to the Bishoppe of *Constantinople* in power and authority: nor the Bishoppe of *Antioch* unto him: one of these being after another in order and honour: and thence concludeth, that if the Bishop of *Antioch*, might bee equall to the Bishoppe of *Alexandria*, and the Bishoppe of *Alexandria* to the Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, notwithstanding the placing of one of them, in order and honour, before another, the Bishop of *Constantinople* might bee equall to the Bishoppe of *Rome*, though hee were the second and next after him. So that, that which this Treatiser alleadgeth, that by the confession of these Fathers, the Bishop of *Rome* had alwayes the Primacie, is to no purpose; seeing the Primacie hee had was but of order and honour, which may be yeilded to one amongst them that are equall in power; in which sense the Bishoppes assembled in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, in their relation to Pope *Leo*, call him their head. Secondly, he confesseth, it may be gathered out of some Greeke copies of this Councell, (he might have said, out of all copies, Greeke and Latine) that by this Canon, the Bishop of new *Rome*, or *Constantinople*, was so made second, after the Bishop of old *Rome*, that equall priviledges were given unto him. But addeth, that they were onely concerning jurisdiction, to ordaine certaine *Metropolitans* of the East Church, as the Bishoppe of *Rome* had the like in the West: which evasion serveth not the turne. For the Bishops in this Councell, supposing that the reason why the Fathers gave the preëminence to the Bishoppe of *Rome*, was the greatnesse of the Citie, doe thereupon give him the like preheminences. Soe that they meant to make him equall generally, and not in some particular thinges onely. Besides, if they did equall him in jurisdiction, and in the ordination and confirmation of *Metropolitans*, it will follow, that they equalled him simply, and absolutely. For in the power of Order, there can bee noe inequality betweene him and any other Bishoppe. Thirdly, hee saith, That the Canon of this Councell is of no authority: and the like

^a Synodus
Chalcedon.
actio. 16.

^b De primatu
Papæ. lib. 2.

Pag. 123.

c In notis in
conc. Chalced.

d Novella 100.

Pag. 139.

like he must say of the Canons of the first Councell of *Constantinople*, and that in *Trul.* *lo*, and so beare downe all that standeth in his way, as *Binnius*, and other of his fel-
lowes doe, who feare not to charge these holy Fathers and Bishops, with lying & fall-
hood. But how doth hee prove that this Canon is of no authority? Surely, the one-
ly reason he bringeth, is, because the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome*, resisted against
it, and the Bishop himselfe never confirmed it, which is of little force. For we know,
that notwithstanding the long continued resistance of the *Romane* Bishops, yet in the
end they were forced to give way to this constitution. So that after the time of *Justinian* the Emperour, who confirmed the same, they never made any word about it
any more. The words of *Justinians* confirmation are these. We ordaine, according to
the decrees of the holy Councils, that the most holy Bishop of old *Rome*, shall be the
first of all Bishops: And the most blessed Bishop of *Constantinople*, which is new *Rome*,
shall have the second place after the See of old *Rome*, and shall be before all the rest in
order and honour. Neither did *Martian* the Emperour, as the Treatiser most untruly
avoucheth, voyde the Canons of these Councils, which in this sort were confirmed
afterwards by *Justinian*. Wherefore seeing it is evident, that almost the whole Chri-
stian world, in diverse Generall Councils, feared not to make another Bishop, the Bi-
shop of *Romes* Peere: I hope the Reader will easily discern, that I have not passed the
bounds of modesty, nor fallen into any unseemely scoffing and railing vaine, as the
Treatiser chargeth mee, when I taxe the Antichristian and *Lucifer*-like pride of the
Romish Antichrist, who, notwithstanding the contradiction of the greatest part of
the Christian world, sought to subject all the members of *Christ* to himselfe; and pro-
nounced them all to bee in the state of damnation, that bow not downe before him as
Vice-God, and supream commander on earth. But, it seemeth, he had a great desire,
at the least to seeme to say something against mee. For otherwise hee would not so
shamelessly be-lie me, as he doth, when he saith: I would derive the beginning of the
Popes superioritie from *Phocas*, whereas in the place cited by him, I have no such
thing, but the contrary. For I affirme, that in the first Councell of *Constantinople*,
the Bishop of that City was set in degree of honour next unto the Bishop of *Rome*, and
before the other two Patriarches of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, thereby confessing,
that the Bishop of *Rome* had the first place at that time: Which when the *Constan-*
tinopolitan Bishop sought to have, *Phocas* so concluded matters betweene these two
Bishops, that the Bishop of *Rome* should have the first and chiefe place in the Church
of GOD, and *Constantinople* the second; so that the preëminence and chieftie which
the Pope claimeth lawfully, was ancient, and not derived from *Phocas*, howsoever he
might, and happily did enlarge and extend it farther then was fit, giving him a kinde
of universalitie of jurisdiction.

S. II.

Pag. 139.

a De Rom.
Pont. l. 4. c. 2.
b Rele& contr.
3. q. 4.

FROM the Primacie of the Bishop of *Rome*, the Treatiser passeth to the infallibilitie
of his judgment, and affirmeth that his Decrees, though he define without a Gene-
rall Councell, are that firme Rocke, and sure ground, upon which our Faith is to bee
builded; and that a man may well admit his definitions, as a ground of supernaturall
Faith; and prudently builde an act of such supernaturall Faith upon it. And yet in
the same place confesseth, it is not yet authentically defined, that the Pope in this
sort, cannot erre. Which thing also *Bellarmino*, and *Stapleton* acknowledge,
professing expressly, that it is no matter of faith, to beleve that the Pope cannot
erre, if hee define without a Generall Councell: In which passages there is, as I
suppose, a most grosse contradiction. For how can the infallibilitie of the Popes
judgement bee to them a Rocke to builde an act of supernaturall Faith upon, who
neither know nor beleve, that his judgement is infallible, but thinke so onely.
Can a man certainly and undoubtedly builde his perswasion of any thing upon his
sayings, whom hee neither knoweth, nor beleeveth to bee free from error.

Where-

Wherefore, for the clearing of this point: First, the Treatise saith; Though the Church have not authentically defined, that the Pope cannot erre, yet the Scriptures, and other arguments, brought to prove it, are so plaine, and there are so many that thinke so, that a man may very well admit his definitions to bee a ground of faith. Whence it will follow, that a man may build his faith upon the Scriptures, and other arguments and reasons, without expecting the resolution of the Church, for the understanding of the one, and discerning of the force and validity of the other. Whereas Part. 1. 56. else-where he professeth, that without the resolution of the present Church, the letter of holy Scripture, and the workes of Antiquity, yeelde no certaine and divine argument. Secondly, he contradicteth himselfe, and denyeth the supposed infallibility of the Popes judgement, to be the Rocke, on which the Church is builded, and maketh that rocke to be onely the consenting judgement of the Pope, and other Bishops in a Generall Councell; contrary to the opinion of almost all learned and pious men, as he telleth us himselfe, who thinke that that infallibility of judgment, and assurance of truth, upon which our faith is to be builded, is not partly in the Pope, and partly in other Bishops, but altogether in the Pope. Thus seeking to avoide one contradiction he runneth into many.

The second Part.

S. I.

HAVING surveyed the first part of the Treatise, and examined such objections as the Author of it maketh against me, I will passe to the second; wherein first he goeth about to prove out of that which I have, that Bishops assembled in Generall Councils may interpret the Scriptures, and by their authority, suppress them that gaine-say such interpretations, as they consent upon, subjecting them to excommunication, & censures of like nature; that according to the providence and wisdom of Almighty God, Generall Councils should not be subject to errour, in such matters; for that otherwise men might be forced according to Gods ordinance, to obey Generall Councils, erring and propounding false Doctrine. Which is a very silly kinde of reasoning; for in the very same fort, a man may prove that particular Bishops are free from erring in their proceedings, & that they can impose & prescribe nothing unjustly, under paine of excommunication, for that otherwise men might be forced, and that according to Gods ordinance, to obey such Bishops, erring in their proceedings, and commaunding unjust things; whereas there is no question to be made, but that they have power to excommunicate, who may abuse the same; and that sometimes it is a thing most pleasing unto God, by refusing to obey them that have power to excommunicate, but abuse the same, to run into the uttermost extremities of their censures; yea, ^a S. Augustine pronounceth, that the patient enduring of wrongs, in this kinde, shall be highly rewarded by almighty God.

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^a De vera religione, cap. 6.

Secondly, in the same Chapter labouring to prove, that Protestants contemne & reject the Fathers, & to that purpose wresting some sayings of Doctour Humfrey and others, he objecteth, that I haply may seeme to some one, that doth not thoroughly looke into my words, to approve the authority of the ancient Fathers, as farre forth as any Catholique; but saith, that in truth I doe not. For prooffe whereof he setteth downe, what I have written touching this point: Namely, first, that wee must receive as true, whatsoever hath beene delivered by all the Saints with one consent, which have left their opinion and judgement in writing; it not being possible, that they should all have written of any thing, but that which was generally received in their times, and toucheth the very life of Christian faith. Secondly, whatsoever the most famous have constantly and uniformly delivered, as a matter of faith, no man contradicting them, though many bee found to have saide nothing of it. Thirdly, whatsoever the most famous in every age have constantly delivered, as matter of

Pag. 40.

of faith, & received from them that went before them, in such sort that the gain-sayers were in their beginnings noted for singularity, novelty, and division, and in processe of time if they persisted in such contradiction, charged with heresie: which is as much as any Papist doth say. And then instead of shewing, that I attribute not so much to the Fathers as I should doe, or as Papists doe; hee turneth himselfe to shew, that such content of Fathers, as I speake of, is no such direction for the finding out of the truth. So over-throwing all that which his owne Divines have delivered touching this point. But yet that he may seeme to say something to the purpose, he goeth about to prove, that I bereave the Fathers almost of all authority. First, in that I reject their testimonies touching all other matters, but onely certaine principall and substantiall points. Secondly, in that I require such a generall consent, as can hardly be found, touching such principall points. Thirdly, in that I make the whole Church subject to error. For answer unto these allegations, I say; The first is a shamelesse untruth. For I doe not limit, or restraine, the consent of the Fathers, to certaine principall or substantiall points, as hee mis-reporteth mee: but make the same to be a direction in all things that may be clearely deduced from the rule of faith, and word of divine and heavenly truth, answerably to that of *Vincentius Lyrinensis*, that the consent of holy Fathers is with great studie and care to bee sought out, and followed by us, not in all *petite* questions, that may bee moved, concerning the Divine law, but onely, or at the least specially, in things pertaining to the rule of Faith; with whom *Pererius* agreeth. To the second I say, that I require no other consent of Fathers then *Vincentius Lyrinensis* doth: who will have us onely to follow that doctrine of the Fathers, as certaine, which all with one consent have holden, written, and taught, that have written of such things. Neither doth this worthy Treatiser admit any other consent then I require, for in this same chapter, hee hath these words. They will object that every one of the Fathers was subject to error. I confesse it: but yet God according to his promise, as I have above declared, was so direct and governe them, that they should not all erre. This consent of the Fathers wee make to bee a Rule of direction: but yet not so generally and absolutely, as if truth could not at any time be found out without it, but so that wee must not neglect the knowledge of it, nor goe against it when wee know it. Neither is it necessary for the knowledge hereof, as the Treatiser objecteth, to read over all the Fathers: for the constant concurrence of the principall in all ages, without noted contradiction, doth suffice to assure us of such consent. The third allegation is partly untrue, and partly inconsequent: it is untrue in that he saith, I think all the Pastours of the present Church may erre in matters of greatest moment. It is inconsequent, because though the whole present Church may erre in some things, not pertaining to the rule of faith, and Generall Councils, in matters of greatest consequence; yet it followeth not, that the Fathers of all times and places may be thought to have erred, seeing this succession of Fathers is of greater authority then the company of Pastours that now are. Neither is it consequent, that if error may possesse the greatest part, or almost all the present Church, that it may be Catholique also, and so found every where, and ever. The former, *Vincentius Lyrinensis* yeeldeth to bee possible, but disclaimeth the latter: and therefore prescribeth, that if error creepe into one part of the Church, wee should looke unto other; that if it endeavour to staine and defile all, we should looke up higher unto antiquity; and that if some have erred amongst the Auncient, we should looke what all not noted for singularity, did teach.

S. 3.

W Herefore let us proceed to that which followeth in the next place: first he reporteth what I have written touching the ground of that perswasion, which we have of the truth of things contained in Scripture, and then taketh exceptions to it. In the report, first hee saith, that I make the principall cause of our beleefe of things contained in the bookes of holy Scripture, to be the habit or light of faith. Secondly, that besides the habit or light of faith, I require reasons or motives, by force whereof the spirit of God may settle the minde of a man in the perswasion of the truth of things

b Contra prophanas hæreses. novationes cap. 39.
c In Genes. lib. 7. quæst. 7.

d Chap. 6.

things contained in Scripture, that might otherwise be doubted of. Thirdly, that I make this motive or reason in some things to bee the evidence of the things themselves in the light of grace: in other not so evident unto us, the authority of God himselfe, whom we doe most certainly discern to speake in the word of faith preached unto us. These things I confesse are delivered by me, and rightly collected by him out of that which I have written. Yet doth hee wrong some other of the same judgement with me, touching this point, in that he saith untruly, they reject all supernaturall habits, and so goerh about to make a difference between them and me, in this respect, whereas in truth and in deede there is none. But what is that the good man doth or can dislike in this my discourse? First, he undertaketh to prove, that neither the evidence of the things contained in Scriptures in themselves, presupposing the light of grace, nor the authority of God himselfe, discerned to speake, can be sufficient motives whereby the Spirit of God may settle us in the perswasion of the truth of such things as are therein contained. Whereas yet I think, if he were asked what the motives are, by force whereof the spirit doth effect this work, if these be not, he would not easily give any answer: but how doth he demonstrate the insufficiency of these motives? Surely very weakly, and insufficiently. For first, thus he reasoneth against them: if these motives were of sufficiency, every one enlightened by the light of grace, should by vertue of them bee perswaded of the Heavenly truth of all such things as are contained in the bookes of God: which is a very bad inference. For by the like kinde of reasoning it may bee proved, that the evidence of things in the light of nature, is not the motive or inducement that causeth our perswasion touching such things as are knowne in naturall knowledge, because all that have the light of naturall reason, are not rightly perswaded concerning all such things: which no wise man will allow. So that as it is not to be imputed to the defect of evidence in the things that are to be knowne in naturall knowledge, which should settle the perswasion, that all men are not rightly perswaded of them; but to the defect of the light of naturall reason found in them, or the want of due consideration and right proceeding in the searching out of such things as are so to be knowne: so likewise it is not to be imputed to the want of evidence of the truth of the things, or at least of Gods speaking in the word of Heavenly truth, that all men beleve not all the bookes that are divine & canonicall, and the things contained in them, but to the defect of spirituall light in them that should discern such things, or the want of due consideration & right proceeding in the searching out of such things. Secondly, he laboureth to prove, that none of the articles of faith, or things beleaved by us, are evident unto us in the light of faith, whereas yet notwithstanding ^a *Hugo de sancto Victore* saith expressly, that in some the light of divine reason causeth approbation of that they beleve: & that in other the purity of the heart & conscience causeth a fore-tasting of those things which hereafter more fully shall be enjoyed. And ^b *Alexander of Ales* pronounceth that the things apprehended by us in divine knowledge, are more certainly discerned by such as are spirituall in the certainty of experience, in the certainty, which is in respect of affection, & by way of spirituall taste & feeling, then any thing is discerned in the light of naturall understanding, according to that of the Prophet, ^c *How sweete are thy words O Lord unto my moush, they are sweeter then the hony and the hony combe.* Wherefore, that we may the more distinctly conceive these things, we must observe, that there are some things which though without revelation wee could not know, yet, after they are revealed are evident unto us, in the light of grace. As first, that the defects and evils that are found in the nature of man, the blindnes of his understanding, the waywardnes of his affections, and perverse inclination of his will, were not from the beginning; that having beene in all the sonnes of men, the first parents of mankind fell from their originall and primitive estate; and that seeing these evils are found in all, even in little infants new borne, the propagation of them is naturall, and not by imitation. Secondly, that the very inclinations of our hearts, being naturally evill, in this corrupt state of nature, nothing can change them to good, but GOD by a speciall worke, above, and beyond the course of Nature, which therefore may rightly be

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^a In sententiis.^b Summæ theol. memb. 4. art. 2.^c Psalm. 118.

Erudit. theo-
log. de sacra-
mentis fidei. l. 1.
part. 3. c. 1. 2.

bee named grace. Other things there are, which are discerned by spirituall taste and feeling, as the remission of finnes, the joy and exultation of heart that is there found where God is present in grace. And a third sort of things there are, which being not discerned to be true, either of these two wayes, are beleaved notwithstanding because delivered unto us by God, whom wee discern to speake in the word of heavenly trueth. So that the two former sortes of things are evident in themselves to them that are spirituall, the latter in respect of that *Medium*, by force whereof they are beleaved, which is Divine authority delivering them unto us; which thing *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, excellently professeth. *Credit fides* (saith he) *quod non vidit, & non vidit quod credit; vidit tamen aliquod per quod admonita est, & excitata credere quod non vidit. Deus sic ab initio notitiam sui ab homine temperavit, ut sicut nunquam quid esset totum poterat comprehendere, sic quod esset, nunquam prorsus posset ignorari. Oportuit ut proderet se occultum Deus ne totus celaretur, & prorsus nesciretur, & rursus ad aliquod proditum se & agnitum occultaret ne totus manifestaretur, ut aliquid esset quod cor hominis entraret cognitum, & rursus aliquid quod absconditum provocaret: That is, Faith beleeveth that it never saw, and it never saw that which it doth beleieve, yet it saw something, by which it was admonished and stirred up to beleieve that which it saw not. God from the beginning did so temper the revealing of himselfe to bee knowne of men, that as it could never be wholly comprehended what he was, so it might never bee altogether unknowne that hee was. It was fit therefore that God should manifest himselfe formerly hid, that hee might not be wholly hidden, and no knowledge had of him: and againe, that having in some sort revealed and made himselfe knowne, hee should so hide himselfe, as not wholly to be manifested; that there might bee something which being knowne, might nourish the heart of man; and againe, something which being hid, might provoke and stirre men up to a desire of attaining some farther thing.*

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These things, it seemeth the Treatiser thought not of, and therefore denyeth that there is any motive, sufficient to make a man beleieve the articles of the faith, setting aside the meane supernaturall, by which they are pronounced: and thereupon asketh Mee, what maketh Me beleieve the articles of the Trinity, the two distinct natures in Christ in the Unity of the same person, and the resurrection of the dead? Whereunto I answer that the thing that moveth mee so to beleieve, is the authority of the Scripture, which is the Word of God, and that I beleieve it to bee the Word of God, because I doe most certainly discern him to speake in the same; and a certaine divine force and Majestie to present it selfe unto Mee, though the prophane Treatiser professeth hee knoweth not what that authority and Majesty of God is, which is discerned in the sacred Scriptures, nor how wee discern it, which is not to be marvelled at, seeing blind men cannot discern the difference of colours; but that there is something more then humane discernable in the Scripture, all devout and religious men will acknowledge with us. Beleieve mee, saith *Picus Mirandula*, there lyeth hidde in the Scripture a secret vertue, strangely altering and changing them, that in due sort are conversant in the same. So that the reason that all do not discern the Majesty of God, in all bookes that are divine, and that some doubt of such as others admit, is not because such a divine power is not discernable in them, but because there is some defect in the parties not discerning the same.

To the former most weake reasons, brought to prove the insufficiency of those inducements, or reasons, by which wee thinke the Spirit of GOD setleth us in a perswasion of the truth of things contained in the Scripture. First, hee addeth an untruth, to wit, that I deny those parts of Scripture, which rehearse matters of fact to bee knowne to be divine by the authority of God himselfe, discerned to speake in the Word of faith. And secondly, an objection that men cannot know the Scripture to be divine, by discerning the Majestie of God, speaking in them, unlesse they read, or heare every part of them read over, which is very hard to bee done by every one. Whereunto wee answer according to their owne grounds, that those partes of divine and canonically Scripture which particularly wee have not read, or considered,

are onely *implicite* and virtually beleeved of us, as likewise, the thinges that are contained in them: neither should this seeme strange to the *Romanists*; for they thinke it pertaineth to the faith of each Christian man to beleeve all the bookes of holy Scripture to be undoubtedly true, and indited by the Spirit of God. Yet are there many amongst them, that neither know how many, nor which these bookes are; but beleeve them virtually onely; as it appertaineth to the faith, to beleeve that *Iesu*, *Mary*, and *Ioseph* fled into *Egypt*, and that *Paul* mediated for the reconciling of *Onesimus* to *Philemon*; but it is sufficient, for men that never read or considered these particulars, to beleeve them virtually. Thirdly, hee chargeth us with contrariety in our sayings, in that wee make the Scripture to be the ground and rule of our faith, and yet make the light of faith a meane whereby we come to the knowledge of Scripture: because, as hee thinketh, the Scripture cannot bee a rule of our faith, unlesse it bee certainly knowne to bee divine, before wee beleeve. But the good man should know that the Scripture may bee the rule of our faith, directing us touching such particular things as wee are to beleeve, though it be not knowne to be divine before wee beleeve. For first, God giveth us the eyes of faith, and openeth our understandings, that wee may see and discern in generall, heavenly truth to bee contained in Scripture; & then it becommeth a rule of direction in all particular points of faith. Fourthly, he imputeth to us, that wee rely upon illuminations and inspirations in the things we beleeve, as if we beleeved them without any other prooffe or demonstration, upon bare imagined inspirations; whereas wee beleeve nothing without such proofes, and motives as all men may take notice of; and yet know right well, that none doe make right use thereof, but such as have their understandings enlightened. So that his reasoning against the certainty of this illumination is idle, seeing we doe not make illumination or inspiration the ground of our perswasion touching things to be beleeved; but a disposition of the minde making us capable of the apprehension of things that are divine and heavenly. This illumination is in some more, and in some lesse; but in all the chosen servants of God, such as sufficeth for the discerning of all saving truth, necessary to bee knowne of each man according to his estate and condition. Fifthly, besides idle repetition of things going before, to which hee referreth himselfe; and some untruths mingled with the same. First, he chargeth me, that I am contrary to my selfe, in delivering the opinions of Papists. The first supposed contradiction is, in that I affirme, that it is the ordinary opinions of Papists, that the articles of faith are beleeved, because God revealeth them, and yet say in another place, that they make the authoritie of the Church the rule of our faith, and reason why wee beleeve. The second, in that I charge the Papists in one place that they give authority to the Church to make new articles of faith, and in another place free them from the same. This latter supposed contrariety I shewed before to bee none at all but in the Treatisers imagination onely, and touching the first, if he were a man of any common understanding, or knew what contrariety is, hee would not charge mee with any such thing. For it is true, that all Papists thinke the articles of faith are to be beleeved, because revealed; but they thinke also that wee know not that they are revealed, but beleeve so onely, and that not by reason of any divine revelation, testimony, or authority, but because the Church so telleth us, and wee have many humane inducements moving us so to perswade our selves. So that they make the authority of the Church and humane inducements the last and finall reason of beleeving whatsoever they beleeve. This the Treatiser knew well enough, and therefore hee requireth mee to shew how I know that God revealeth the things beleeved by Christians; If I will not fall into the same fault for which I blame them. Whereunto I answered, that I know the Scriptures to bee inspired of God by the divine force and majesty that sheweth it selfe in them; in which sence I say the bookes of Scripture win credit of themselves; and yeelde sufficient satisfaction to all men of their divine truth. For as the colour in each thing maketh it visible and to be seene, so the divine power & vertue that sheweth it selfe in the Scripture maketh us to beleeve that it is of God. But the Treatiser will not thus leave mee, but still goeth on, adding one unjust imputation to another.

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For whereas we say only, the Scriptures are not discerned to be divine and inspired of God, unlesse we be inlightned by grace, and not that they are proved to be divine by the certainty of that illumination: he maketh us whither we will, or not, to prove the Scriptures by our inspirations, and that we are inspired by the Scriptures: whereas we prove neither the one nor the other of these things in any such sort. For touching the Scripture, I have sufficiently shewed before, how we know it to be divine; and for the other, the Treatiser should know, that we do not prove by Scripture, that we are divinely inlightned and inspired, but that as naturall reason hath a direct act whereby she apprehendeth things without, & a reflexed act, whereby taking a view of the former direct acts she findeth out her selfe: so the light of Faith first discovereth Heavenly verities in the Scripture, such as naturall reason could never find out, & then by reflexion findeth it selfe to bee of another nature & kind then that rationall understanding that was before. Wherefore let us goe forward. Did not mine eyes see, and my hands handle the palpable absurdities of this Treatiser, I would not beleve any mans report, that one so voyde of all sense & reason as he every way sheweth himselfe to be, should be permitted to write. For whereas I bring a most cleare sentence out of *Augustine* to prove, that howsoever the authority of the Church serve as an introduction to bring us to the spirituall discerning of divine things, yet men rest not in it: he answereth, that *Augustine* in the chapter cited by me, affirmeth onely, that because all men are not capable at first to understand the sincere wisdom & truth taught in the church, God hath ordained in it a motive which may first move them to seeke it; to wit, the authority of the Church, which partly through miracles, partly through multitudes is of force to move; which no way taketh any thing from, but rather addeth strength to my proofes: for if these motives be necessary onely at the first before men bee purged & made pure in heart, that they may discern & see the light of heavenly truth, it is evident that in *Augustines* judgment the authority of the Church serveth but as an introduction, and that the thing which right beleivers rest upon, is of a higher nature, to wit, the discerning of heavenly truth. Wherefore finding himselfe too weake to give any substantiall answer, he betaketh himselfe to a most silly exception, pretending that I have not truly translated these words of *Augustin*: *præsto est autoritas, quam partim miraculis, partim multitudine valere nemo ambigit*; authority is ready at hand which standeth upon 2 things, the one the greatnes of miracles done, the other multitude. Is this a false translation, hath the authority of the Church that force which it hath, to move men to beleve, partly by reason of miracles, & partly by reason of multitude, & may it not be truly said, that it standeth partly upon the greatnes of miracles wrought, & partly upon multitudes? but *valere* doth not signifie to stand upō: it is true, it doth not: yet what boy in the Grammer Schoole will not laugh at him for thus childishly demeaning himselfe: for what man of understanding would call men to conster every word precisely, as it importeth, by it self without consideration of the coherence it hath with other in the same sentence. Besides this place of *Aug.* there is another cited by me out of *Hugo*, where he maketh 3 sorts of beleivers, whereof the first are such as are moved out piety to beleve, which yet discern not by reason whether the thing they beleve are to be beleved or not. The second, such, who by reason approve that which by faith they beleve. The third sort are such as by reason of their purity of the heart, & conscience, begin inwardly to taste what by faith they beleve. This place maketh strongly for the confirmation of that I say, that the evidence of sundry things in the light of faith and grace, is that formall reason which assureth us of the truth of them. For here *Hugo* affirmeth, that the best sort of beleivers doe approve by reason, or by taste inwardly discern the things they beleve to be true. So that such approbation, or spirituall taste, is the reason of their perswasion of the truth of these things. To this authority the Treatiser hath nothing to say, but that it maketh nothing to the purpose, and that if I meant to translate the words of *Hugo*, I have not exactly translated them. Whether the saying of *Hugo* be to the purpose or not, I will leave it to the judgment of the Reader: but as for his other exception, I would have him know, & any sensible Reader will very easily discern, that I meant not exactly to translate his wordes, but at large

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large to set downe the intent & driftes of them, which I have most truly performed: and therefore hee doth me wrong when he saith, I deale corruptly & untruly. In the third place hee endeavoureth to make his Reader beleeve there is a contrariety betwene me and *Luther*, & *Brentius*; in that *Luther*, with whom *Brentius* seemeth to agree, maketh the Scripture to be of it selfe a most certaine, most easie, & most manifest interpreter of it selfe, proving, judging, and enlightning all things; and I acknowledge many difficulties in it. But if the Treatiser had beene pleased to have taken things aright, he could not but have seene that *Luther* also acknowledgeth manifold difficulties in the Scripture (yea hee doth see it and acknowledge it, and yet will not see it) and therefore that hee be not contrary to himselfe, when he affirmeth that the Scriptures are easie, interpret themselves, and judge, and enlighten all things, hee must be understood to meane, that notwithstanding some difficulties, they are not so obscure and hard as that Heretiques may wrest and abuse them at their pleasure, and no man bee able to convince them, out of the evidence of those sacred writings, as the *Romanists* imagine, but that we may be so assured out of the Scripture it selfe, & the nature of the things therein contained, that we have the true meaning of it, that we need not altogether to rest in the authority of the Church: with explication of *Luthers* words, the Treatiser might have found in the place cited by him, if he had beene pleased, and so have omitted the urging of this imagined contradiction.

Luth. præfat. in dissert. art. à Leone. 10. damnatorum.

S. 3.

THe 4. thing that he proposeth which concerneth me, is that I mention a rule of faith according to which the Scriptures are to be interpreted, which if we neglect, all other considerations are insufficient, & the like he alleageth out of the Harmony of confessions, whence he inferreth that we admit another guide in interpreting the Scripture, besides the letter of the Scripture. But he should know, that the rule of faith mentioned by me, delivered to us from hand to hand by the guides of Gods Church, containeth nothing in it but that which is found in Scripture, either expressly or by necessary implication, so that though we admit another guide in the interpretation of Scripture, besides the bare letter, yet we admit no other but that forme of Christian doctrine, which all right beleeving Christians taught by the Apostles, & Apostolique men, have ever received as contained in the Scripture, and thence collected. To this he addeth an excellent observation, which is, that I seeme to confesse, that Saint *Paul* sometimes by the workes of the Law understandeth the workes of the Law of *Moses*, in that I say, that that Apostle pronounceth that the *Galatians* were bewitched, and that if they still persisted to joyne circumcision & the works of the Law with Christ, they were fallen from grace, and Christ could profit them nothing. But hee needed not thus to mince the matter, for I willingly confesse, that *Paul* not sometimes only, but ever understandeth by the workes of the Law, the workes of *Moses* Law. Neither can there any thing bee inferred thence for the Papists, or against us. For whereas by the workes of the Law some understand those workes which the Ceremoniall prescribed: other such as the Morall Law requireth: and a third sort, such as by terrour it worketh in men, or causeth them to worke, without any change of the heart (which cannot be wrought but only by grace:) and the Papists think that when the Apostle saith we are justified by faith without works, he excludeth not such workes as the Morall Law requireth, but such as the Ceremoniall Law prescribeth, & the Morall Law worketh in men: we teach, that he excludeth all these. So that a man repenting and beleeving, may bee saved, though having never done any good worke, he bee taken out of this world before hee can doe any. It is true indeede, that good workes do necessarily follow justification, if time doe serve, and opportunity be offered: yet are they no meritorious causes of salvation.

But the Treatiser will prove out of that which I have written, that they are meritorious, & that faith only doth not justify: that good workes are meritorious, he endeavoureth to prove, because I confesse, that men justified freely by grace, are crowned in the world to come, for that new obedience that is found in them after justification. But this cōsequence I suppose will not be thought good, seeing, as *Cassander* rightly noteth out

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Consulrari. art. 6.

Vide Antididag. Colon. de justificatione & causis per quas justificamur.

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out of *Bucer*, God in respect of good works, or having an eye to the, or for good works, giveth not only temporall but eternall rewardes; not for the worthinesse of the works in themselves, but out of his owne grace for the merit of Christ, first working such good workes in them that are his, and then crowning his owne workes in them, as *Augustine* long since aptly observed. Let us see therefore if hee can prove any better, that faith onely doth not justifie; this he undertaketh to doe out of that which I have written, that justification implyeth in it faith, hope, and charity. But for the clearing of this point, let him bee pleased to observe, that by the name of justification sometimes nothing is meant, but an adjudging of eternall life unto us: sometimes the whole translation of a man out of the state of sinne and wrath, into a state of righteousness and acceptation with God, which implyeth in it sundry things concurring in very different sort, without any prejudice to the singular prerogative of faith. For first, it implyeth in it a worke of almighty God, as the supream and highest cause. Secondly, the merits of Christ, as the meanes whereby God is reconciled, and induced to take us into his favour. Thirdly, in him that is to be justified, a certaine perswasion of the truth of such thinges as are contained in the holy word of God. Fourthly, motions of feare, contrition, hope of mercy, and the like workes of preparing grace, as causes disposing and fitting him that is to be justified, that he may be capable of Gods favour. Fifthly, as the susceptible cause, an act of faith, by which a man truly repenting of former evils, and seeking deliverance, without all doubting firmly beleeveth, that all his sinnes are remitted him for Christs sake. Lastly, an infusion of the habite of divine and heavenly vertues, as a beginning of that life of God, to which he doth adjudge them whom he receiveth to favour. So that my saying, that justification thus taken, implyeth in it, *Faith, Hope, and Charitie*, contrarieth not our position, that faith onely justifieth, in sort before expressed: which the *Treatiser* knowing right well, insisteth no longer upon this cavill, but passeth to an untruth, charging me that I say of *S. Augustine* (whom yet I pronounce to have beene the greatest of all the Fathers, and the worthiest Divine the Church of God ever had since the Apostles times) that his manner of delivering the Articles of justification, is not full, perfect, & exact; as if I imputed some fault to him in not delivering the point of justification as it became him: whereas I have no such thing, but say onely, that his manner of delivering that Article was not so full, perfect, and exact, as we are forced to require in these times against the errours of the *Romanists*; in which saying, I no way blame that worthy Father, but shew that new errours require a more exact manner of handling of thinges then was necessarie before such errours sprung up; which I thinke, no wise man will deny, and am well assured this *Treatiser* cannot deny, unlesse hee will bee contrary to himselfe. For hee faith expressly, that Saint *Augustine*, before some articles of Christian Religion were so thoroughly discussed and defined in the Church, as afterwards upon the rising of new heresies, spake not so aptly and properly as was needfull in succeeding times, and therefore retracted some things which hee had formerly uttered. So that the Reader will easily finde, that in this passage he hath said lesse then nothing; neither will his next discourse be found any better, wherein he laboureth to shew a contrariety betweene me, and *Luther, & Calvin*, and others, in that I make that act of faith, which obtaineth and procureth our justification, to bee an act by way of petition, humbly intreating for acceptation and favour; and not of comfortable assurance, consisting in a full perswasion, that through Christs merits we are the children of God; Whereas *Luther, Calvine*, and the rest, make justifying faith to be an assured perswasion, that through Christs merits wee are the sonnes of God. But the *Treatiser* might easily know if hee were disposed, that according to our opinion justifying faith hath some actes, as a cause disposing, preparing, and fitting us to the receipt of that gracious favour, whereby God doth justifie us; and other, as a susceptible cause, receiving, embracing, and enjoying the same; in the former respect neither they nor I make faith to consist in a perswasion that wee are the sonnes of God; in the latter we doe both and so agree well enough, though the *Treatiser*, it seemeth, could wish it were otherwise.

§. 4.

WHerefore let us goe forward, and take a view of that which followeth. The next thing which he hath that concerneth mee, is, that it may bee gathered out of my assertions in my third Booke of the Church, that I thinke (as hee saith, some other also do) that it is no fundamentall point of doctrine, but a thing indifferent to beleeve, or not to beleeve the reall, that is, the locall presence of *Christs* Body in the Sacrament. But I am well assured there can no such thing be gathered out of any of the places cited by him, unlesse it be lawfull for him to reason *à baculo ad angulum*, as often as he doth. For in the pages 120, and 121, of his second part, because I confesse, that in the Primitive Church the manner of some was to receive the Sacrament in the publique assembly, and not be partakers of it presently, but to carry it home, that the Sacrament was carried by the Deacons to the sicke, that in places where they communicated every day, there was a reservation of some parts of the sanctified Elements, and that the sanctified Elements thus reserved in reference to an ensuing receiving of them, were the body of *Christ*, to wit, in mysterie and exhibitiv signification: hee goeth about to conclude, that I must needes confesse the reall, that is, the locall presence of *Christs* body in the Sacrament: which consequence is no better then if a man should goe about to conclude, that this *Treatiser* hath written a good and profitable booke, because hee hath troubled the world with one, such as it is, full of vaine, idle, and empty discourses: whereof if any man make doubt, let him but consider the very next wordes. For, whereas I confessed *Calvines* dislike of the reservation aunciently used, and yet said, it cannot bee proved that hee denied the Sacramentall Elements, consecrated and reserved for a time in reference to an ensuing receiving of them, to bee Sacramentally the body of *Christ*; hee saith, I labour in vaine; because *Calvine* doth expressely condemne these reservations, which I confessed before; but no way goeth about to make good the consequence which I denied, to wit, that therefore hee thought the sanctified Elements so reserved, not to bee Sacramentally the Body of *Christ*. For that which hee hath, that *Calvine*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, and almost all Protestants holde the Eucharist to bee no permanent thing, but to bee the Sacrament onely when it is received, hath no more force of prooffe then the rest of his frivolous discourses; seeing it is most evident that the Protestants named by him have no such meaning, that the sanctified Elements in the Holy Eucharist, are no Sacrament, but precisely in the very receiving of them, for then they should bee no Sacrament in the hand of the Minister, and on the Holy Table, but onely in the hand or mouth of the Communicant, but that they are no Sacrament but in reference to the use to which they were appointed by Almighty God, as I have shewed at large in the place against which this *Treatiser* quarrelleth.

§. 5.

LEt us therefore proceed to see what hee hath more to say. In my fourth Booke, writing of the things required for the attaining of the right understanding of the Scripture, I say, some things are required, as making us capable of such understanding; and other as meanes whereby we attaine unto it. Amongst the things required, as making us capable of the right understanding of Scripture, I reckon the illumination of the understanding, and a minde free from the thought of other things, depending on God as the Fountaine of illumination, and desirous to finde out the Truth, with resolution to embrace it, although contrary to the conceipts of naturall men. The meanes whereby we attaine to the right understanding of Holy Scripture, I make to be of two sorts, some disposing and preparing onely, as often reading, meditating, and praying, some guiding us in the search it selfe, and these I make to bee five.

Chap. 19.

Whereof

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Whereof the first is the knowledge of the rule of faith, and the practise of the Saints according to the same. The second, a due consideration what will follow upon our interpretation agreeing with, or contrary to the things received amongst Christians. In which consideration the conference of other places of Scripture is necessary. The third, the consideration of the circumstances of the places interpreted, the occasion of the words, the things going before, and following after. The fourth, the knowledge of all those histories, arts, and sciences, which may helpe us. The fifth, the knowledge of the originall tongues, and the phrases, and idiotismes of the same. In all these passages, as I thinke, there is nothing that the Divell himselfe dareth gaine-say; yet as if I had uttered some strange paradoxes, and things never heard of before, the Treatiser saith, my doctrine is commonly singular, in so much that hee professeth hee thinketh, hee may very well in some sort liken the platforme, or order and Faith of a Church set downe in my bookes of that argument, to Sir Thomas Moores *Utopia*, and that there neither is, nor ever was any such Church in the world, as I describe, and thereupon maketh shew as if hee would confute every word that I have in the place cited by him. Verily I thinke it will not be safe for mee to write or say that there is a GOD, that GOD made heaven and earth, or that hee sent his Sonne into the world; for he impugneth things as cleare as any of these, as that an illumination of the minde is necessary to the understanding of the Scripture inspired of God, & the thinges contained in it; seeing the naturall man perceiveth not the thinges of GOD which are spiritually discerned; whereas yet wee shall finde, that hee can say nothing against the necessitie of such divine illumination for the understanding of the Scripture, but hee might say as much against the necessity of the light of naturall reason for the understanding of things naturally discernable. For hee might aske, as now hee doth, touching this illumination, how a man knoweth hee hath reason, or the use of reason, and is not madde or drunke, seeing such men as are so distempered, thinke they have the use of reason as well as any other: and one kinde of answer will serve for both these doubtles. For as men know they have reason by the discerning of such things as are not discernable by the senses or sensitive faculties, which are organically: so faithfull and beleiving men that have their mindes enlightened, know they have received such a new illumination, in that they discern things which before by the dimme sight of nature they could not, and as men that are sober and in their right wittes, doe certainly know they are so, though such as are madde or drunke, thinke they are when they are not, and so deceive themselves. Soe men that have true illumination of grace may certainly know they have it, though some franticke and braine-sicke men thinke they have it, when they have it not. The weakenesse of this assault it seemeth the Treatiser did perceive, and therefore hee assayleth us another way, and undertaketh to prove that it is not necessary a man should bee spirituall before hee understandeth the Scriptures, because then it would be consequent that our faith could not be builded upon Scriptures as we thinke it is. But I doubt hee will have as bad successe as before. For as there must bee a naturall light of reason shining in men, before any thing naturally discernable can evidently appeare unto them to bee that it is; and yet the perswasion men have touching the beeing of such thinges, buildeth it selfe upon such evidence: so likewise there must bee a light of grace shining in the understanding of men, before they can understand the Scripture, and yet the perswasion they have of the truth of divine things, may, and doth build it selfe upon the Scriptures, understood through such light.

Wherefore let us see what hee hath yet more to say. Whereas besides an illumination, I require in him that will understand the Scriptures, a minde free from the thought of other things, depending upon God as the fountaine of illumination, and desirous of truth, with resolution to embrace it, though contrary to the concept of naturall men; besides his former exception already answered, he addeth these words. I dislike these wordes, desirous of truth with resolution to embrace it. The like whereunto, I protest, I never read, nor heard to come from any man. For it is possible there

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The fourth thing that I require in him that will take upon him to interpret the Scripture, is a due consideration what will follow upon his interpretation, agreeing with, or contrary to the things generally received and beleevd amongst Christians; against which he hath nothing to say, yet that he might be thought to say something, first hee challengerh *Luther* for not observing this rule. And secondly, affirmeth, that it is insufficient if at any time almost all Christians may erre, as I teach. But first concerning *Luther*, the good man should know, that he cannot justly be charged with the breach of this rule, seeing he broached no new doctrine in the Church, as the *Treatiser* untruly affirmeth, but such as had the testimony of Antiquity, and the allowance of innumerable Christians in his time, as well in the West, as in the East. And secondly, that the possibility of the erring of the greatest part of the Church, prejudiceth not this rule, hee might if hee pleased, learne out of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, who acknowledgeth, that sometimes error may over-spread almost all the present Church, and prescribeth that in such a case men should looke up higher unto antiquity.

The two other ensuing rules, to wit, consideration of the circumstances of the places interpreted, the occasion of the words, the things going before, & following after, and the knowledge of all such histories, arts, & sciences, as may helpe us in interpreting the Scripture, he passeth over as necessary, though not sufficient of themselves alone. The knowledge of the originall tongues, he acknowledgeth to be profitable, but will not admit it to bee necessary, especially according to the concept of the *Romanists*. First, because they are sure they have the Scriptures rightly translated. Secondly, because they make not the Scripture the propounder of their beleefe, but expound it according to the rule of faith delivered & received. In which passages he bewrayeth grosse ignorance. For first, the *Romanists* are not sure that they have the Scripture truly translated, as it appeareth by that which *Andradinus* hath written: who proveth at large, that though the vulgar translation were allowed of by the Councell of *Trent*, as containing nothing in it whence any heresie or error in faith may be inferred, yet is it not without many & great mistakings. And secondly, if they were sure, yet as *Melchior Canus* sheweth, the knowledge of tongues is needfull for the finding out of the meaning of sundry particular places of Scripture, by reason of some ambiguity or obscurity in the translation. Thirdly, for that though the rule of Faith serve for direction in generality, so that following the same, we may be sure not to decline from the truth of doctrine: yet will not that rule secure us from erring and swarving from the meaning of each place in particular, so that in this respect, the knowledge of the tongues may be, and is most necessary.

After all these exceptions taken against the helpes and rules proposed by me, for the finding out of the true meaning of Scripture, the *Treatiser* setteth on mee a fresh in fiercer manner then before, and requireth me to bring some divine testimony, prooffe, or argument, or some particular reason of the necessity and sufficiency of these helpes, and rules. Whereunto I briefly answer, that if any Papist under Heaven, can take any exception against any of these helpes and rules proposed by me, or devise any other, I will justifie the necessity and sufficiency of them: but otherwise, I thinke it altogether needlesse, to prove that the Sunne shineth at noone, or to shew by reason or authority, that spirituall things cannot bee discerned but by spirituall men. The *Treatiser* therefore returneth and taketh new exceptions against the helpes and rules proposed by mee: first affirming, but most untruly, that the greater part of my brethren will not allow them: and secondly labouring to improve them by reason.

For first, that an illumination of the minde is not necessarie for the understanding of the Scripture, hee goeth about to shew, because if such illumination be necessarie, no man can be assured of the truth of another mans interpretation, seeing no man can tell whether hee have an illumination of the understanding, and a minde disposed in such sort as is required or not. Whereunto I answer, that it is true, that no man can assure himselfe that another mans interpretation is true & good, out of any knowledge of such personall things in the interpreter: yet may hee know it to bee true out of the

the nature of the thing it selfe, and thence inferre, that either hee that so interpreteth, or they from whom hee received such interpretation, had a divine illumination. For even as to discourse of the nature of colours, presupposeth that the man that so discourseth, hath, or had sight; if hee speake thereof with any apprehension of that he speaketh, (though a blinde man having heard the discourses of other, may use like words without all sense and apprehension of that he speaketh.) So no man can interpret the Scriptures, and discourse of the things therein contained, with sense and feeling, but such a one whose minde is enlightned, though prophane persons, and such as bee voide of all divine illumination, may as from others, interpret the Scripture, and discourse of such divine things as are therein. And as a man may assure himselfe that another mans discourse of colours is good, out of the nature of the thing it selfe, though he know not whether he have, or ever had such sense of seeing, as is requisite in him that will speake of colours with any apprehension; so a man may know that another mans interpretation is true, though he know not whether he have such an illumination of minde, as is necessary for the understanding of the things contained in the Scripture.

Secondly, hee undertaketh to shew, that no man can either assure himselfe that he hath the true meaning of Scripture, or convince the gaine-sayers by following the direction of the former rules, because, as he supposeth, a man cannot certainly know, that he hath an illumination of minde; that he hath observed those rules; that hee is disposed as hee should bee, and furnished with learning in such sort as is requisite. Whereunto first I answer briefly, that it is as possible for a man to know whether he have an illumination of the minde or not, as it is whether he have the light of naturall reason. Secondly, that the observation of the rules formerly mentioned, and the disposition of a mans minde resolved to embrace the truth, may as easily be knowne, as any other motions, purposes, and resolutions. Neither is it more hard for a man that is spirituall, to know whether hee be sufficiently furnished with learning requisite for the understanding of the Scripture, then for a naturall man to know whether he have learning enough to understand *Aristotle*, or any other prophane authour. Pag. 153. 154.

Thirdly, in confutation of the former rules, he alleadgeth that they may not be admitted as necessary, because if they be, all such as have no illumination of minde, nor willing disposition to embrace the truth when it shall be manifested to them, must be excluded out of the number of faithfull ones. Which if he thinke it to be an absurdity, it is no great matter what he saith, but he addeth, that they that are unlearned have not the knowledge of all those arts and sciences, that are necessary for the understanding of sundry parts of Scripture, nor of those originall tongues wherein they were written, without the knowledge whereof they cannot be understood; whereas yet they are to build their faith upon the Scripture rightly understood; whence it will follow, that all such must be excluded out of the number of the faithfull. This indeed is such a consequence as must not bee admitted, neither is there any such thing consequent upon that which we say. For though all men have not that knowledge of arts, sciences, and tongues, that is necessary for the exact understanding of all parts and passages of Scripture, yet may they understand so much of the same as is necessary to salvation, without the knowledge of arts & sciences: the things that are so precisely necessary, being delivered in very plaine, easie, and familiar termes. Neither is it necessary that if a man will build his faith upon the Scripture, that he must understand every part of it. One ly one scruple remaineth, which is, that an ignorant man can have no certaine ground of his faith, if he build the same upon the Scripture, because lacking the knowledge of tongues hee cannot know whether it be truly translated or not; but this scruple may easily be removed, seeing an ignorant man, out of the Scripture it selfe duely proposed, explained, and interpreted unto him, may know it to be divine, heavenly, & inspired of God; and consequently, that in what tongue soever it was written, it is truly translated touching the substance, howsoever happily, there may be some accidentall aberrations whereof he cannot judge.

After these exceptions taken against the helpes & rules proposed by me, as necessary for

for the finding out of the sence and meaning of the Scripture, the Treatiser observing no order in his writings, addresseth himselfe to prove that we have no certain means whereby to know that the Scriptures are of God, or which they be; and then returneth againe to prove, that we have no certaine rule whereby to be assured we have the sence of them. But all that hee saith to this purpose, may easily bee answered. For first, the truth of Christian doctrine is divinely proved unto us by the satisfaction we finde in the same, touching things wherein naturall reason left us unresolved, and the effects wee finde to follow upon the receiving of it. Secondly, that Christian doctrine is revealed, it is evident, because staying within the confines of the light of naturall reason, wee can discerne no such things as in this heavenly doctrine are manifested to us. Thirdly, the revelation that is now, being mediate, and depending on a former, it must of necessity bee graunted, that there was a first, and immediate revelation of the things that are beleaved. Fourthly, that that immediate revelation was without mixture of error, there being no imperfection found in any of Gods immediate workings. Fifthly, that whatsoever bookes they wrote, to whom that immediate revelation of heavenly truth was graunted, are divine, without mixture of error, and Canonically. Sixtly, that all such books as are recommended to us by the consenting testimony of all Christians, not noted for singularity, novelty, or heresie, as written by those who first learned the doctrine of heavenly truth from God himselfe, must be acknowledged to have been written by them. Which perswasion is confirmed, in that when wee reade and meditate upon the bookes so commended to us, wee finde a majesty, vertue, and power appearing in them more then in all humane compositions, captivating us to the obedience of faith, and making us to receive them as undoubtedly divine.

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These are the grounds which wee builde upon. Wherefore let the Reader judge whether the Treatiser had any cause to write as hee doth, that hee cannot sufficiently marvell, that I, or any man of judgement or learning, should runne these courses, and impugne their doctrine concerning these points, as absurd, which indeed is most prudent and divine, and yet fall into most grosse absurdities and inconveniences. How prudent and divine their doctrine is touching the ground of their faith, I have shewed before, making it most cleare, that if they did shew no more prudence in any thing else, their part would soone bee overthrowne. But touching the absurdities into which hee supposeth wee runne, they will bee found to be none at all. For as I have shewed at large, wee ground our faith in generall upon the evidence of heavenly truth, and the authority of Almighty God, whom wee discerne to speake in the holy Scriptures, and yet in such sort listen to the Church, as a Mistresse of heavenly truth in all particular points, that we doe not broach any new and strange doctrine unheard of in the Church, nor impugne any thing that was alwayes constantly delivered and received in the same. So that it is untrue that the Treatiser saith, that I reject all

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generall authority, and leave every man to follow his owne private conceipt: hee returneth therefore to prove, that supposing wee know the letter of Scripture, yet have we no certaine rule to finde out the sence of it: and mustereth some objections to this purpose, which I have sufficiently answered already in the defence of the rules proposed by mee, and impugned by him. Neither is it so strange as hee would make it, that we confesse every one though never so much enlightned, to be subject to error, and yet each of us assureth himselfe hee doth not erre from the Christian verity, one having no more assurance of not erring then another. For is it not so that in respect of things that may bee knowne by the light of naturall reason, each one confesseth himselfe to be subject to error, and yet every one assureth himselfe he doth not erre in sundry particular things? Wherefore he leaveth this point, and proceedeth to another, where he bewrayeth the weaknesse of his braine, labouring seriously to prove, that he, who buildeth his faith upon the English Parliament, cannot firmly and undoubtedly beleieve, nor have any true faith: because I say, we can never be so well perswaded of any man or multitude of men, but that we may justly feare, they are deceived, or will deceive. Truly it had beene well that hee had applyed himselfe to some other thing,

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thing, rather then booke-making, unlesse hee had any greater facility and felicity in it then hee hath; for who was ever so senselesse as to build his Faith upon the *English* Parliament? or why doth the Treatiser thus fight with his owne shadow? But haply he will be better towards the end.

§. 6.

IN the last place speaking of the supposed divisions and dissensions amongst Protestants, he saith, some amongst us are so bold as to deny, that there is any great or materiall dissention in our Churches, & that I amongst others write, that it so fell out by the happy providence of God, when there was a reformation made, that there was no materiall or essentiall difference amongst them that were actors in it, but such as upon equall scanning will bee found rather to consist in the divers manner of expressing one thing, and to be but verball upon mistaking, through the hasty and inconsiderate humours of some men, then any thing else. And that further I adde, that I dare confidently pronounce, that after due and full examination of each others meaning, there shall be no difference found touching the matter of the Sacrament, the ubiquitary presence, or the like, betweene the Churches reformed by *Luthers* ministry in *Germany* and other places, and those whom some mens malice called Sacramentaries: that none of the differences betweene *Melancthon* and *Illyricus*, except about certaine ceremonies, were reall: that *Hosiander* held no private opinion touching justification, howsoever his strange manner of speaking, gave occasion to many so to thinke and conceive: and that this shall be justified against the proudest Papists of them all: this my assertion he saith, all the world knoweth to be untrue, and endeavoureth to prove it to be so: First, by mine owne sayings else-where, and then by some other proofes. By mine owne sayings, in that I complaine of unhappy divisions in the Christian world, and of infinite distractions of mens mindes, not knowing in so great varietie of opinions what to thinke, or to whom to joyne themselves: & that the controversies of Religion in our time are growne in number so many, and in nature so intricate, that few have time and leasure, fewer strength of understanding to examine them. But this prooffe will be found too weak. For there are many & very materiall divisions in the Christian world, infinitely distracting the mindes of men, as those of the *Greekes* and *Latines*; those of the *Romish* Faction, & such as embrace the reformed Religion: and the controversies that are betweene these, are in number many, and in nature intricate: in respect whereof my complaint might be most just, though never any one Protestant had opened his mouth against another. And besides, supposing my complaint of divisions in the Christian World, to reach to the breaches that are and have beene amongst the Professours of the Reformed Religion, nothing can bee inferred from thence contrary to any thing that I have written touching the agreeing of those men in judgement and opinion. For there may bee great breaches betweene such men as are of one judgement and opinion, upon mistaking one another: and therefore *Gregory Nazianzene* in his Oration made in the praise of *Athanasius*, sheweth, that the whole world in a sort was divided upon a meere mistaking, and that *Athanasius* by making either part rightly to understand the other, procured a reconciliation. Neither neede this to seeme strange; for oftentimes controversies are multiplied, and by ill handling made intricate, that in truth and indeede are no controversies, and might easily be cleared, if there were a due proceeding in the discussing of the same. So that the Treatiser had no reason to say, that an indifferent reader will hardly excuse me from error in this behalfe.

Wherefore let us goe forward, & see what other proofes he bringeth to prove that my assertion cannot be true. First, whereas I say there is no difference touching the Sacrament, the ubiquitary presence, & the like, betweene the *Lutherans* & *Sacramentaries*, as he maketh me to speake, he saith, I may easily be convinced of untruth; because *Calvin* avoucheth, that by the ubiquitary presence, *Marcion* an ancient hereticke is raised up out of hell, and a thousand bookes are written about the same point, shewing

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c. 17. 16. & 17.

how

how great dissensions there have been in the world touching the same. But this prooffe is easily disproved: for though it be true that *Calvin* hath, that to imagine that the body of Christ hath no finite dimensions, but such as are extended as farre as heaven and earth, and that it is every where by actuall position, or locall extension, is to make it a fantastick body, and to raise up the old hereticke *Marcion* out of hell; yet to thinke that Christs body is personally every where, in respect of the conjunction and union it hath with God, by reason whereof it is no where severed from God, who is every where, neither *Calvine* nor any other Orthodoxall Divine ever condemned. So that the Divines of *Germany* condemning that kinde of ubiquitary presence that *Calvine* doth, and *Calvine* allowing that other whereof they speake, they must of necessity agree together, notwithstanding any thing the Treatiser can say to the contrary: but because I have largely handled this matter touching the ubiquitary presence and the Sacrament in my fifth Booke of the Church, and in my answer to *Higgon*, I will no longer insist upon it, but referre the Reader to the former places.

Secondly, whereas I affirme, that none of the differences betweene *Melancthon* and *Illyricus*, except about certaine ceremonies, were reall, hee saith, whosoever readeth the actes of the Synode holden by the *Lutherans* at *Altenberge*, and the writings of the *Flaccians* against the *Synergists*, and *Adiaphorists*, shall finde dissensions touching greater matters. For the clearing of this objection it must bee observed, that the supposed differences betweene those whom the Treatiser calleth *Flaccians*, and the other whom he nameth *Synergists*, were touching the co-operation of the will of man with the grace of God, in her first conversion unto GOD, and the necessity of good workes to salvation.

6 Vide disput.
Vinaræ, habi-
tam inter Illy-
ricum & Victo-
rinum.

^b Concerning the former of these two points, it was ever agreed on betweene both these sorts of men, that after the first conversion there is a co-operation of the will of man altered & renewed by the worke of Gods Spirit, with grace, in all ensuing actions of piety and vertue: and in this sence both of them as defending a Synergy, or co-operation of mans will with Gods grace, might rightly be named *Synergists*. 2^{ly}, It was likewise agreed on by both sorts, that man by the fall of *Adam*, and in the state of sinne, is not onely wounded in the powers of his soule, in respect of things naturall, externall, and politicall, so that he cannot performe any action so well in any of these kindes of things as before hee could; but that hee is utterly spoyled of all power, strength, and ability to doe any spirituall and supernaturall actions of true vertue and piety, and is not onely halfe dead, but wholly dead, having no more power of himselfe to doe any thing that is good, then a dead man hath to performe the workes of life. Thirdly, it was agreed on, that there is not left in men corrupted by *Adams* fall, the least sparke of morall or spirituall good desire, or inclination, which being blowed upon, and stirred, may concurre with Gods grace for the bringing forth of any good worke. So that neither of them were *Synergists* in this sence, though *Illyricus*, *Museus*, and other, supposed that *Victorinus*, and some other, did thinke so. Fourthly, it was with like unanimous consent agreed on, that there remaineth still in man after the fall, a desire of good, and of that good, wherein there is no defect of good, no mixture of evill, no mutability, nor feare of being lost, though such be the infelicity of sinfull man, that having his understanding darkned, and his will perversly inclined, he seeketh and supposeth hee may finde this good where it is not to bee found. So that when God commeth to convert and turne a sinfull man to himselfe, he needeth not newly to put a desire of good into him, for that is naturally found in him, but by inlightning the understanding that it may discerne, and see what true good is, and where it is to bee found, and by turning the will from desiring that as good which is not, or not in such degree as is supposed, he maketh him a good and happie man, that was evill and miserable before. Neither doth hee create a will in man, but changeth the will he findeth in him, that it may affect that which it did not, and so createth a new will and heart in him, that is, frameth him to the desire of that from which he was most averse before. There is then no spirituall nor morall good in man, when he is to be converted unto God; no knowledge of true and spirituall good, nor no desire of the same, which be-
ing

ing stirred up may concur with the grace of God, and therefore no Synergy or co-operation of any such good, knowledge, or desire of good with the grace of God in our first conversion; but that confused knowledge of good, and naturall inclination to desire it, that is found in man before his conversion, when good desires are to be raised in him, concurrerth with the grace of God, directing the understanding to seeke that good where it is to be found, and turning, bending, and bowing the heart to the love and liking of it. For, that man desireth that which seemeth good unto him, he hath of nature; that he desireth that which seemeth and is not, he hath from the corruption of nature, and it argueth sinfull defect: and that he desireth the true good and rightly, it is of grace, directing the understanding, and turning the will from affecting that which before perversly it did desire, to seeke that which it should, and in such sort as it should. And so; in that he doth desire, and pursue that which he thinketh to be good, out of the naturall inclination of his will; but that which indeed is, and he should thinke to be good, out of the motions of the spirit; there is a kinde of Synergy, or co-operation of the naturall powers of man, and Gods grace even in his first conversion.

Wherefore let us passe from the question touching the co-operation of mans will with Gods grace, to the other concerning the necessity of good workes to salvation. Where first it is agreed on, that there is necessarily required in all that will be saved, a dislike of former evils wherewith God was offended. Secondly, a ceasing to doe evill. Thirdly, a desire of grace that may preserve and keepe us from the like. Fourthly, a desire to doe things pleasing unto God in that time that remaineth. Fifthly, it is acknowledged by all, that in them that are justified, and have title to eternall salvation, good workes are so farre forth necessary to salvation, if they have time, that the not doing of them is sinne, which, without repentance and remission, excludeth from salvation. Sixthly, that good workes are necessary as fruits of faith, which all they that are justified and looke for salvation are bound in duty to bring forth. Seaventhly, that they are not so absolutely necessary, that no man can be saved without them; for a man may be saved that in the last moment disliketh sinne, and desireth pardon for it, and grace that he may not fall into it againe, without the actuall doing of any good workes. So that I protest I cannot see wherein there could bee any reall difference betweene these men; neither will the *Treatiser*, I thinke, be able to shew me any such difference, either out of the acts of the Synode of *Altenberge*, or by any other meanes. For that men are bound in duty to doe good workes, that they necessarily follow faith, and that no man can be saved without dislike of sinne, desire of avoyding it, and purpose of doing that which is pleasing unto God, *Illyricus* made no question; and so disliked not the sayings of his opposites, that good workes are necessary to salvation, as thinking them in no sort necessary; but because he thought their words did import, that no man in any case can bee saved without the actuall doing of good workes, no, though hee have them in desire: and that no man may assure himselfe farther of the favour and mercy of God towards him, then he findeth the presence of the workes of vertue in him; which things undoubtedly they never meant.

Another opinion there is that is attributed to *Illyricus* touching the nature of originall sinne, which is greatly condemned by many. For first, he is charged to have taught, that the substance of mans soule was changed and corrupted by *Adams* fall, whence it will follow, that it is mortall. Secondly, that sinne is a substance, and sundry other like things, whence the impious positions of the *Manichees* may be inferred. For the clearing of *Illyricus* from these impieties, first wee must observe, that hee distinguisheth two sorts of corruption, naming the one naturall, and the other spirituall; the one consisting in the abolition of the thing corrupted, the other in a transformation of it. Secondly, that this transformation of the soule is not in respect of her essence and being simply, but of her essentiall and substantiall powers and faculties. Thirdly, that this transformation of the soule in her faculties, is not in respect of all her faculties, but the best and principall only, to wit, reason and the will. Fourthly, that there is not any transformation or transversion of these faculties simply in re-

c Illyricus de voce & re fidei part. 5. pag. 61. & 62.

d Decr. synod. Iſtatenſis anno 1556. celebrat. Epist. Menii ad Melancthonem de absurditate Majorismi.

e Treatis. part. 2 cap. 1. pag. 10.

f Quarundam impiarum sententiarum refutatio. pag. 133. De essentia imaginis Dei & diaboli, pag. 313 & 318.

g Quorundam
thematum ori-
ginalem justiti-
am & injustiti-
am, simul & be-
neficia Christi
extenuantium,
refutatio, p. 99.

spect of all objects: for the soule by the light of naturall reason judgeth rightly of many things still, though with some imperfections; but in respect of her principall object, to wit, God, his worship, and law. So that this is all that *Illyricus* saith, that the soule of man since *Adams* fall is so transformed and changed in the best and principall of her essentiall and substantiall faculties, that they are not onely turned away from their principall object, and from tending to the right end whither they should looke, but converted also to the desiring of such things as they should not, or in such sort as they should not; but of the extinguishing or abolishing of any of the essentiall and naturall faculties of the soule, much lesse of the essence and being of it simply, he hath no word. Wherefore let us come to the other part of the accusation framed against him, which is, that he maketh sinne to be a substance, and let us heare what he will say unto it himselfe. There are, saith *Illyricus*, certaine absurd sayings maliciously attributed unto me; as that sin is a substance, that it is in the predicament of substance; that it is the reasonable soule of man, and that on the contrary side, the soule is sin: but I never used any such speeches, neither did I ever say any more, but that some part of originall sin is the soules essentiall facultie of reason and the will corrupted, in that they are averted & turned away from their right object & end. But for the more full clearing of him from that impious opinion which is imputed to him, we must take notice of certaine good observations found in him. As first, that we may speake of sinne concretively or abstractively. Secondly, that if we speake of sin abstractively, that is, sinfulness, it is nothing but an inconformitie with the Law of G O D. Thirdly, that that to which such inconformitie immediatly cleaveth, and wherein want of conformitie with Gods Law is found, may rightly be named sin concretively. So that if such inconformitie be found in any action, we may safely pronounce it to be sin; if in any habite, we may pronounce, that that habite is sin: if in any inclination or desire, that that is sinne also: if in any the essentiall and substantiall faculties of the soule, as being turned from the right object and ende, and converted to such object and end as they should not, wee may safely pronounce that these faculties disordered and put out of course, are sin, even that originall and birth sinne, which is the fountaine whence all other doe flow. So that to conclude this point, according to the opinion of *Illyricus*, if we speake formerly, and abstractively, originall sin is the disordering of the essentiall and substantiall Faculties of the soule, consisting in an aversion from the principall object, and a conversion to other in stead of it. But if wee speake concretively, and materially, originall sinne is the substantiall facultie of the soule, which we call free-will, turned from seeking God, to oppose it selfe against him: in which passages, there is no impiety, nothing unsound, or that doeth not stand with the trueth which wee professe; but his manner of speaking was such as might give occasion of dislike, and therefore himselfe confesseth, that hee qualified some formes of wordes which hee had formerly used, upon the advice of *Simon Musæus*, that his meaning might be the better knowne, and no misconstruction made of that he meant well. So that it will bee found, that there was no reall difference betweene *Melancthon* and *Illyricus* about originall sinne, or any matter of faith: and therefore I may be as good as my word, & justifie it against the proudest Papist living, that none of the differences betweene *Melancthon* & *Illyricus*, except about certaine ceremonies were reall.

Wherefore the *Treatiser* leaveth *Illyricus*, and commeth to *Hoflander*, whom hee will prove to have holden a private opinion touching justification, because *Calvine* in his Institutions spendeth almost one whole Chapter in the confutation of his conceipt touching the same Article, which in the very entrance he calleth hee wotes not what monster of essentiall righteousness: & *Conradus Schlusfelburge* placeth him and his followers in the Catalogue of heretickes. But this objection will easily be answered; For it is not to be doubted, but *Calvine* & the rest justly disliked that which they apprehended to be his opinion, and condemned it as a monster. For they conceived that hee made Justification to be nothing else, but a transfusion of the essentiall righteousness of *Christ* into us, and a mixture and confusion of it with us. But *Smidelinus* sheweth

sheweth at large, that hee never had any such conceipt, but that, distinguishing three kinds of righteousness in Christ, whereof we are made partakers, to wit, active, passive, and essentiall, in that he was the Sonne of God, he taught that justification is not onely an acceptation and receiving of us to favour upon the imputation of the active and passive righteousness of Christ; but an admission of us also to the right of the participation of the divine nature, as *Peter* speaketh, and of that essentiall righteousness that was in him, in that he was the sonne of God; that so receiving of his fulnesse, we may be filled with all divine qualities and graces. The reason why he thus urged the implying of the communication of the essentiall righteousness of Christ in our justification, was not as the same *Smidelinus* telleth us, for that he thought justification to consist wholly therein, or for that hee meant to exclude the imputation of the merit and satisfaction of Christ from being causes of our justification, or receiving favour with God: but because he saw many mistooke and abused the doctrine of free justification by the imputation of Christs righteousness, to the carelesse neglecting of all righteousness in themselves; therefore he taught, there is no remission of sin, no receiving of any man to favour, by vertue of the imputation of the active and passive righteousness of Christ, unlesse out of dislike of sin, & desire of grace to avoid it, he be admitted to the right of the participation of that essentiall righteousness that dwelt in him in all fulnesse, that so it may dwell in him that is to be justified also, in some degree & sort. Neither is this construction of *Hosanders* wordes made by *Smidelinus* onely, but by sundry other. For *Stapleton* saith, the followers of *Brentius* defended the opinion of *Hosander*: whereas yet neither *Brentius*, nor any of his followers ever dreamed of any transfusion of the essentiall righteousness of Christ in us, any mixture or confusion of it with us, or any other communication of it to us, or in any other sort, then is before expressed. So that the Treatiser had no reason to write as he doth, that my proceedings are rare and singular, and that I feare not to affirme things apparantly false, and confessed untrue by all my brethren: much lesse to say, that every man may easily perceive by these my proceedings, that I had a good opinion of mine owne wit and learning. For what have I done that savoureth of pride? or, wherein have I bewrayed such vanity as he speaketh of? Is it a matter of pride not to condemne hastily other opinions, to make the fairest and best construction of other mens words, especially such as are of the same profession with us? Wherefore if the Treatiser be able to say any thing against this my defence of *Illyricus* and *Hosander*, I will heare him; otherwise let him not tell me of my schoole distinctions, for I am not ashamed of them. Neither doe I use them as the *Romane* Sophisters do, to avoide the evidence of that truth that is too mighty for them to encounter: but to cleare that which the *Romanists* desire to have wrapped up in perplexed and intricate disputes.

But, it seemeth, the Treatiser will not accept of this condition, and therefore hee passeth from the supposed divisions of our Churches, and differences of our Divines, & proceedeth to shew their inconstancie instancing particularly in *Luther*. And whereas in my former bookes I have answered the objections of Papists touching this supposed inconstancie, he goeth about to refute that my answer, which consisteth of two parts. Whereof the first is, that in sundry points of greatest moment, as of the power of nature, of free-will, justification, the difference of the Law and the Gospell, faith and workes, Christian liberty and the like, *Luther* was ever constant. The second, that it is not so strange as our Adversaries would make it, that *Luther* proceeded by degrees in discerning sundry Popish errors; seeing *Augustine* and their Angelicall Doctour altered their judgement in diverse things, and, upon better consideration, disliked what they had formerly approved. The former part of this my answer he pronounceth to containe a manifest untruth; for, that amongst other things mentioned by me, *Luther* was not ever constant, & of one judgment touching freewill, hee endeavoureth to prove, because in the defence of his Articles condemned by the Pope, he saith; Freewill is a forged or fained thing, & a title without a substance, it being in no mans power to think any thing good or evill, but all things falling out of absolute necessity: and else-where he saith, men of their owne proper strength have free-will

Article 36.
Luther in visit.
Saxon.

to doe, or not to doe externall workes, so that they may attaine to secular and civill honesty. But *M. Treatiser* should know, that betweene these sayings of *Luther*, there is no contradiction in truth and in deed, but in his fancy only; for in the former place two things are delivered by *Luther*. The first, that no man by nature hath power to turne himselfe to God without grace, or so much as to prepare himselfe to the receipt of grace, which in the latter place, speaking onely of externall workes, and civill or secular honesty, hee doth not contradict. The second, that though men in outward things, and things that are below, have a kinde of freedome of will, and choice, and power to doe, or not to doe them; yet not so free, but that they are subject to the providence, & disposition of Almighty God, bowing, bending, & turning them whither he pleaseth, and having them in such sort in his hand, as that they can will nothing, unlesse he permit them, which no way prejudiceth that liberty which else-where he attributeth to the will. For the will of man is said to bee free, because it doth nothing but on liking and choyce, and because God permitting, it hath power to doe what pleaseth it best; and not because it is free and not subject to divine disposition and ordering, or as if it could doe any thing without Gods permission & concurrence. And this is all that *Luther* hath in the former or latter of the two places, alleadged by the *Treatiser*: for he hath no word of absolute necessity, but of Gods most wise and provident direction of our wils, in all their choyces, desires and actions. And though else-where hee approve the saying of *Wickliffe*, that all things fall out by a kinde of absolute necessity, yet he interpreteth himselfe to meane neither naturall necessity, nor co-action, but infallibility of event, in that all things fall out most certainly, as God thinketh good to dispose and order them. Wherefore seeing the *Treatiser* can fasten no contradiction upon *Luther*, touching free-will, let us proceede to see what exceptions hee taketh to that defence I make of his altering of his judgement in some other things. My defence is, that it was not strange for him, to alter his judgement in some points of good moment, seeing Saint *Augustine*, the greatest of all the Fathers, and the Angelicall Doctours did so before him. His exception against this my defence consisteth of two parts; whereof the first is, that *Luthers* changing of his opinion, argueth, he was not extraordinarily and immediatly taught of God, (which wee easily graunt) and that hee built his faith upon his owne unconstant reason, which the *Treatiser* will never prove to bee consequent upon the alteration of his judgement in some points of religion; for that otherwise *Augustine* might be convinced to have so builded his faith likewise who altered his judgement touching as great matters as ever *Luther* did. For whereas formerly he attributed the election of such as were chosen to eternall life, to the foresight of their future faith; after he entred into the conflict with the *Pelagians*, he disclaymed it as a meere *Pelagian* concept. The second, that Saint *Augustine* writing, when hee was yet a novice in Christian religion, and not fully instructed, erred in some points, which errors, having received better instruction, he disclaimed; and that before some articles of Christian religion were so thoroughly discussed and defined in the Church, as afterwards upon the rising of new heresies, he spake not so aptly & properly as was needfull in succeeding times, and therefore retracted what he had uttered; but that it was not therefore lawfull for *Luther* to leap up and downe hither, and thither, and to change his faith accordingly as his fancie ledde him. For answer whereunto, I say, that *Luther* changed not his faith according to fancie, nor altered his judgement in any point of Christian doctrine generally and constantly agreed on in that Church wherein he lived. For, as I have else-where proved at large, none of the things wherein wee at this day dissent from the present Church of *Rome*, were generally and constantly beleaved & received as articles of faith in the dayes of our Fathers, in that Church wherein they lived and died; so that in this respect there will be no difference betweene the case of *Luther*, and *Augustine*, or *Aquinas*, who, as the *Treatiser* confesseth, altered and corrected their former opinions touching sundry points of doctrine not determined by the Church, without any note of inconstancy, or building their faith upon their owne unconstant reason.

And thus have I runne through both parts of the Treatise of the grounds of the olde and new Religion, so that I might here end; but that the Authour thereof addeth in the end an Appendix in confutation of a booke written by M. *Crasshaw*, concerning *Romish* forgeries and falsifications; wherein among other things he endeavoureth to prove, there could be no such corruption of the Fathers writings in former times, as M. *Crasshaw* conceiveth, because I say, the Papists were onely a faction in the Church, and that there were ever diverse in the midst of all the confusions of the Papacie, agreeing with us, who alwayes opposed themselves against such as sought to advance Papall tyranny and Popish superstition, who, he thinketh, if there were any such, were carefull to preserve the Fathers Workes from corruption. For answer whereunto, we must note, that the corruptions of the Fathers Writings are of three sorts; either by putting out base & counterfeit stuffe under their honourable names, or by putting in some things into their true and indubitate Workes, not well sorting with the same; or by taking something out of them. That many absurd things have beene published under the names of holy Fathers, no man can make any doubt that looketh into the Workes of *Augustine*, *Hierome*, & others, with which, many things censured and judged to be Apocryphall by our Adversaries themselves, are mingled. Now if in their judgement this first kinde of corruption of the Fathers Workes might be in former times, notwithstanding such good men, as they thinke, were ever in the Church; who willingly and wittingly would give no consent to any such corruption; why may not wee say, that some things might bee added or detracted from the indubitate writings of the Fathers, notwithstanding any thing they could doe to the contrary, whom wee suppose in the midst of Papall confusions to have opposed themselves against error, idolatry, and superstition, then by some brought into the Church, and to have given testimony to that truth which wee now maintaine? so that this objection is easily

answered. What hee hath against others, I doubt not but they will take notice of, and that hee shall heare from them in due time, to whom I leave him.

The end of the second part.





THE THIRD PART, CONTAINING A BRIEF EX- AMINATION OF SVCH PRETENDED Proofes for *Romish* Religion and Recusancie, as are produced and violently wrested by a late Pamphleter out of the former bookes.

* In that Wat-
son, Clerke, and
the hellish con-
trivers of the
powder treason
with some few
of their adhe-
rents have suf-
fered death, &
others have not
beene permitted
to warme them-
selves at the fires
in Smithfield, as
they were wont
to doe.



IN the Epistle to the Lords of the Councell, he first complaineth of the * long, and manifold supposed miseries of English Pseudo-Catholiques. Secondly, hee imputeth the same to the Puritanes, as if they had beene procured principally by them, and for their cause. Thirdly, hee proverth, that not onely those Puritanes, that refuse externall conformity, but such also as for a fashion follow it, are guilty of the proceedings against the *Romanists*; because the greatest number of Protestant Writers doe teach that there is no such essentiall and substantiall difference betweene Protestants and Puritanes, but that they are of one Church, Faith, and Religion. A strange kind of prooffe; yet these are his wordes: *The pennes and pulpits of Puritanes, and their Printers will sufficiently write, preach, and publish to the world, by whom, and to what purpose, no small part of these afflictions have beene urged and incited against us, not onely by those few which refuse your externall conformity, but such as for a fashion follow it to retaine themselves in authority. For prooffe whereof, the greatest number of the present Protestant Writers, D. Sutcliffe, D. Dove, D. Field, M. Willet, Wootton, Middleton, &c. doe teach, there is no substantiall, essentiall, or materiall point of difference in religion betweene Protestants and Puritanes, but they are of one Church, Faith and Religion.* His meaning, it seemeth, is, that all Protestants acknowledging Puritanes to bee of one Church with them, are Puritanes: and therefore hee would have all to know, that howsoever hee make shew of blaming Puritanes onely, or principally; yet in truth he equally condemneth all; and that therefore hee doth but dissemble, or say hee knoweth not what. But doe all these Protestant writers named by him, teach, that there is no materiall difference betweene Protestants and Puritanes? Surely no. For touching my selfe, I never wrought any such thing, neither in the place cited by him, nor any where else; so that he beginneth with a manifest and shamelesse untruth. But I doe the more willingly pardon him this fault, for that it seemeth hee doth not consider what he writeth. For in the title of his booke hee professeth that hee will take the proofes of his Catholique Religion and Recusancy, only from the writings of such Protestant Divines, as have beene published since the raigne of his Majestie over this kingdome: for that, as he saith, they often change their opinions, at the least, at the

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comming of every new Prince. And yet page 30. he citeth the Bishop of *Winchesters* *booke written many yeares age, and Doctour *Conell* his booke in defence of Master *Hooker*, as often as any other; which yet was written in her late Majesties time. But what if I had written, that howsoever there are some materiall differences betweene Protestants and Puritanes, as it pleaseth him to stile them, yet not so essentiall or substantiall, but that they may bee of one Church, faith, and religion? What absurdity would have followed? Would it be consequent from hence, as he inferreth, that it is not materiall with us, whether men be of a true or false religion, of any or none at all? Have there not beene, nay are there not greater differences betwixt Papists, who yet will be angry, if they be not esteemed to be all of one Church, faith, and religion? Did not *Pope Iohn* the two and twentieth thinke, that the soules of the just shall not see God till the generall resurrection? and did not the *French King* that then was, with the whole University of *Paris* condemne the same opinion as hereticall, with sound of trumpet? Did not *Ambrosius Castalius* teach, that a man may be certaine with the certainty of faith, that he is in state of grace; and *Soto* the contrary? Did not *Pighius*, *Contarenus*, and the Authors of the booke called *Antididagma Coloniense*, defend imputative justice; and other Papists reject it? Did not some amongst them teach the merit of condignity? doe not others moved with a sober moderation, thinke there is no such merit? Doe not some thinke the Pope is universall Bishop? others, that he is not, but prime Bishop onely? Doe not some teach that all Bishops receive their jurisdiction from the Pope, others the contrary? Doe not some thinke the Pope may papally erre, and others that he cannot? Doe not some of them thinke he is temporall Lord of all the world, and others the contrary? Doe not some of them thinke he may depose Princes, and others, that hee may not? is there not a very materiall point of difference amongst Papists touching predestination? Let them shew us, if they can, so many and materiall differences betweene Protestants and Puritanes. And yet these were all of one Church in their judgement; yea *Pope Stephen*, who reverted all the actes of *Formosus* his predecesour, pronounced the ordinations of all those to be voide whom he hath ordained, brought his dead body out of the grave into the Council, stript it out of the papall vesture, put upon it a Lay habit, and cutting off two fingers of his right hand, cast it into *Tyber*: *Pope Iohn* his succesor, who called a Council of 74. Bishops to confirme the ordinations of *Formosus*, the Arch-bishoppes of *France*, and the King being present at *Ravenna*, & burned the actes of the Synod which *Stephen* had called to condemne *Formosus*: and *Sergius*, who againe condemned *Formosus*, and pronounced all his ordinations to be voide, reversing the actes of *Pope Iohn* and his Synode, were all of one Church, of one communion, faith and religion. Nay which is more strange, when there were three Anti-popes sitting in diverse places, accursing one another with all their Adherents, and that for many yeares, yet still they were of one Church, of one communion, faith, and religion. Yet may not we inferre from hence against them, as they doe against us, that it is not materiall with them, whether men be of a true or false religion, of any or none at all. Surely they are more priviledged then other men; for some of them may take the Oath of Allegiance, & disclaime the Popes power and right to intermeddle with Princes states; and other refuse it, and yet still be Catholique brethren in the communion of the same Church: Yea a Priest may like of this Oath, and perswade others to take it, & afterwards goe over the Sea, and alter his judgement, and returning, choose rather to suffer death, then to take it againe, yet no man must take notice of it. But if a Minister subscribe, and afterwards upon ill advice refuse to doe the same againe, then all the courses of our Religion are such, that by no outward signes, communion, profession, protestation, or subscription, a man can tell who is of what religion amongsts us. But let us passe from the Epistle to the booke it selfe.

*The difference,
Credic. anno
1586.

a Gerson Serm.
in festo Pasche.

b Soto contra
Ambros.

c Pighius de
justificat.

d Contaren. de
justificatione.

e Answer to Bell
his downfall, &c

f Vega. quest. 5.
de meritis glo-
riz ex condig-

no.

f Cusan. con-
cord. Cathol.

l. 2. c. 13.

g Bellar. lib. 4.
de Rom. Pont.

cap. 22.

h Stapleton, re-
lect contrav. 3.

de prim. subject.
pot. Eccles. q. 4.

i Bell de Rom.
Pont. l. 5. c. 1.

k Walden. doct.
fid. l. 2. art. 3.

quest 78.
Gerson. de Pot.

Eccles. confid.

l. 2. Sigebert in
Chron. anno

1088.
Idē in Chron.

m Example of
Blackwell.

n Drury.

C H A P. I.

IN the first chapter, which is of the supream, and most preëminent authority of the true Church, and how necessary it is to find it, follow the directions, and rest in the judgement of it, hee hath these words. *Doctour Field a late Protestant writer beginneth his Dedicatory Epistle to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, before his Bookes of the Church in this manner: There is no part of heavenly doctrine more necessary in these dayes of so many intricate controversies of Religion, then diligently to search out, which, amongst all the societies of men in the world, is that blessed company of holy ones, that household of Faith, that spouse of Christ, and Church of the living God, which is the pillar and ground of truth, that so we may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and rest in her judgement.* And after some other things cited out of others, he addeth, *the joyning with the true Church is so needfull a thing, that D. Field concludeth: There is no salvation, remission of sinnes, or hope of eternall life out of the Church.* To what purpose this allegation serveth, I cannot conceive: for there is nothing in any of these speeches of mine that ever any Protestant doubted of, or from which any thing may bee concluded against us, or for the Papists. " The Church of God (saith Master *Calvine*) is named the mother of the Faithfull: neither is there any entrance into eternall life, unlesse shee conceive us in her wombe, unlesse shee bring us forth, unlesse her pappes doe give us sucke, and unlesse shee keepe us under her custodie and government, till having put off this mortall flesh, we become like the Angels in Heaven. Adde hereunto (saith hee) that out of her lappe and bosome there is no remission of sinnes, nor salvation to be looked for, as both *Isaias* and *Ioel* testifie, to whom *Ezekiel* subscribeth, when he denounceth, they shall not bee reckoned amongst the people of God, whom he excludeth from eternall life. The onely thing that is any way doubtfull, is, how far we are bound to rest in the judgment of the Church. For the clearing whereof, the Author of these proofes having taken so much paines to reade over my bookes of the Church, to take some advantage by them against the truth of Religion professed amongst us, might have beene pleased to remember those different degrees of obedience, which wee are to yelde to them that command and teach us in the Church of God: Which I have noted in the Fourth Booke, and fifth chapter, out of *Waldensis*, excellently described, and set down by him in this sort, we must (saith he) reverence and respect the authority of all Catholique Doctors, whose doctrine and writings the Church alloweth. We must more regard the authority of Catholique Bishops; more then these, the authority of Apostolique Churches; amongst them, more specially the Church of *Rome*; of a generall Councell, more then all these: yet must we not so listen to the determinations of any of these, nor so uncertainly assent unto them, as to the thing contained in Scripture, or beleaved and taught by the whole universall Church, that hath beene ever since the Apostles times; but as, to the instructions of our elders, and fatherly admonitions, and directions, we must obey without scrupulous questioning, with all modesty of minde, with all good allowance, acceptation and repose in the words of them that teach us, unlesse they teach any thing which the higher and superiour controlleth. And yet if they doe, the humble and obedient children of the Church, must not insolently insult upon them, from whom they are forced to dissent; but they must dissent with a reverent child-like, and respectfull shamefastnesse. And else-where he saith: The Church whose Faith never faileth, according to the promise made to *Peter*, (who bare the figure of the Church, when *CHRIST* said unto him, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not) is not any particular Church, as the Church of *Africa*, wherein the bounds whereof *Donatus* did include the whole, nor the particular *Romane* Church, but the universall Church, not gathered together in a generall Councell, which hath sometimes erred, as that at *Ariminum* under *Taurus* the governour, and that at *Constantinople* under *Iustinian* the yonger: but it is the Catholique Church dispersed through the whole world, from the baptisme of *CHRIST* unto our times; which doth undoubtedly hold the true faith, and

Calv. instit.
l. 4. c. 1. sect. 4.

Wald. doct.
fid. lib. 2. art. 2.
cap. 27.

and faithfull testimony of Jesus. Yea the same authour is of opinion, that though it argue great contumacy for a man to dissent from a generall Councell without convincing reason, yet not perfidious impiety, unlesse he know or might know, if the fault were not in himselfe, that in so dissenting, he dissenteth from the Scripture, or the determination of the universall Church, that hath beene since the Apostles times, which onely is absolutely priviledged from erring. Thus then I hope the indifferent Reader will easily discern, that hitherto the authour of Protestant proofes hath found no prooffe for *Romish* religion in any thing that I have written; let us come therefore to the second chapter.

C H A P. 2.

IN the second chapter, wherein he endeavourerh to prove by the testimonies of Protestants, that the *Romane* Church ever was, and still is the true Church of Christ, he citeth foure things as written by mee. The first is touching the *supream binding and commanding authority that is in the Church*. His words are these. *Doctour Field writeth, that the supream binding and commanding authority is onely in Bishops in a generall Councell*. The second, is touching the definition of the Church set downe in the Articles of religion, *Art. 19. that it is the congregation of faithfull ones, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duely administred, according to Christs institution in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same*, whereunto hee saith I agree. The third is, that the *true Church of God* is subject unto errors of doctrine, which are not fundamentall. The fourth, that *the Romane Church is the true Church of God*. His words are these. *I thinke no man will deny the Church of Rome to be the same it was at the coming of Luther, and long before; and Doctour Field writeth, that the Romane and Latine Church continued the true Church of God even till our time*. And again, *Wee doubt not but the Church, in which the Bishop of Rome exalted himselfe with more then Lucifer-like pride, was notwithstanding the true Church of God, that it held a saving profession of the truth in Christ, and by force thereof converted many countries from error to the way of truth: and he farther acknowledgeth with Doctor Couel and others, that Luther and the rest of his religion were baptized, received their Christianity, ordination and power of ministry, in that Church, as the true visible and apparant Church of Christ*. He telleth farther, that *divers of the Romane Church, not only of the ignorant, but of the best learned, were saved, and are Saints in heaven*.

These are his allegations. Now let us see what is to be said unto them Touching the first, it is most undoubtedly true, that the supream, and highest externall binding and commanding authority is onely in Bishops and others assembled in a generall Councell; but what will he inferre from hence? All men, saith he, do know, and Doctor *Suscliffe* with others acknowledge, that the Protestants have had no such Councell: and what then? therefore they are not the Churches of God. O impious and wicked conclusion! For hereby all the Churches of the world 300 yeares after Christ; are proved not to have beene the true Churches of Christ; seeing, as it is evident, there was no generall Councell all that while; so that Christianity was rent into factions for want of this remedy, as *Isidorus* testifieth. But, saith he, the Protestant Relatour of religion teacheth, that this preheminance, meanes and remedy, is onely in the Church of *Rome*. This is most false; for howsoever he thinketh it not impossible for the *Romanists* to have a generall Council of those of their own faction; yet he knoweth it lieth not in them to procure a Councell absolutely generall or Oecumenicall: Nay we see that for many hundred yeares there hath not beene any generall Councell of all Christians, wherein a perfect consent and agreement might be settled; but the greatest parts of the Christian world have remained divided from the *Romane* Church for the space of 6. or 7. hundred yeares. If the Author of these proofes shall say, they have all been hereticks, and schismatickes, and that they have lived and died in state of damnation, that have lived & died in those churches ever since their separation; & that therefore a generall Council of the Christians of the West, adhering to the Pope, is absolutely generall and Oecumenicall, representing the whole universall Church; we detest so unchristian

9 Ibid. prae fat.
Concil.

stian and divellish a censure: and therefore we willingly confesse, that the Protestants being but a part of the Christian Church, cannot have any Councell absolutely generall, but in a sort onely in respect of those of their owne profession. Such a generall Councell of Protestants to settle and compose their differences, the Protestant Relator of religion wisheth for: neither doth he ever deny the possibilitie thereof, as this Pamphleter mis-reporteth him, but saith only that as things now stand, there being no better correspondence among Christian Princes, nor greater desire of making up the breaches of the Christian Church, there is little hope of any such generall meeting of those of the reformed religion.

Out of the two next allegations nothing can be concluded; for the errors of the present *Romane* Church are fundamentall; neither doth it preach the pure word of God, & duely administer the Sacraments according to Christs institution, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. But he saith, he hopeth *no man will deny the Church of Rome to be the same now, it was when Luther began, & long before; and that I confesse, the Latin Church continued the true Church of God even till our times.* Because some man perhaps will thinke, that we yeeld more unto our Adversaries now, then formerly we did, in that we acknowledge the *Latine* or *Western* Churches subject to *Romish* tyranny before God raised up *Luther*, to have bin the true Churches of God, in which a saving profession of the truth in Christ was found, & wherein *Luther* himsele received his christianity, ordination, & power of ministry; I will first shew, that all our best and most renowned Divines did ever acknowledge as much as I have written. 2^{ly}, That the *Romane* Church is not the same now, it was when *Luther* began.

And 3^{ly}, that we have not departed from the Church wherein our Fathers lived & died, but only from the faction that was in it. Touching the first, *M. Luther* confesseth, that much good, nay that all good, and the very marrow & kernell of faith, piety, and christian beliefe, was by the happy providence of God, preserved even in the midst of all the confusions of the Papacy. *M. Calvine* in like sort, sheweth, that the true Church remained under the Papacie. *Cum dominus fœdus suum* (saith he) *in Galliâ, Italiâ, Germaniâ, Hispaniâ, & Angliâ disposuerit, ubi illa provincia Antichristi tyrannide oppressa sunt; quò tamen fœdus suum inviolabile maneret, Baptismum primò illic conservavit, qui ejus ore consecratus invita humana impietate, vim suam retinet: deinde sua providentiâ efficit, ut alia quoque reliquia extarent, ne Ecclesia prorsus interiret: ac quæ admodum ita sæpe diruntur adificia, ut fundamenta & ruina maneat; ita non passus est Ecclesiam suam ab Antichristo vel fundamento subverti, vel solo avari, utcumque ad puniendam hominum ingratitudinem, horribilem quassationem ac dissectionem fieri permiserit; sed ab illa quoque vastatione semirutum adificium superesse voluit:* That is, the Lord having made his Covenant with the people of *France, Italy, Germany, Spaine, and England*, when these Provinces were oppressed by the tyranny of Antichrist, that yet still his covenant might remaine inviolable, first he preserved the Sacrament of Baptisme among them, which being consecrated by his owne mouth, retaineth his force in despite of mans impiety; and besides carefully provided, that there should be found some other remainders also, that the Church might not altogether perish. And even as often times buildings are so throwne downe, that the foundations and some ruines doe remaine; so God suffered not his Church to be subverted & overthrown by Antichrist frõ the very foundation, or be laid even with the ground, but howsoever to punish the ingratitude of men, he suffered it to be horribly shaken, torne and rent, yet his pleasure was, that the building should remaine after all this waste and decay, though halfe throwne downe. Of the same opinion is *Bucer, Melancthon, and Beza*, who saith: *The Church was under the Papacy*, but the Papacy was not the Church. Wee say, (saith *Philip Mornay*) that among that poore people, that was so long time deceived under the darkenesse of Antichrist, there was a part of the body of the visible Church; but that the Pope, and his maintainers were the bane of it, who stifled and choaked this poore people, as much as lay in them. Wee say, that this was the Church of Christ, but that Antichrist held it by the throat, to the end, that the salvation and life that floweth from Christ might not passe upon it.

Lib. contra Anabaptist.

Calv. Instit. l. 4. c. 2. sect. 11.

Bez. quest.

Morn of the Church, cap. 9.

it. To be short (saith he) wee say, that the people were of the Christian Commonwealth, but the Pope with his faction, was a proud seditious *Catiline*, seeking to destroy it, and set all on fire; & so ever he most aptly putteth a difference betweene them that were under the Papacie, and the beholders of the Papacie, the Christian Church, and the faction that was in it. M. *Deering* in his Lectures, speaking of the orders of the Popish Church, hath these words. * If any man will heere object, that notwithstanding all the abuses, yet the Priest had that which was principall, liberty to preach and minister Sacraments, and that therefore their ministry ought not to be neglected. I answer; In this was the great goodnesse of God, that in time to come his children might assuredly know, hee reserved to himselfe a Church even in the midst of all desolation, and that he called them by his word, and confirmed them by his Sacraments even as at this day. For seeing there can be no sin so great, but faith in *Iesus Christ* scatereth it all away, it was impossible, that the man of sinne should so much adulterate, either the Word of God, but that it should bee to the faithfull a Gospell of salvation; or the Sacraments of God, but that they should be pledges of eternall life to those that did beleve: and he addeth, that notwithstanding all the prophanations in those times, in respect whereof wee have justly seperated our selves from the pertinacious maintainers of such confusions, yet God of his infinite goodnesse, who calleth things that are not, as though they were, even in that ministry gave grace unto his Saints. Thus do these Worthies write, touching the state of the Christian Church in former times, tyrannically oppressed by Antichrist, neither is there any of our Divines of worth and learning for ought I know, that dissenteth from them.

* Lect. 23. in 3.
ad Heb.

Wherefore I will now proceede to shew, that the *Romane* Church is not the same now that it was when *Luther* began. Heere first that wee be not deceived, we must observe that by the name of the *Romane* Church, sometimes we understand the Pope, his Cleargy, and other Christians of the *Romane* Diocesse: sometimes all Churches subject to the tyranny of the Bishop of *Rome*. In this latter sense we speake of the *Romane* Church at this time, and will make it most cleare and evident, that it is not the same now that it was when *Luther* began. For first the *Romane* Church that then was, was the whole number of Christians subject to Papall tyranny, whereof a great part desired nothing more but to shake off that yoke, which as soone as he began to oppose himselfe, they presently did, accounting those that attributed that to the Pope, which is now attributed unto him, to bee but flatterers: but the *Romane* Church that now is, is the multitude of such onely as thus magnifie, admire, and adore the plenitude of Papall power, or at least are contented to bee under the yoke of it still. Secondly, the Church of *Rome* that then was, consisted of men not having meanes of instruction and information, like unto those which have beene since; and therefore not erring pertinaciously in things wherein they were deceived: But the Church that now is, consisteth of such onely as pertinaciously resist against the cleare manifestation of the truth, and with all fury and madnesse pursue unto death those that defend and maintaine the same, or at least of such as consent in outward communion with them that so doe. So that they that lived heretofore might in their simplicitie be saved, and yet these that now are, perish in their contradiction and wilfull resistance against the truth. Neither need this to seeme strange, seeing *Vincenſius Lirinensis* saith, (speaking of the error of rebaptization) that the authors, devisers, and beginners of it, are crowned in Heaven, that is *Cyprian* and the *African* Bishops of his time: for that notwithstanding this error they held the unity of the Church, & condemned not, but communicated with them that were otherwise minded; and the followers of the same error, that is, the *Donatists* for their schisme & pertinacy were condemned into hell. Thirdly, the *Romane* Church that then was, had in it all the abuses and superstitious observations it now hath, and such as erred in all the points of doctrine, wherein they of the *Romane* Church now erre, in which respect it may seeme to have beene the same, as the Author of these pretended proofes urgeth; but it had also others that disliked and desired the removing of all those abuses, and superstitious observations which we have removed & thought right in all those points of doctrine wherein the

1 Cameracenſ.
quæſt. vesperti-
arum.

2 Illyr. in Catal.
teſtium verita-
tis. Carolus
Militius being
ſent from Pope
Leo to Frede-
rickes, profeſſed,
that all the way
as he came, ha-
ving ſounded
mens affection,
hee found three
to favour Lu-
ther, for one
that favoured
the Pope; and
Luther profeſ-
ſeth that the ap-
plauſe of the
world did ſup-
port him much;
all men being
weary of the
frauds, extorſi-
ons, and wicked
practiſes of the
Romanists.

Præfat. oper.
Lutheri.

a Contra prof.
hæreſ. novitat.

b See the Appen-
dix to the third

Booke of the
Church, and the

12 Chapter of
the ſame booke.

reſt

e Serm. 33. in
Cantica.

d Morn of the
Church, cap. 2.

rest erred; in which respect it was not the same, but very different from that faction of *Romanists*, that resisteth that reformation of religion which so many famous states of Christendome have willingly embraced. So that the *Romane Church* that then was consisted of two sorts of men: of the one, as true living members; of the other, as pertaining to her unitie in respect of Baptisme, power of Ministry, and profession of some parts of heavenly truth; though not partaking in that degree of unitie which the principall parts thereof had amongst themselves, but divided from them, being a dangerous faction in the midst of her, seeking her destruction, which she could neither flie from, nor drive from her; as *Bernard* somewhere speaketh: *Omnes amici, omnes inimici, omnes domestici, nulli pacifici, servi Christi, serviunt Antichristo*: All these were in some generall sort the Church, in respect of Baptisme, the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, and the power of ministry; but principally, and in speciall sort, they onely that beleaved rightly touching the most materiall points of Christian religion, and wished for the reformation of superstitious abuses. In respect of the former of these, the *Romane Church* was *verè Ecclesia*, truly a Church, that is, a multitude of men professing Christ, and baptized; but not *vera Ecclesia*, a true Church, that is, a multitude of men holding a saving profession of the truth in Christ, as *Mornay* fitly noteth, for which *Stapleton* unjustly reprehendeth him: but in respect of the later, it was *vera Ecclesia*, a true Church, that is, a multitude of men holding a saving profession of the truth in Christ. The Church of the *Jewes* at the comming of Christ, had in it the *Scribes*, *Pharisees*, and *Saduces*, as well as *Zachary*, *Elizabeth*, *Simeon*, and *Anna*; in respect of the former it was *verè Ecclesia*, but not *vera Ecclesia*; in respect of the later, it was *vera Ecclesia*. Neither should this seeme strange to any man, that the same society of Christian men should in respect of some parts, whereof it consisteth, be the true Church of Christ, and in respect of some other, not so; seeing all men confesse, that the same visible Church and society of Christians may be named a garden inclosed, an orchard of pome-granates, a well sealed up, a fountaine of living waters, a paradise with all pretious and desireable fruit, a holy nation, a peculiar people, a royall Priest-hood, the spouse of Christ, and wife of the Lambe, the love of Christ, all faire, undefiled, and without spot, in respect of her best and principall parts, though not in respect of other. The former of these two sorts of men that were found in the *Romane Church*, wee name a faction. First, because they had no part in that degree of unity, which the best parts thereof had amongst themselves, but wandered into by-paths of error, to their owne destruction, and sought the ruine of that mother, which by baptisme had sacramentally regenerated them to be the sonnes of God. Secondly, for that they brought in new and strange errors, and a new kinde of tyrannicall government, prejudiciall to the purity of the faith once delivered, and the ancient liberty of the people of God. For hereby we are to judge who are of the faction in the Church, and who not; and not by multitude or paucity, as some fondly imagine. The disguised *Arrians*, and others mis-led by them to the condemning of *Athanasius*, were but a faction in the Church at that time, yet were they many, so that *Hierome* saith, the whole world was become an *Arrian*; and they that adhered to *Athanasius* were few in number, and contemptible in respect of the rest. And all they that hold and defend errors in matters of doctrine, and observations in matters of practise and lawes, prejudiciall to the ancient liberties in the society of the Christian Church, are rightly said to be a faction in the same, whether they be many, or few; & they that detaine the faith once delivered, are most properly the Church. Lastly, the errors that wee condemne, were taught in the *Romane Church* that was when *Luther* began, but they were not the doctrines of that Church; but these errors are of the doctrines of the present *Romane Church*. For the clearing of the former part, to wit, that the errors condemned by us, were not the doctrines of that ancient *Romane Church*, wherein our Fathers lived & died, we must observe, that the doctrines taught in that Church, were of three sorts. The first, such as were delivered with so full consent of all that lived in the same, that whosoever offered to teach otherwise, was rejected as a damnable heretiecke, such was the doctrine of the Trinity, the creation,

fall,

fall, originall sinne, incarnation of the Sonne of God, the unity of his person and diversity of the natures subsisting in the same. The second, such errors as were taught by many, in the midst of the same Church, as, that the Pope cannot erre, and the like. The third, such contrary true assertions as were by others opposed against those errors. The first, were absolutely the doctrines of that Church. The third, may be said to have beene the doctrines of the Church, though all received them not; because they were the doctrines of such as were so in the Church that they were the Church, according to that of *Augustine*: Some are in such sort in the house of God, that they also are the house of GOD; and some are so in the house, that they pertaine not to the frame and fabrick of it, nor to the society and fellowship of fruitfull and peaceable righteousness. The second kinde of doctrines, were not at all the doctrines of that Church, because they neither were taught with full consent of all that lived in it, nor by them that were so in the Church and house of God, that they were the Church and house of God; but by such as though they pertained to the Church in respect of the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, yet in respect of many other wherein they were departed from the same, seeking to subvert the faith once delivered, were but a faction in it.

Hence it followeth (which is the third thing I promised to shew) that howsoever wee have forsaken the communion of the *Romane* Diocese, yet we have not departed from the *Romane* Church in the later sense before expressed, wherein our Fathers lived and died, but onely from the faction that was in it. First, because we have brought in no doctrine, then generally and constantly condemned, nor rejected any thing, then generally and constantly consented on. Secondly, because we have done nothing in that alteration of things that now appeareth, but removed abuses then disliked, and shaken of the yoke of tyranny, which that Church in her best parts did ever desire to be freed from, howsoever shee had brought forth and nourished other children that conspired against her, that taught otherwise then we now doe, & would willingly for their advantage have retained many things which wee have removed. Thus then (I hope) it doth appeare, that howsoever I confesse, that the *Latine* or *West* Churches oppressed with *Romish* tyranny, continued the true Churches of God, held a saving profession of heavenly truth, turned many to God, and had many Saints that died in their communion even till the time that *Luther* began; yet I neither dissent from *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, or any other Protestant of judgement, nor any way acknowledge the present *Romish* Church to be that true Church of God, whose communion wee must embrace, whose directions wee must follow, and in whose judgement we must rest. But will some man say, is the *Romane* Church at this day no part of the Church of God? Surely as *Augustine* noteth that the societies of heretickes, in that they retain the profession of many parts of heavenly truth, and the ministrations of the Sacrament of Baptisme, are so farre forth still conjoynd with the Catholique Church of God, and the Catholique Church in and by them, bringeth forth children unto God: so the present *Romane* Church, is still in some sort a part of the visible Church of God, but no otherwise then other societies of heretickes are, in that it retaineth the profession of some parts of heavenly truth, and ministrereth the true Sacrament of Baptisme to the salvation of the soules of many thousand infants that die after they are baptized, before shee have poysoned them with her errors. Thus having spoken sufficiently for the clearing of my selfe touching this point, I will passe from this Chapter to the next.

C H A P. 3.

IN the third chapter he endeavourerh to shew, that the Protestants do now teach the necessity of one supream spirituell head and commander in the Church of Christ. His words are these. *Whereas heretofore some unchristian Sermons and Bookes have termed the Bishop of Rome to be the great Antichrist, wee shall now receive a better doctrine and more religious answer. That there ever was and must bee, one chiefe and supream*

spirituall Head and Commander of the Church of Christ on earth, &c. D. Field citeth and approveth this as a generall and infallible rule: *Ecclesiae salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet, &c.* The health of the Church dependeth on the dignity of the high Priest, whose eminent authority if it be denyed, there will be as many schismes in the Church as there be Priests. Then of necessity one chiefe supreme and high Priest must be assigned in his judgement. These are his words. The place he meaneth is not page one hundred thirty eight, as he quoteth it, but page 80. Let the Reader how partiall soever peruse it, and if he find that I have writtten any thing whence it may be concluded, that I acknowledge there ever was and must bee one chiefe and supream spirituell Head and Commander of the whole Church of Christ in earth, I will fall prostrate at the Popes feete, and be of the Romish religion for ever. But if it appeare unto him that the author of these pretended proofes hath cited this place to prove that which in his conscience he knew it did not, let him beware of such false and cozening companions. My words are: *The unity of each particular Church, depends on the unity of the Pastor, who is one, to whom an eminent and particular power is given, and whom all must obey.* Heere is no word of one chiefe Pastor of the whole universall Church of Christ upon earth, but of one chiefe Pastor in each particular Church. Who would not detest the impudencie & false dealing of these Romish writers. But he saith, I approve the saying of Hierome before mentioned, therefore I must assigne one chiefe Pastour of the whole Church of Christ on earth. How will he make good this consequence? Doth Hierome speake in that place cited and approved by me, of one supream Pastour of the whole Church of Christ on earth? Surely this Pamphletter knoweth he doth not, but of the Bishop of each particular Church or Diocese. ^b If (saith Hierome) thou shalt aske why he that is baptized in the Church doth not receive the Holy Ghost, but by the hands of the Bishop, which we say, is given in baptisme: know that this observation commeth from that authority, that the Scripture descended upon the Apostles: & in many places we finde the same to have beene done rather for the honour of Priest-hood, then the necessity of any Law: otherwise if the Spirit descend not, but only at the prayer of the Bishop, they are to be lamented, who in villages, castles, and remote places, baptized by Priests or Deacons, die before they are visited by the Bishop: and then follow these words; *The safety of the Church depends on the dignity of the chiefe Priest, to whom if an eminent power be not given, there will be as many schismes in the Church, as there are Priests.* So that this is that which he saith, that it is rather for the honour of the Bishop or chiefe Priest of each Church, that the imposition of hands upon the baptized is reserved unto him alone, then the necessity of any law; because if hee had no such preëminences & things peculiarly reserved unto him, in respect whereof he might be greater then the rest of the Priests & Ministers in the Church, there would be as many schismes as Priests: and hence he saith it commeth, that without the command of the Bishop or chiefe Priest, neither Priest nor Deacon have right to baptize. So that it is manifest, the chiefe Priest he speaketh of, whose power is eminent and peerelesse, is so named in respect of other Priests in the same Church, that may not so much as baptize without his mandate, & not in respect of the Pastors of the whole universall Church. Wherefore if this pamphletter would have dealt truly & honestly, he should have said: Whereas heretofore some unchristian Sermons & bookes termed the Bishop of Rome the great Antichrist, we shall now receive a better doctrine, & more religious answer, that there must be one chiefe Priest or Bishop in every Diocese, having a more eminent authority then the rest; and then whereas men now detest his falshood, they would but onely have laughed at his folly: But let us come to his second allegation, and see if there be any more truth in that, then in this. His wordes are these. Doctour Field telleth us from Scripture, that Christ promised to build his Church upon Saint Peter, then no Christian will doubt, unlesse hee will doubt of Christs truth and promises, but it was so performed. Let the reader peruse the place, and hee shall finde that I doe not tell them from Scripture, that CHRIST promised to builde his Church upon Peter, as this man adding one falshood to another, most untruly sayth I doe, but onely cite a place of Tertullian, to prove that nothing

^b Hier. contra
Luciferianos.

was hid from the Apostles, that was to be revealed to after-commers, where hee hath these word: *What was hidden and concealed from Peter, upon whom Christ promised to build his Church? from John the Disciple hee so dearly loved? that leaned on his breast at the mysticall supper? and the rest of that blessed company, that should be after manifested to succeeding generations?* But he will say that I approve the saying of *Tertullian*, and therefore thinke the Church was built upon *Peter*. Truly so I doe; but I thinke also as *Hierome* doth, that it was built no more upon him, then upon all the rest, and therefore the supremacy of *Peters* pretended successour, will not be concluded from thence. *Dicit (saith Hierome) super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, licet idipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat: Super omnes ex aquo Ecclesia fortitudo solidatur:* that is, *Hier. l. 1. contra Iovinian.* Thou wilt say, the Church was built upon *Peter*; It is true, it was so; but we shall find in another place, that it was builded upon all the Apostles. Surely the firmenesse of the Church doth equally stay and settle it selfe upon them all. This is so cleare and evident, that *Bellarmino* himselfe confesseth, that all the Apostles may be said to have beene foundations of the Church, and that the Church may be truly said to have beene built upon them all. First, because they preached Christ to such as had not heard of him before, and were the first that founded Christian Churches. Secondly, in respect of their doctrine which they learned by immediate revelation from the Sonne of God, in which the Church is to rest as in the ground and rule of her faith. Thirdly, in respect of government, in that they were all heads and rulers of the universall Church. Thus wee see, if I had told them out of Scripture, that Christ promised to build his Church on *Peter*, our Adversaries could not from thence have inferred the supremacy of the Pope, his pretended Successour. *Lib. 1. de Pont. Rom. c. 11.*

Wherefore let us come to his next allegation. His words are: 'Doctour *Field* and the rest, do ordinarily yeeld, that the *Roman* Church continued the true Church of God till the yeare of Christ sixe hundred and seaven, when *Bonifacius* the Pope there claimed, as they say, supremacie first in the Church. This is a meere imagination of his owne; for I no where speake of the Church continuing till the time of *Bonifacius* the Pope, or till the yeare sixe hundred and seaven, as if it had then ceased, and therefore hee doth not here cite any page of my booke, as in other places, but citeth it at large. But (saith he) 'Doctour *Field* plainly acknowledgeth, that the supremacy belonged to the Popes of *Rome* before the first *Nicene* Councell, and then by the rules which hee giveth to knowe true traditions (custome of the Church, consent of Fathers, or an Apostolicall Churches testimony) this must needs be of that first kinde, and then of equall authority with Scripture, as hee acknowledgeth of such traditions. Such is the intollerable impudency of this man, that I protest I can scarce beleeve mine owne eyes, or perswade my selfe that hee writeth that which I see hee doth. For, doe I any where acknowledge, the supremacy belonged to the Popes of *Rome* before the *Nicene* Councell? Nay, doe I not in the place cited by him, say, that before the *Nicene* Councell, there were three principall Bishoppes or Patriarches of the Christian Church, to witte, the Bishoppes of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*, as appeareth by the Actes of the Councell limiting their bounds? Had these their bounds limited and set unto them, and was there one of them an universall commander? If he say I acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* was in order and honour the first amongst the Patriarches, before the *Nicene* Councell, and thereupon inferre, that I acknowledge his supremacie and commanding power over the rest, hee may as well inferre, that I give to the Bishop of *Alexandria* a commanding authority over the Bishoppe of *Antioche*, because before the *Nicene* Councell he was before him in order and honour. That which he addeth as a Corollary, that by the rules I give to know true traditions, this must be of that kinde, and consequently of equall authority with Scripture, argueth in him a greater desire of saying something, then care what he saith. For first it no way appeareth out of any thing that I have said touching the primacy of the Pope, before the time of the *Nicene* Councell, that either custome of the Church, consent of Fathers, or the testimony of an Apostolicall Church, give the supremacie to the Popes. *2^d*, It is false that hee saith, that I make

I make custome of the Church, or the testimony of the Apostolicall Church, rules whereby to finde out which are true traditions, and which are not. For first, I doe not say, that custome of the Church observing a thing, is a proote that that thing which is so observed was delivered from the Apostles, but such a custome, whereby a thing hath beene observed from the beginning. So that though the Popes had beene supream in power and command before the *Nicene Councell*, which all the Papists and devills in hell shall never prove, yet would it not follow, that this their supremacy were by tradition from the Apostles. Secondly, I doe not make the testimony of an Apostolicall Church to be a rule whereby to know true traditions from false, as he is pleased to belie me, but I disclaime it in the very place cited by him. My words are these. 'The third rule whereby true traditions may be knowne from false, is the constant testimony of the Pastours of an Apostolicall Church successively delivered; to which some adde the present testimony of any Apostolicall Church; but this none of the Fathers admit, neither doe I: The Churches of *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, and *Rome*, are Apostolicall Churches, & whatsoever their Pastors have successively delivered, as received from the Apostles, is undoubtedly Apostolicall; but not every thing, that the Pastours of those Churches that now presently are shall so deliver, seeing they are contrary the one to the other in things of great importance. Thirdly, whereas hee saith, I acknowledge unwritten traditions to bee of equall authority with the Scriptures, he is like himselfe: For I never acknowledge, that there is any matter of faith, of which nature the Popes supremacy is supposed to be, delivered by bare tradition, and not written; but say onely, if any thing may be proved to have beene delivered by lively voice by them that wrote the Scriptures, there is no reason but it should be of as great authority, as if it had beene written.

Two more allegations there are yet behind in this chapter that concerne me. The first, that I say, and Protestants generally agree with mee, that the Regiment of the West Churches (among which this nation is,) belonged to the Pope of *Rome*. It seemeth this man hath a great desire I should say so, and some hope I will say so. But I protest as yet I never wrote any such thing, and therefore here againe, he referreth his Reader to no part of my Booke, as in other places, but citeth it at large, wherein he sheweth more wit then honesty; for it is good to put a man to seeke farre for that, which can no where be found. But what if I had said the Bishop of *Rome* was Patriarch of the West? would that prove an universall power over the whole Church, or such a kind of absolute authority over the Churches of the West, as in latter times by usurpation he exercised over them? Surely I thinke not. But (saith he) Doctour *Downe* saith, before the grant of *Phocas*, the Church of *Rome* had the superiority, and preëminence over all other Churches excepting that of *Constantinople*; and Doctour *Field* telleth him absolutely that the title of *Constantinople* was but intruded and usurped, and when the first *Nicene Councell* gave such honour to the Roman Church, there was not so much as the name of *Constantinople*. This is the last allegation that concerneth mee in this Chapter. The place that hee citeth is neither to be found in the first booke of the Church quoted by him, or any where else. For I no where ever say that the Councell of *Nice* gave supream commaunding authority over all the Churches to the Bishop of *Rome*, but only that it confirmed the distinct jurisdictions of the three Patriarches at *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*. And touching the title of *Constantinople*, whereof he speaketh; if he meane the title of being universall Bishop, it is most true that it was intruded and usurped, as also the like is at this day, by the Bishops of *Rome*, which ^o *Gregory* their predecessour disclaimed, thinking it intollerable that one man should subject to himselfe all the members of the body of Christ, which is his Church. But if he meane the title of being a Patriarch in order the second, having equall priviledges with the Bishop of *Rome*, farre be it from me to thinke it was intruded and usurped, or to condemne the acts of the Councels of *Constantinople* and *Chalcedon* (two of those foure which Saint ^o *Gregory* received as the Foure Gospels) as the *Romanists* doe, because they ^p gave priviledges to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, equall to those of the Bishop of *Rome*. Nay, hereby it appeareth to

^o Greg. lib. 4.
Epi. 38.

^o Greg. l. 1. c. 24.
pist. 24.

^p Concil. Chalced. act. 16.

^q Hieronym. ad Evagrium.

be true that *S. Hierome* was wont to say, *Orbis major est urbe*. For after that *Constantinople*, before named *Byzantium*; was enlarged by *Constantine*, named after his name, and made the seate of the Emperours, though the very name of it was not at all heard of in the time of the *Nicene* Councell, yet in the second generall Councell holden at *Constantinople*, the Bishop thereof was made a Patriarch, and set in order and degree of honour before the other two of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*; and in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, where there were more then 600 Bishops assembled, he was again confirmed in the dignity of a Patriarch, and to have equall priviledges with the Bishop of *Rome*. Against this decree they that supplied the place of *Leo* in the Councell, resisted; and *Leo* himselfe would by no meanes admit, that the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioche* claiming from *Peter*, the one because *Marke* was there placed by him, the other for that in person he abode there for a time, should be put lower, and the Bishop of *Constantinople* who had not like pretence, to sit above them. Yet the Fathers of the Councell, not so much respecting the claime from *Peter*, as the greatnesse of the citie, and thinking it was the greatnesse of the citie of *Rome* during the Emperours presence there that caused the Fathers formerly to give honour to the Bishop of that citie, supposed they might now for the same cause give like honour to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, being become equall in state and magnificence to old *Rome*, and named new *Rome* as every way matching it: and howsoever the succeeding Bishops of *Rome* strove a long while about this matter; yet in the end they were forced to yeeld, and to take the Bishops of *Constantinople* for Patriarches in degree of honour set before the other two.

Leo ep. 53. &

54.

Onuph. annor. in vit. Bonif. 3. apud Platinam.

C H A P. 4.

IN this chapter hee endeavoureth to prove by testimonies of Protestants, that all books received for Scripture by the *Romane* Church, are canonicall: and herein are two things that concerne me: The first, that the *Romane* Church being the spouse of *Christ*, his true Church and pillar of truth, whose communion we must embrace, follow her directions, rest in her judgement, living and dying therein to have eternall life, men might here by my censure and advice confine themselves, and wade no further in so many intricate controversies in religion: the second, that I am or must be of opinion, that all those bookes which the Church of *Rome* received for canonicall, are indeed canonicall. For answer to the former of these allegations. First, I professe before God, men, and Angels, that I neither doe, nor ever did thinke the present *Romane* Church to be the true Church, whose communion we are bound to embrace: but an hereticall Church, with which we may not communicate. Secondly, I professe in like sort, that though I did and doe acknowledge the Church wherein our Fathers lived before *Luthers* time, to have been the true Church of God in respect of the best, and indeede the principall parts thereof, which held a saving profession of the truth of *Christ* (howsoever many, and they greatly prevailing, erred damnably:) yet I never thought it to be that Church, in whose judgement we are to rest without any farther doubt or question: nor that it was safe to follow the greater part of the guides and rulers of it: but the Church in whose judgement we must absolutely and finally rest, is that whole and entire societies of holy ones, which beginning at *Hiernusalem*, and filling the world, continueth unto this day. To refuse the judgement of this Church, or to resist against any thing delivered *ab omnibus, ubique, semper*, in all places, at all times, by all Christian pastors and people not noted for heresie or singularity, were extreame folly and madnesse: so that, as I noted in answer to the first chapter out of *Waldensis*, it is not any particular Church, as the Church of *Africa*, nor the particular *Romane* Church, but the universall Church, nor gathered together in a generall councell, which hath sometimes erred: but the whole Catholique Church dispersed through the world from the baptisme of *Christ* unto our times, which doth undoubtedly hold the true faith, and faithfull testimony of *Jesus*, and in whose judgement wee must absolutely rest without any farther question or doubting, and hereunto agreeth *Vincentius Lirinensis*, prescribing this course to bee followed in

Contra prof. hzret. novitat.

matters

matters questioned, touching faith and religion. If error creepe into one part of the Church, we must looke unto other that still are sound and pure; if into almost the whole present Church, we must looke up higher into former times, & the resolutions of them that have beene since the Apostles times. Thus I hope the Reader will easily perceive that this first allegation is frivolous: For I doe not thinke the present Church of *Rome* to be the true Church of God, whose communion we must embrace, nor that the particular *Romane Church*, when it was at the best, was that Church in the judgement whereof we are absolutely to rest: and therefore let no man confine himselfe here without farther wading into particular controversies, but let every man as he rendreth the salvation of his owne soule, looke to the judgement of other Churches also; and to the resolutions of former times.

Now let us proceede to his second allegation concerning Canonick and Apocryphall bookes of Scripture. His words are, *The Protestant surveyor of the Communion-booke affirmeth plainly, that the Protestants of England must approve for Canonick all those bookes which the Romane Church doth: and Doctour Field is of the same opinion, or must be; for thus he writeth: The ancient and true beleeving Jewes before the comming of Christ (especially such as lived in Greece, and nations out of Jury, commonly called Hellenists) received these bookes for Canonick Scripture.* It is well hee saith not absolutely that I am of that opinion, but that I am or must be; for he is well assured I am not; but he knoweth how to force me to bee, whether I will or not, by falsly reporting my words; and making mee say that I never thought nor said. For doe I any where say, the auncient, and true-beleeving Jewes before the comming of Christ received those bookes for Canonick, especially such as were dispersed among the Gentiles? No surely; but the contrary: namely that the ancient Church of the Jewes did receive those only as divine and canonick which we doe, and not those other in question. I am verily perswaded these men thinke lying to be no sinne; for otherwise, it were not likely that bragging so much of their good workes, and trusting to the merit thereof, they would wittingly runne so often into such a sinne, as wee silly men thinke it to be, and as the spirit of God assureth us it is, being of the number of those that shut men out of the kingdome of God and Christ, according to that in the Revelation, *Without shall be dogges, and inchanters, and whore mongers, and murderers, & idolaters, and whosoever loveth or maketh lyes.* But let us see if hee deale no better in that which followeth: Surely no, hee is constant and ever like himselfe; for hee saith, *Doctour Field writeth thus. The ancient and true beleeving Jewes before the comming of Christ (especially such as lived in Greece, & nations out of Jury, commonly called Hellenists) received those bookes for Canonick Scripture; and to use his owne words, Hence it came that the Jewes delivered a double canon of Scripture to the Christian Churches.* Surely this is not to use, but to abuse my wordes: For I was not so senselesse, as to say, the ancient and true-beleeving Jewes received the bookes in question for Canonick, and that thence it came that they delivered a double Canon of Scripture to the Christian Churches. For if the Jewes generally had received all these bookes for Canonick, but especially the *Hellenists*; then they could not have delivered a double Canon of Scripture, but one onely. Wherefore my wordes are not as hee reporteth them, but having spoken of the 22 bookes of the Old Testament, I adde, *These onely did the ancient Church of the Jewes receive as divine and Canonick; and that other bookes were added unto these, whose authority not being certaine and knowne, are named Apocryphall, fell out in this sort.* The Jewes in their later times, before, and at the comming of Christ, were of two sorts; some properly named *Hebrewes* commorant at Hierusalem and in the holy land; others named *Hellenists*, Jewes of the dispersion, mingled with the Grecians: these had written sundry bookes in Greeke, which they made use of, together with other parts of the old Testament, which they had of the translation of the Septuagint; but the *Hebrewes* received onely the 22 bookes before mentioned: Hence it came that the Jewes delivered a double Canon of the Scripture to the Christian Church; the one pure, indubitate and divine, which is the Hebrew Canon; the other in Greeke enriched with, or rather adulterated by the addition of certaine other bookes written in those dayes, when God raised up no more Prophets among his people.

* Revel. 12. 15.

x Pag. 380.

So

So that the Jewes being of two sorts, *Hebrewes* and *Hellenists*: The *Hebrewes* delivered to the Christian Church onely the 22 bookes of the Old Testament, whereof there is no question, to be the absolute rule and Canon of our faith, and tooke no notice of the bookes now in question: But the *Hellenists* delivered with them these also that are questioned, if not to be the Canon of our faith, yet to be a Canon and rule of direction for matters of conversation and manners, and to be read at least *ad edificatio-nem plebis*, for the edification of the people, though not for confirmation of matters of doctrine. And truly I am perswaded, it cannot be proved that the *Hellenists* ever received these books in question, as any part of the Canon of faith, or absolutely canonicall, but in a sort only, in that they containe a good direction of mens manners: But, saith hee, D. Field speaking of this volume of the *Hellenists*, addeth. *These bookes which are doubted of, joyned in one volume with those 22, whereof there is no question, were translated out of Greeke into Latine, and read by the Latine Church in that translation; and entreating of Saint Augustine and the Latine Fathers, especially in Africa and the third Carthaginian Councell, writeth thus. They reckon the bookes of Scripture according as they found them in use in the Latine Church: then Doctour Field hath absolutely granted that in the Latine Church (under which England is) these Scriptures were ever esteemed as Canonically.* They seeme greatly to desire to end the controversies betweene them and us by publique disputation, and challenge us in such sort, as if wee durst not shew our selves where they should appeare: but surely if they performe no more when they come to disputing then they doe when they write, nor bring no better arguments when they oppose in our schooles, then they publish in their bookes, the very boyes in our Universities will hisse them out. For how will this consequence ever be made good. *Augustine* and the *Africanes* in the third Councell of Carthage reckon the bookes of Scripture as they found them joyned in one volume translated out of *Greeke* into *Latine*, not exactly noting the difference that is betweene them, and so seeme to admit into the Canon those bookes which wee reject: therefore the bookes which we reject were ever esteemed to be Canonically in the *Latine* Church? seeing *Hierome* at the same time translating the Scripture out of *Hebrew*, and exactly learning which bookes pertained to the *Hebrew* Canon, rejected all besides the 22. *Hebrew* bookes, as the *Grecians* did before him, and as after him almost all men of note in the *Latine* Church did. But he will say, *Augustine* and the *Africanes* found the bookes rejected by us in use in the *Latine* Church, as well as the other which we admit to be canonically; therefore they were ever esteemed to be canonically in the *Latine* Church, under which *England* is. This prooffe is too weake; for as I have noted in the place cited by him, the prayer of *Manasses* confessed by our Adversaries to be Apocryphall, the third and fourth of *Esdra*s, and the booke called *Pastor*, were likewise in use in the *Latine* Church, that is read by them of the *Latine* Church, cited by them in their writings, and many things translated out of them into the publique prayers & liturgie of the Church; yet will it not follow that these bookes were ever esteemed as canonically in the *Latine* Church, under which *England* was. It is true indeed that *Augustine* when hee was blamed for citing some testimonies out of the bookes rejected by us, defended his so doing by the practice of the Church which had anciently read the same in her publique assemblies; but not much pressing the authoritie of them, saith, hee can prove the things, for prooffe whereof he alleaged those bookes, out of other that are not doubted of. So that *Cajetanes* opinion is not improbable, that *Augustine* did not thinke these bookes to be absolutely canonically, but in a sort onely, in that they containe many godly instructions, and a good direction for mens manners. That which hee addeth in the last place, that these controverted bookes being translated out of *Greeke* into *Latine*, with the other originally written in *Hebrew*, were in likelihood first delivered by the *Hellenists*, or Jewes of the dispersion, to the *Greeke* Churches, as being in *Greeke* amongst them, is to no purpose: For though we should grant they were so delivered all together, yet they of the *Greeke* Church having an eye to the Canon of the *Hebrewes*, put a difference betweene the one and the other; and never accounted these to bee Canonically, as I have largely proved out,

of the testimonies of *Melito, Origen, Athanasius, Nazianzen, Cyrill, Epiphanius*, and *Damascene*. Thus have we examined the allegations of this Chapter, and found them very weake and frivolous.

C H A P. 5.

IN the fifth Chapter, hee undertaketh to prove, that Protestants confesse the vulgar translation to be the best, & their owne the worst. But because he alleageth nothing to this purpose out of any thing that I have written, I will passe from him to the next, not doubting but they who are wronged by him, will make him know that he undertaketh much, and proveth little.

C H A P. 6.

IN the sixth Chapter, wherein he undertaketh to prove by the confession of Protestants, that the true, lawfull, and juridicall exposition of Scriptures is in the *Romane Church*, & not with the Protestants, he endeavoureth to shew that I confesse so much: His words are these. *D. Field* confesseth, that 'neither conference of places, nor consideration of the *Antecedentia & Consequentia*, nor looking into the originals, are of any force, unlesse we finde the things which we conceive to be understood & meant in the places interpreted, to be consonant to the rule of faith: therefore he confesseth, that the warranted exposition of Scripture belongeth to the *Romane Church*. This consequence I deny as strange, & absurd: wherefore let us see if he make any shew of proving it. He addeth, that I teach, the rule of faith must be tryed either by the generall practise of the Church, the renowned of all ages, or the Pastours of an Apostolicall Church, which, as the world can witnesse, no Protestant can make claime unto: as if from hence it would follow (which is the thing he goeth about to prove, or else he doth nothing) that all warranted exposition of Scripture belongeth to the *Romane Church*. Whatsoever become of the consequence of this argument, there are many exceptions to be taken to the antecedent of it. For first, I doe not give these three rules whereof he speaketh, whereby to know the rule of faith, but to know true traditions from false. Secondly, I do not say, the generall practise of the Church, the renowned of all ages, & the Pastors of an Apostolicall Church, are the rules whereby true traditions may bee knowne from false; but the generall practise of the Church from the beginning, the report, and testimony of the most renowned and famous in all ages, and the testimony of the Pastors of an Apostolique Church, successively delivered from the beginning, not the present testimony of an Apostolicall Church. Thirdly, we will never admit any pretended traditions, unlesse they may be confirmed unto us by one of these rules: and if our Adversaries can prove any of their supposed traditions by these rules, we will willingly acknowledge them, and therefore I know no reason why wee may not make claime unto them.

He addeth, that I condemne private interpretations; as if ever any Protestant had allowed any private interpretation in that sense that I dislike it, or as if our Religion were grounded upon private interpretations. But the good man might have beene pleased to remember, that in the place cited by him; I distinguish three kindes of private interpretations: whereof one is named private, for that they that so interpret, neglect the common rules of direction, rely upon secret revelations knowne to none but themselves, and despise the judgement of other men. Another, because the person so interpreting in private, and yet presumptuously taketh upon him to force all others to embrace the same, having no authority so to do. The 3^d is, when, as the person is of private condition, so he seeketh onely to satisfie himselfe in it, and no way presumeth to prescribe to others to follow that he resolveth on, farther then by reason & higher authority he can inforce the same. The first kinde of private interpretations we detest and accurse. The 2^d we condemne as presumptuous. The 3^d we approve, and so doe our Adversaries, for ought I know: and therefore I know not to what purpose he citeth this saying of mine, that *private men may not so propose their interpretations, as if they would binde all other men to embrace and receive them.*

Thas

That which followeth, that I make three kindes of interpretation, and affirme, that none have authority so to interpret Scripture, as that they may subject all that dissent from the same to excommunication and censures of like nature, but Bishops assembled in a generall Councell, is so true, that neither hee, nor any other in his right wits will ever deny it. For who hath authority so to interpret Scripture, as to subject them to excommunication that dissent, but the governors of the Church? and who so, as to subject all that dissent, but they that are the governors of the whole, as are the Bishops of the whole Christian Church, assembled in a generall Councell? But, saith he, Protestants have never had any generall Councell; therefore they have no warranted interpretations of Scripture. If this consequence be good, the Christians for the space of 300 yeares after Christ had no warranted interpretations of Scripture, for till the reigne of *Constantine* there was no generall Councell. But the Protestants can have no generall Councell, therefore they have not amongst them the highest & supreme binding authority & judgement. Surely we confesse, that being but a part of the Christian Church, they cannot have a Councell absolutely generall out of themselves alone; and therefore not having the highest binding authority amongst them, it being found only in the whole universall Church, they do not take upon them so to interpret Scriptures, as to subject all to excommunication that refuse their interpretations, but such particular Churches and persons only as are under their jurisdiction. The Papists indeed in the heighth of their pride being but a part, contemning all other interessed in the supreme binding judgement as well as themselves, assume and appropriate it to themselves alone, in which claime we may rather see the height of their pride, then the clearnesse of their right: and therefore the *Grecians* impute all the divisions and breaches of the Christian world unto them, in that they presumed of themselves without them to interpret the Scriptures, and to define certaine questions touching the faith, in such sort that they subjected them to *Anathema* and excommunication, so casting them all into hell as much as lay in them. These inconsiderate proceedings, and rash censures did such harme, that the wisest, most religious, and moderate in the *Latine* Church, wished they had never beene passed, or that they were reversed & called back againe. But, saith he, let any man enter into a serious consideration of Protestant doctrine in this point, that under paine of damnation we are bound to find and follow the truth; that generall Councils as before, may subject every man disobeying their determinations to excommunication and censures of like nature, the most terrible and fearefull punishment of this world; in all judgements Ecclesiasticall, even generall Councils may erre and have erred even in things pertaining to God, as is defined in their Articles, and is commonly taught & beleevved with them: this consideration is able to put men not regardlesse of salvation, into more then a quaking palsey. What the meaning of the good man is in this passage, I doe not well conceive: For I see not but all these considerations may well stand together; that the truth is to be found out and followed upon paine of damnation, that Councils may erre, and yet have power to subject such as disobey their determinations to excommunication, the most terrible and fearefull punishment of this world, without any danger of causing men to fall into a quaking palsey. For are they all in state of damnation that are excommunicated, whether justly or unjustly? or may no man subject men to excommunication but hee that cannot erre? Surely all men know that not onely Popes and particular Bishops, but even generall Councils may erre in matters of fact, and excommunicate a man unjustly for resisting their determinations. And doth not *Saint Augustine* shew that by the meanes of prevailing factions, men may bee unjustly excommunicated, and never restored to the outward communion of the Church againe, & yet die in state of salvation? nay, be rewarded for the patient enduring of the wrongs offered them, by them by whom they were excommunicated? It is no such absurd thing then, that they may erre, who have authority to excommunicate. But perhaps his meaning is, that if Councils may erre, there is no certaine way to find out the truth, which yet every man is bound upon perill of damnation to find and follow: and that it is the consideration hereof, that is able to put a man into a quaking palsey. Surely this man seemeth to feare where there is no feare: for are there no

b Orat. de caus. dissent. Eccles. apud Nilum.

c Gerson. part. 4. serm. de pace & unitate Græcorum.

d Turecrem. l. 2. de eccles. c. 93. Bellar. de Pont. Rom. l. 4. c. 11. *e* August. de vera Relig. c. 6.

f Lib. 1. de con-
cil. cap. 10.

other meanes to find out the truth, when questions and doubts trouble the Church, & distract the mindes of men, but generall Councils? How did the Fathers in the Primitive Church, during the time of the first three hundred yeares, satisfie themselves, and such as depended of them, in the midst of so many, so horrible and damnable heresies as then rose up? Doth not *Bellarmine* from hence inferre, that though generall Councils bee a very fit and good meanes to end controversies, and settle the differences that may arise in the Church, and so much to be desired, yet if they cannot be had, the truth may bee found out by other meanes? yea have not the Fathers in factious times complained, that they never saw good end of any Councell? and yet were resolved in matters of the faith, and able to settle others also.

C H A P. 7.

g Galat. 1.

h Pag. 375.

i Pag. 376.

IN this Chapter, wherein he indeavoureth to shew that traditions are of equall authority with Scripture, and yet prove the *Romane* Religion, he hath these words. *The dignity and authority of unwritten and Apostolicall traditions being lawfully proved, was ever esteemed such, that M. Wootton affirmeth, out of all question we are bound to keep them, and telleth, that M. Perkins was of the same minde.* This is an ill beginning, for whereas hee should prove, that the Apostles delivered some matters of faith by bare tradition without writing, he bringeth forth some that say, if it could be proved that any things was so delivered, it were to be received with no lesse regard then if it had beene written; which is, as if a man should undertake to prove out of *Pauls* Epistles, that the Angels in Heaven, and the Apostles of *CHRIST* are to be anathematized and accursed, because hee saith, *If wee, or an Angell from heaven preach any other doctrine then that yee have received, hold him accursed.* Wherefore to helpe the matter, and to make some shew at the least: whereas wee say, If any thing could be proved to have beene delivered by the Apostles, by tradition, it were no lesse to be esteemed then things of the same nature written by them; he citeth our words as if we confessed there were certaine unwritten Apostolicall traditions, which were ever esteemed equall with the Scripture, but not before they were proved to be such. *D. Field*, saith he, speaketh of such traditions in these words; There is no reason but these should bee equall with Scripture: for it is not the writing that giveth these things their authority; but the worth & credite of him that delivereth them, though but by word and lively voice onely. In this allegation he wrongeth me no lesse, then in other before; for these are not my words, as he untruly affirmeth against his owne knowledge, but speaking of the diverse kindes of unwritten traditions imagined by the Papists, I say. All these in their severall kindes they make equall with the words, precepts & doctrines of Christ, the Apostles, and Pastors of the Church, lefr unto us in writing; neither is there any reason why they should not doe so, if they could prove any such unwritten verities: for it is not the writing that giveth things their authority, but the worth and credite of him that delivereth them. The onely doubt is, whither there be any such traditions or not? Is this to acknowledge that there are unwritten traditions of equall authority with the Scriptures? If one of his fellowes should tell him, if hee were Pope he could not erre, would he inferre, his fellow were so mad to thinke he could not erre, that doth nothing else but erre, and mistake all that he citerh? But he saith, I adde, that the *perpetuall virginity of our Lady was a tradition, & only received by such authority; & so do other Protestants: & that both they & I acknowledge Helvidius was condemned of heresie, & justly for denyall thereof: which could not be, except to deny the doctrine of true traditions were to deny the word of God in their judgments.* This is another notable and shamelesse falsification. For, I neither say, the perpetuall virginity of our Lady was a tradition, nor that *Helvidius* was condemned, and that justly for the deniall thereof, but my wordes are. *The Canon of Scripture being admitted as delivered by tradition, though the divine truth of it bee in it selfe cleare, not depending of the Churches authority, there is no matter of Faith delivered by bare and onely traditions, as the Romanists imagine. The onely cleare instance they seeme to give, is touching the perpetuall virginity of Mary, which they say cannot be proved by*

by Scripture, and yet is necessary to be beleaved. But they should know that this is no poynt of Christian faith. That shee was a virgine before, in, and after the birth of Christ, wee are bound to beleave as an article of our faith, and so much is delivered in Scripture, and in the Apostles Creede; but that shee continued so ever after is a seemely truth, fitting the sanctitie of the blessed Virgine, and is de pietate, but not de necessitate fidei. Neither was Helvidius condemned of heresie for the denyall hereof; but by such as thought it might be proved out of Scripture, or by such as detested and condemned his madnesse and desperate singularity, in pertinaciously urging the denyall of it upon mis-construction of Scripture, as if the denyall of it had beene a matter of faith. And surely whatsoever this man thinke to the contrary; ¹ Melchior Can- Log. Theol. lib. 12. fol. 445
nus is of opinion that the perpetuall virginity of Mary the mother of our Lord, is not beleaved onely or principally as delivered by tradition, but that the very consideration of the respect that was due to so sanctified a vessell of the incarnation of the Sonne of God, as was her body, would make us perswade our selves shee never knew man after shee was so much honoured as to be the mother of God. This consideration, no doubt, moved the Fathers to be of this opinion, rather then any tradition.

In the next place hee setteth downe my discourse and division of traditions approved by Protestants in the 20. chapter of my fourth booke of the Church, leaving out diverse things in setting downe the same for his most advantage, as the Reader will easily perceive, if hee peruse the place. But to what purpose he produceth this discourse & division of mine, I know not. For first, if he thinke that I now yeeld more unto them in the matter of traditions, then our Divines heretofore have done, as hee seemeth to doe, in that he saith, though untruly, that I prevent and confute the usuall objections of Protestants about the doctrine of traditions, he is greatly deceived. ¹ For De tradit. ex i. decreto 4. sessi- onis.
Chemnitius in his *Examen* of the *Tridentine* Councell admitteth all those kinds of traditions which I have delivered. I will set downe his discourse in his owne words, that the reader may see he saith fully as much as I have done. *Primum genus traditionum est, quod Apostoli tradiderunt doctrinam vivā voce, sed illa postea in scriptura literis consignata est. Secundum genus traditionum est, quod Libri Scripturae sacrae non interrupta serie temporum, sicut Augustinus loquitur, & certa connexionis successione ab Ecclesia custoditi, & fideliter ad posteros transmissi, nobisque quasi per manus traditi sunt. Tertium genus traditionum constituimus illud, de quo loquuntur Irenaeus lib. 3. & Tertullianus de Praescript: Recitant autem quid sit illud quod ex traditione probant, & sunt illi ipsi articuli fidei, quos symbolum Apostolicum complectitur. Illos autem in scriptura multis manifestis testimoniis tradi nullum est dubium. Quartum genus traditionum est, de expositione, vero sensu, seu nativā sententiā scriptura. Quintum genus traditionum constituimus illud, quod Patres aliquando ita vocant illa dogmata quae non totidem literis & syllabis in scripturā ponuntur, sed bonā, certā, firmā & manifestā Ratiocinatione ex perspicuis scripturae testimoniis colliguntur. Sextum genus traditionum constituimus illud, quod de Catholico Patrum consensu dicitur. Septimum genus traditionum est, quod ubi Veteres mentionem faciunt traditionum non scriptarum, proprie non intelligunt dogmata fidei extra & prae Scripturam recipienda, etiamsi nullo Scripturae testimonio probare possunt, sed de ritibus & consuetudinibus quibusdam vetustis loquuntur, quos propter antiquitatem ad Apostolos retulerunt. Verisimile est quosdam etiam alios externos ritus, qui in scripturā annotati non sunt, ab Apostolis traditos esse, & nullis quidem certis & firmis documentis probari potest qui sunt ritus certō ab Apostolis traditi, qui ex Scripturā ostendi non possunt.* These are the words of *Chemnitius*, whereby it appeareth, that he admitteth all those kinds of tradition which I doe, and yet rejecteth the imagined traditions of Papists. *D. Whitaker* likewise acknowledgeth, that the Apostles of Christ ordained & m Whitak. disp. de sacra script. quæst. 6. con-rov. 2 cap. 6.
appointed in the Churches certaine rites, and observations for order and comlineffe, which they did not commit to writing, because they were not of necessity to be perpetually observed in one and the same sort, but dispensable according to the circumstance of times and places. This hee proveth out of the first to the *Corinthians*, and 11 and 14 Chapters. Secondly, if hee thinke their erroneous opinion touching

traditions, may be inferred from any thing that I acknowledge, he seemeth to be too weake in understanding, and not to know what the state of the question is betweene them and us; for the question is not, whether there be any traditions or not, but whether (it being first supposed, that the Prophets, Apostles, and other holy men of God left unto posterities divine and sacred bookes, and it being agreed upon, which they are) they containe all things necessary to be knowne and practised by Christian men, for the attaining of everlasting life and salvation. Wee say, they doe. Neither can he prove the contrary out of any thing written by me. For I acknowledge nothing to have beene delivered by tradition, but the bookes of Scripture, things therein in some sort contained, and certaine dispenseable observations not at all, or hardly to be discerned from Ecclesiasticall constitutions.

Let us see therefore what he can conclude out of any thing that I have written for the confirmation of the *Romish* error. 'To make, saith he, a short reflexion upon his doctrine, by his first rule of traditions; he must grant unto us which I have proved before at large, that all those bookes which the *Romane* Church approveth for Scripture, together with the speciall doctrines of prayer for the dead, to Angels, &c. are traditions. For Doctor *Field* and his rules doe so assure us. It seemes my case is harder then I was ware of, and my danger greater then I supposed it had beene. But what are those rules assigned by me, which assure us that all the bookes approved by the *Romane* Church are Canonically? Have they beene ever holden to bee so? Have the most famous in all ages, or at the least in diverse ages constantly delivered them unto us, as received by them from those that went before them, no man doubting of them? Did the Pastors of any Apostolicall Church in the world successively deliver them as Canonically to their after-commers? He knoweth they did not. For as I have elsewhere proved, *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Origen*, *Athanasius*, *Hilary*, *Nazianzene*, *Cyrill*, *Epiphanius*, the Councell of *Laodicea*, *Ruffinus*, *Hierome*, *Gregory*, *Damasce*, *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, *Petrus Cluniacensis*, *Lynanus*, *Dionysius Carthusianus*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Occham*, *Picus Mirandula*, *Waldensis*, *Armachanus*, *Driedo*, *Cajetane*, and all the most famous Divines in all ages reject them, save onely *Augustine*, the third Councell of *Carthage*, & some few other; who yet as *Cajetane* thinketh, received them not as absolutely canonically, but in a sort onely, in that they containe a convenient good direction of manners. The Reader, I doubt not, will easily see his folly in this point. But it may bee, the speciall doctrines of prayer for the dead, and to Angels, whereof hee speaketh, will bee found Apostolicall traditions, by those rules that I allow of. Surely no, for howsoever it was a most ancient and laudable custome of the Church to remember the names of the dead at the holy Altar, and Table of the Lord, with desire of their and our finall consummation and publique acquittall in the day of CHRIST, and some particular men doubtfully extended the same practise and custome farther to the mitigating, suspending, or totall removing or taking away of the punishments of Christian men dying in the state of mortall sinne: yet the Popish opinion of Purgatory, and prayer to deliver men from thence, were not once heard of in the Primitive Church, nor are yet received by the greatest part of the Christian world. Touching prayer to Angels, it was condemned by the Apostle Saint *Paul*, the Councell of *Laodicea*,^a *Augustine*, and *Theodore*, but that the Church did invoke Angels from the beginning, that the most famous in all ages did teach them so to doe, or the Pastours of any Apostolicall Church successively one from another, which are my rules he speaketh of, neither he, nor any Papist living can ever prove.

The second thing hee would inferre out of my words is, that we must of necessitie resort to the *Romish* Church to know and learne the forme of Christian doctrine, the explication of the severall parts thereof, and the obscurities of Scripture, for that I say the Apostles delivered the forme of Christian doctrine as a tradition to posterities, and no posterity of Protestants can be of this posterity, because both their priorities & posterities deny traditions. Thus then the good Authour reasoneth. The Protestants are none of those posterities to which the forme of Christian doctrine hath bin derived

^a Page 381. &
382. of the 4.
booke of the
Church.

^a Aug. de vera
relig. c. 55.
^p Theod. in ep.
ad Col. cit. Sy-
nod. Laod.

ved from the Apostles by the line of succession: therefore we must resort to the *Roman* Church to know it. The antecedent of this argument he proveth, because as he saith, both priorities and posterities of Protestants deny all traditions. Surely the man committeth so many faults in this one silly argument, that I know not well what first to except against: For neither is it consequent, that if Protestants bee not of that posterity to which the forme of Christian doctrine was commended and delivered from the Apostles, that wee must of necessitie seeke to the *Romane* Church to learne it. Neither doe Protestants deny all traditions, as he untruly affirmeth, but onely the false imagined and vaine traditions of Papists and other heretickes. Wee therefore to silence this trifler, doe professe, that the forme of Christian doctrine is not to be sought in the *Romane* Church alone, or the other Christian Churches that now presently are in the world, but in the consenting voyce of Pastours and people succeeding one another; they that went before ever reporting and delivering to them that came after them, the things they had learned of their elders, that so what doctrine the Apostles first delivered, might by their over-commers bee delivered to all posterities. Of these posterities wee professe our selves to bee, receiving without any doubt or questioning, whatsoever wee finde to have beene delivered in all places, at all times, by all Christian men, not noted for heresie or singularity, and rejecting those things that have no testimony of antiquity: as the Popes not erring, his universalitie of jurisdiction, his power and right to dispose the kingdomes of the world, private Masses, halfe Communiones, Papall indulgences, and all such things as any way carry the marke of novelty and singularity. 'But, saith he, D. Field in the fourth and fifth kindes of traditions speaketh of them in the plurall number, and yet giveth no example of the fourth, but the baptisme of infants, nor of the fifth and last, but the observation of Lent, and Sunday, or the Lords day: therefore hee must seeke for more then hee remembreth, and consequently in all equall judgement, as many articles of Catholique Religion, as wee claime by tradition. The answer hereunto is easie; for touching the fourth kinde of tradition I define it to bee the continued practise of such things, as are neither contained in Scripture expressly, nor the example of such practise there clearely and expressly delivered, though the grounds, reasons, and causes of the necessitie of such practise bee there contained, and the benefit or good that followeth of it. The onely example I give of this kinde of tradition, is the baptisme of infants: yet may I speake in the plurall number, as I doe, because not onely the baptisme of infants is of this sort, but many very materiall things belonging thereunto; as that in time of danger of death, they are to be baptized with all possible speede, lest wee seeme to contemne or neglect the Sacrament: that this may bee done in private houses, either by dipping or sprinkling, as well before as after the eighth day. If this Authour can tell us of any more examples of things of this kinde, the necessitie whereof may bee proved out of Scripture, though the practise of them bee not there expressed, wee will admit them, but they will make nothing for the confirmation of Popish unwritten traditions, seeing such things are written in respect of the causes & grounds of the necessity of observing them, though not by way of expresse precept, or report of practise: and therefore it will not follow from any thing that I have said in the judgement of any man, though not indifferent, nor equall that I must admit so many Articles of Religion, as Papists shall be pleased to claime by tradition. Of the fifth and last kinde of traditions, which hee divideth into two, though I make but one, I give but onely one example: which is the observation of the Lords day, which yet appeareth by Scripture to have beene in use even in the Apostles times. For touching the Lent Fast, I do not give it for an example, as he untruly reporteth, but onely having described the fifth kinde of traditions, say, that some thinke the Lent Fast, and the Fast of the fourth and sixth dayes of the weeke, to be of this kinde.

The next thing which he urgeth in his reflexion upon my doctrine, as he tearmeth it, is, that if the traditions of the last kinde bee confounded with Ecclesiasticall constitutions, as I say they are, that we might the more reverence the constitutions of the

Church, wee must at last recant our contempt and dislike against them. For answer hereunto, I will first shew that the traditions of the last sort, are so confounded with Ecclesiasticall constitutions, that it can hardly be certainly knowne which they are. Secondly, that wee never disliked the ancient constitutions of the Primitive and first Church, and therefore need not recant any such dislike. That Apostolicall traditions of the last kinde are confounded with Ecclesiasticall constitutions, it is most cleare & evident, in that some reckon one thing, and some another; and our Adversaries dare not peremptorily say, which amongst those traditions diversely and differently mentioned by the Fathers, are Apostolicall, and which not. *Tertullian* accounteth all these following to be Apostolicall traditions; thrice dipping of them that are baptized; the interrogatories, responses, and words of sacred stipulation used in Baptisme; the renouncing of the Divell, his Angels, and the pompe of the world when we come to the water of Baptisme; and before in the presence of the Bishop; the fore-tasting of milke and honey, and the abstaining from bathing and washing a whole weeke after; the taking, or receiving of the holy Sacrament in the time of ordinary repast, oblations for the dead, and for their birth-dayes every yeare the same day they dyed, standing at prayers on the Lords day, and from Easter to Whitsontide, and the signing of mens fore-heads with the signe of the crosse; *Harum, faith he, & aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies: traditio tibi pretenditur auctrix, consuetudo confirmatrix, fides observatrix:* that is, Of these and the like observations if thou seeke for any written law or precept, thou shalt finde none. Tradition will be alleaged unto thee, as authour of them, custome as the confirmer, and faith as the observer. Hereunto some¹ adde, praying towards the East, ² baptizing at Easter and Whitsontide onely; *Hierome* accounteth the Lent-fast amongst traditions of this sort. His words are, "*Nos unam quadragesimam secundum traditionem Apostolorum toto anno, tempore nobis congruo, jejunamus:*" We fast one Lent according to the tradition of the Apostles in the whole yeare, at a fit and seasonable time; to whom ³ *Jansenius* agreeth, saying, that the observation of the Lent-fast seemeth to have proceeded from the tradition of the Apostles, which though perhaps it did not binde all by any expresse precept from the beginning; yet being kept in all ages, and in all parts of the world, had the strength and force of a law. I thinke there is no Papist will say certainly that all these were Apostolicall traditions, but whether they doe or not, it is most certaine they thinke themselves no more bound to keepe them then meere Ecclesiasticall constitutions, which are established by the authority of the Church, and may by the same be abrogated and reversed againe, in that the most part of all these are out of use in the *Romane* Church. For they thinke not thrice dipping necessary, following therein the authority of ⁴ Saint *Gregory*; they fore-taste not milke and honey, nor milke and wine when they are baptized; they abstaine not from bathing a whole weeke after baptisme; they stand not at their prayers from Easter to Whitsontide, nor on the Lords dayes; they keepe not the Lent-fast as the Primitive Church did, and as all other Churches of *Greece, Armenia* and *Ethiopia* doe to this day by eating nothing till night, and by abstaining from wine, strong drinke, and whatsoever is pleasing, but they make a meere mocke of God and men in their observation of Lent, and other fasts, in saying a part of their Even-song in the morning, that so after the ending thereof, at dinner time men may be thought to goe to supper, and to do as the Fathers did, that did eate nothing on their fasting-dayes, till the evening; they fast not the Wednesday, which in the Primitive Church was fasted as precisely as Friday, but in steede hereof they faste on Saturday, which anciently was not fasted in many Churches, nor yet is in the Churches of the East; they baptize at any time in the yeare; If they have disused and left off these observations, as no doubt they will professe they have, let them not thinke that wee contemne or condemne all those ancient customes which we use not, but have a due respects to circumstances of times, and the different states of things. *Tertullian* and the ancients thought it *Nefas*, an unlawfull thing to kneele at prayers on the Lords day: wee thinke it very lawfull, fit, and seemely; yet are we not contrary to the Fathers. They suffered none to be baptized, but onely at

Easter

¹ Tertul. de corona militis.

² Basil. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 27.

³ Leo epist. 4. univers. Episc. per Siciliam.

⁴ Hieronym. ad Marcel. advers. Montan.

⁵ In concord. Evang. c. 15.

⁶ Greg. lib. 1. epist. 41.

Easter & Whitsonide, we admit men to baptize at all times; they dipped those whom they baptized, thrice; we but once: they signed themselves with the signe of the crosse, when they went out, and when they came in, when they put on, and when they put off their apparell; we by reason of the abuse of this harmefulle ceremony, in that it was used by the *Romanists*, not as an outward profession of their faith in him that was crucified, or a silent invocation of his name, but to drive away divels, still tempests, cure diseases, and remit veniall sinnes *ex opere operato*, use this ceremony more sparingly, yet doe we not wholly neglect it, but signe our new baptized infants with this glorious marke and character of the crucified Saviour of the world: they mingled water with that wine which they consecrated in the blessed Sacrament, because even in ordinary use their wines being hot, were wont so to be allayed: we not having the like reason of mixture, mingle not water with wine in the Sacrament, as likewise the *Armenians* doe not, yet are we not contrary to the ancient Christians, nor contemners of olde observations. So that to conclude this point, wee approve the laying of *Hierome*, answering the question whether it were lawfull to faste on the Saturday, or not. His words are: *Ego illud te breviter admonendum puto, traditiones Ecclesiasticas, praesertim quae fidei non officiant, ita observandas ut à majoribus traditae sunt, nec aliorum consuetudinem, aliorum contrario more subvertis: atque usinam omni tempore jejunare possemus, quod in Actibus Apostolorum diebus Pentecostes & die Dominico Apostolum Paulum, & cum eo credentes fecisse legimus: nec tamen Manichae hareses accusandi sunt, cum carnalis cibus praeferrì non debeat spirituali, nec hoc dico quod Dominici diebus jejunandum, putem, & contextas sexaginta diebus ferias auferam, sed unaquaque provincia abundet in sensu suo, & praecepta majorum leges Apostolicas arbitretur.* Wherefore let us proceed to see if he have any thing else to say in this his reflexion, as he calleth it, upon my doctrine.

z Hier. ad Lucinium.

His fourth allegation is, that the rules I assigne cannot tell of any traditions to advantage Protestants which deny traditions: but that both traditions and rules to know them, must of necessity belong to the Church Apostolique of *Rome*, being in this question a rule of it selfe, as I have declared. Surely it seemeth the good man knoweth not what he saith: for in the beginning of this Chapter hee affirmeth, though falsely, that I acknowledge the perpetuall virginity of our Lady to be a tradition, and onely received by such authority, and other Protestants doe so likewise. And in the end of the Chapter, he bringeth in his Majesty, the Bishop of *Winchester*, and Doctour *Covell*, admitting diverse traditions: and yet here he saith, Protestants admit no traditions. If he say, that they now admit them, but formerly did not, he is refuted by *Brentius* and *Chemnitius* before cited: who though they deny, as we doe, that there is any article of Faith, or materiall or substantiall point of Christian doctrine delivered by bare tradition, and not written, yet acknowledge all those kindes of traditions that we now doe. In that which he hath, that the rules assigned by me, can tell of no traditions that advantage Protestants, and that therefore both traditions and rules to know them, must of necessity belong to the Church Apostolique of *Rome*, there are not a few, but very many and grosse faults committed: For first, the consequence is naught, the rules to know true traditions from false, can tell of none to advantage Protestants, therefore they belong to the *Romish* Church: and is no lesse absurd, then if a man should conclude in this sort. *Parsons* the Jesuite is not a Cardinall, though hee had once Skarlet brought to his lodging in *Rome* to make his robes, as *Watson* testifieth: therefore the Authour of these pretended proofes hath right to put on those robes. For as there are others fit to be Cardinals, though neither *Parsons* nor this good Author be: so there are other societies of Christians in the world besides the *Romanists* and Protestants, to which traditions and rules to know them may pertain, if Protestants have no claime to them. But the *Romane* Church is an Apostolicall Church, planted by the Apostles of *Christ*, and receiving an Epistle from blessed *Paul*, wherein shee is commended: therefore in my judgement she hath not onely claime to traditions, is a rule to know them by. This consequence is as bad as the former: for I doe not make the present profession, testimony, or judgement of every Apo-

Apostolicall Church to bee a rule to know true traditions by, seeing there would bee no certainty in such a rule: the present profession of the Apostolicall Churches of *Rome, Ephesus, Sardis, and Philadelphia*, being contrary the one to the other; but the constant testimony that the Pastors of such a Church hath given from the beginning. But his Majestie in open Parliament acknowledged the *Romane* Church to bee our mother Church; therefore we must beleve in all things as she doth, & by no meanes forsake her, or depart from her. For the clearing of the meaning of this speech of his Majestie, and the silencing of these cavillers, wee must note that the Churches of Christ in the world are of two sorts: for some were planted by the Apostles themselves, or their coadjutors the Evangelists by their directions, which are named Apostolicall Churches; and some other there are, that received not the faith immediately from the Apostles or their coadjutors, but from the Churches which the Apostles had planted. The former of these were ever esteemed to be mother Churches, in respect of the latter. So the Churches of *Alexandria, Antioche, Ephesus*, and the like, were mother Churches to many famous Churches in those parts of the world; and so the *Romane* Church is a mother Church to many Churches of the West, that received their Christianity and faith from her: neither may the daughter Churches, as his Majesty excellently observed, depart farther from those mother Churches, from which they received the faith, then they are departed from themselves in their best estate, & first establishment: but as the *Romanists* thinke it lawfull for the daughter Churches of the East to depart from those their mother Churches, from which they received their faith, because, as they suppose, they are gone from their first faith: so we thinke with his Majesty, that we may justly depart from our mother Church of *Rome*, because she hath forsaken her first faith commended by the Apostle, and is so farre changed, that a man may seeke *Rome* in *Rome*, and not finde it. That which he addeth, that no rules can leade us to the finding out of any traditions that advantage us, is most untrue: For the certaine and indubitate tradition, whereby the Scriptures are delivered unto us from the Apostles of Christ, doth advantage us so much, that thereby the Papacy is almost shaken to peeces; and besides, the forme of Christian doctrine, & Catholique interpretation of Scripture, brought downe unto us from the Apostles, discovereth unto us the novelties and singularities of the *Romanists*, to our great advantage, and confirmation in the truth of our profession.

Having thus in his fancie engrossed all traditions, & appropriated them to the present *Romane* Church, he goeth forward and inferreth out of my admitting some kinde of traditions, and assigning rules to know them, that divers particular thinges which he specifieth, are traditions. The two first instances that hee giveth, are the signe of the crosse, and the mingling of water with wine in the holy Sacrament, wherof I have spoken before. The third, is the reverence of Images; which he saith, is by my rules, proved to be an Apostolicall tradition. It is well he dareth not say, the worshipping of Images is proved to be Apostolicall, for that by ^a Saint *Gregory* and the Fathers, it will be proved to be rather a Diabolicall then an Apostolicall tradition. Wherefore let us see what those rules are that prove the reverence of Images to be Apostolicall, seeing it is evident ^b the Church had them not at all for a long time, and ^c *Eusebius* assur-eth us, the making and having of them, was by imitation of Heathenish custome. The rules, saith he, that prove this, are the Pastors of the Apostolicall Churches in the second Nicene Councell, and old custome; but these are no rules assigned by me: For I never admit the judgement of the present Pastors of Apostolicall Churches, or custome to be rules to know true traditions by, and therefore much lesse make the Bishops in the second Councell of *Nice* to bee rules of this sort; but the consenting profession of the Pastours of an Apostolicall Church, successively from the beginning, and the generall and perpetuall observation of a thing from the time that Christianity was first known in the world, by neither of which he shall ever prove, either the worshipping or reverencing of Images, to be Apostolicall. The fourth thing that hee saith by my rules is found to bee an Apostolicall tradition, is sacrifice and prayer for the dead; but herein he is deceived, or goeth about to deceive others, as in the rest. For it is true indeede,

that

^a Greg. l. 9. ep. 9.

^b August. in Pl.

^c Euseb. l. 7. hi-

stor. cap. 17.

that the offering of the sacrifice and prayse of thanksgiving, the naming of the dead, and prayer for their and our joynt consummation and publicke acquittall in the day of CHRIST, is such an Apostolicall tradition as hath ground in Scripture; but, he can never prove, that the offering of a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, or prayer to deliver them out of Purgatory paines, was delivered as a tradition from the Apostles, by any of my rules, to wit, consent of Fathers from the beginning, or continued practise from the Apostles times. The like I say of his fifth instance, for hee cannot prove the vow of single life in Priests to have beene from the beginning; but I have largely proved the contrary in my fifth booke of the Church. So that the vow of single life is not proved out of any of the rules set downe by mee to be an Apostolicall tradition. Wherefore let us proceede to the rest of his instances. He telleth us in the next place, that we may resolve with the ancient Fathers, that Reliques are to be revered is a tradition, because M. Willet telleth us, *Vigilantius* was condemned of heresie for denying it. Surely it is greatly to be doubted, that hee is not a sound and perfect *Romish* Cathololique, for that he dareth not to say the worshipping of Images and Reliques, is a tradition, but minseth the matter, and saith onely, the reverencing of them is a tradition. For touching the reverence of Reliques if hee meane nothing else thereby, but the reverent and honourable laying up of such parts of the bodies of Gods Saints, as come to our hands, it is a Christian duty that we stand bound unto, so that not onely M. Willet, but we all think *Vigilantius* was justly condemned, if he either despised or contemptuously used the dead bodies of the Saints. Neither neede we flie to unwritten tradition to seeke proofes for the necessity of this duty, for they are plentionssly found in Scripture; but if he meane by the reverencing of Reliques, the shewing of them to be touched and adored, we think it impiety, and know it was forbidden by *S. Gregory*, who condemneth the bringing forth of any parts of the bodies of Gods Saints departed, into the sight of men, to be seene or handled of them. That particular and personall absolution from sinne after confession, is an Apostolicall and godly ordinance, which is his next instance, we make no doubt; but deny that it is an unwritten ordinance: neither can this good man prove it so to bee. For doth *Christ* in Scripture give the keyes of the kingdome of heaven to the Apostles and their successors, with power to binde, and power to loose, with power to remit, and power to retaine sinnes? and is it not a written veritie, that particular absolution is necessary? His Majestie, on whom he fathereth this tradition, did most learnedly and excellently distinguish in the conference he mentioneth, three kinde of absolution from sinne, making the first to bee the freeing of men from such punishments of Almighty God, as sinne subjecteth them unto, in that they offend him: and this is proper to God, in that he onely hath power not to punish, that hath power to punish; and the Ministers of the Church concur hereunto no otherwise, but onely by bringing men by force of the Word and Sacraments into such an estate, wherein God finding them, will not punish them. The second kinde of absolution, is the freeing of men from the censures of suspension, excommunication, penitentiall corrections, and such punishments as the Church may inflict: and in this kinde the Church may properly bee said to absolve. The third kinde of absolution, is the comfortable assuring of men upon the understanding of their estate, that they shall escape Gods fearefull punishments. In these two later sorts the Ministers of the Church have power to absolve, and personall absolution in either of these senses is rightly said to be an Apostolicall and godly ordinance: but it is a written ordinance, and not an unwritten tradition, which is the thing that this man should prove. There is another kinde of absolution imagined by the Papists: which is a Sacramentall act, giving grace *ex opere operato*, to the remission of sinnes, which is not an Apostolicall ordinance, but an invention of their owne, whereof I have spoken ¹ elsewhere. Touching the ministration of baptisme by private persons in the time of necessity, it is not said to bee an unwritten tradition by the Bishop of *Winchester*, and therefore it is not to this purpose: no more then that Bishops are said to be *Divina ordinationis*: seeing the distinct degrees of Bishops and Presbyters are proved out of the Scripture. That confirmation is an Apostolicall

p Greg. 1. 30.
cp. 30.

q Appendix to
the 3. booke of
the Church,
cap. 24.

tradi-

* Hieron. cont.
Luciferian.
f Chap. 6.

* Hieron. ubi
supra.

* Acts 2.

* Bellar. de Sa-
cram. in genere.

y Acts 20.

z Revel. 2:

tradition, we confesse; but it is a written tradition, both in respect of the first practise of it by the Apostles, who laid their hands on such as were baptized by others; from which authority, the custome of imposing hands doth come, as *Hierome* testifieth; as also in respect of the necessitie of the continuance of it, in that the Apostle to the *Hebrewes*, reckoneth the imposition of hands together with the doctrine of baptisme, amongst the foundations of Christian religion. Wee doubt not therefore, but it is a fitting thing that the Bishop should confirme by imposition of hands, those that are baptized by others, but it is rather for the honour of Priest-hood, then the necessity of any law, as *Hierome* testifieth; for that otherwise they were in a wofull case, who in places farre remote, die before the Bishop can come to them, if none could receive the spirit of God but by the imposition of his hands. It is therefore a sacramentall complement not to be neglected, but not a Sacrament. But this good man will prove it to be a Sacrament. First, because, as hee saith, it is so joyned by us in baptisme. And secondly, because it hath both a visible signe and grace by the Communion-booke revived. It seemeth he was never any good disputer, he bringeth so many weake & filly arguments, and yet urgeth them as if they were unanswerable. Surely these reasons will be found too weake to prove confirmation a Sacrament, if they fall into the hands of any one that will take the paines to examine them. For first, if he meane, that it is joyned by us with baptisme as a Sacrament, hee is greatly deceived, seeing wee joyne it only as a Sacramentall complement. And secondly, though it have an outward signe, and invisible grace; yet the signe is not so much a signe of that grace which the Bishop imposing hands by his prayer, obtaineth for the confirmation of the parties he layeth his hands upon, as a signe of limitation, or restraint, specifying and setting out the partie on whom hee desireth God to powre his confirming grace: and therefore it hath not the nature of a Sacrament, wherein there must be a visible signe of that grace that is conferred. Secondly, because, though the Bishop overshadowing the party by the imposition of his hands, doe in a sort expresse and resemble the hand of God stretched forth for the protecting, assisting, and safe keeping of the party, which is an invisible grace, yet it followeth not that it is a Sacrament: for the fiery and cloven tongues, were a visible signe of that gracious gift of the spirit which the Apostles received in the day of *Pentecost*, enabling them with all fiery zeale to publish the mysteries of Gods kingdome in all the severall languages of the world; yet were they no Sacraments, as *Bellarmino* noteth, because the grace whereof these fiery tongues were a signe, was not given by force of this signe, as a set meane appointed by almighty God: So in like sort, the imposition of hands is a signe of protecting, assisting, and safe keeping grace, not given or obtained by the due use of this signe, as in Sacraments, but to be obtained by the prayers of the Bishop and Church of God. That which hee hath out of *Basil*, is to little purpose; for I hope, he thinketh not the doctrine of the Trinity to be holden by bare and onely tradition, without the warrant of the written word of God. And if Saint *Basil* reckon the forme of words, wherein we professe our faith in the blessed Trinity to bee a tradition, it proveth nothing against us, seeing the thing so professed is contained in Scripture. That the ordaining of Bishops in Diocesses to rule their Churches, and Metropolitans in Provinces to call and moderate Synodes, was an Apostolicall tradition we make no question; but we deny it to be an unwritten tradition. For whereas in the *Acts* *Paul* sendeth for the Presbyters of *Ephesus* to *Miletum*, in the *Revelation* it appeareth by the Epistles of the Spirit of God, directed to the seaven Churches of *Asia*, that amongst may Presbyters feeding the flocke of Christ in *Ephesus*, there was one chiefe, who had a kinde of eminent power, who is named the Angell of the Church, and who is commended or reprov'd for all things done well or ill within the limits and bounds of the same. That the Bishop of *Winchester* saith, the Article of Christs descending into hell, and the Creede wherein it is contained, is an Apostolicall tradition delivered to the Church by the direction and agreement of the Apostles, is nothing but that we all say. Neither is the Popish conceit touching unwritten Articles of religion, thereby confirmed: for howsoever the Creed of the Apostles may be said to be a tradition in respect of the orderly collecti-

on of the principall heads of Christian faith into a brieft summe and Epitome, which are scattered here and there in Scripture; yet no Article of the Creed is believed or received by bare and onely tradition, but they are all proved out of Scripture, as that worthy and learned Bishop doth most excellently confirme and prove the Article of Christs descending into hell out of the same.

After these particular instances, this Author groweth to a generall conclusion, and asketh why we may not say with the Councell of *Florence*, cited by M. Willet for generall, and the Patriarches of the Apostolicke Sees there present, with the Councell of *Constance* not of unequall authority, and the Councell of *Trent*, that protestancy in all points is false, and Catholike religion true? It seemeth the good man is neare driven, and hath spent all his strength in this tedious discourse of Traditions, and therefore in the conclusion hee taketh a strange course: for instead of proving by the testimonies of Protestants, as hee undertooke, that *Romish* religion is true, and Protestancy false, hee asketh why hee may not say, with the Councells of *Florence*, *Constance*, and *Trent*, that Protestants religion is false, and the *Romish* profession true? Touching the Councell of *Trent*, it is of so great authority with us, that if hee had bene pleased to let us know his name, & urge his own authority, we would as soone have listned unto him as to that Councell in any thing it hath defined touching the controversies that are betweene us and the Papists: for wee know, that howsoever there wanted not many learned and worthy men in that meeting, that opposed themselves mainly against many things there questioned, and in conclusion agreed upon, they were forced to give way to the prevailing faction. I will give one example instead of many, touching the certaine knowledge each man hath of his owne estate, whether hee be in grace or not. There was great opposition in that meeting, many protesting, that the authours of uncertainty would bring in a worse error, then any was imputed to *Luther*; yet the conclusion passed against them, though in some ambiguity of words and termes, to give them some contentment: the like might be said touching the authority of the vulgar translation, and sundry other things, as it appeareth by the confession of their owne Divines there present. Wherefore to passe by that Councell, and to come to the Councells of *Florence* and *Constance*, I marvaile that this man dareth say they are of equall authority; whereas Cardinall *Bellarmino* reckoneth the *Florentine* Councell amongst those that are absolutely approved, and that of *Constance* amongst those that are partly approved, and partly rejected, in which number he doth likewise account the Councell of *Basil*. But it may be hee is of the faction of the *French*, who deny the Councell of *Florence* to be generall, who neither would come to it when it was holden, nor receive the decrees of it when it was concluded. It is true indeed that many Bishoppes of the *Oriental* and *Greeke* Churches were there, and many of them consented with the *Latines*, in hope of helpe from them against their barbarous and cruell enemies, so that it may carry some shew of a generall Councell; but the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was dead before the conclusion. Some protested against the union there agreed on; the churches of the East would not admit it, as being concluded by their Bishops that were there without commission from the, and therefore do not account it a lawfull, free, generall councell. But (saith he) the Patriarches of the Apostolicke Sees of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, were present with the Bishop of *Rome*, and subscribed to the decrees and conclusions of the Councell, therefore it must be accounted generall. The antecedent of this argument is most false & untrue, for the Patriarches of the Apostolicke Sees, were not there in person, but others supplied their places; neither can he say it was all one, as if they had bene personally present, seeing what their Vicegerents did in their names, in all likelihood they would have done if they had bin present; when themselves confesse, that the acts of the Popes Legate, are not of binding force, unlesse he ratifie them, for that sometimes, as in the deposition of *Ignatius*, and setting up of *Photius*, they may goe against his instructions. This I doe the rather insist upon, for that the union agreed on in this Councell, and consented unto by these Vicegerents, was disliked by the Bishops that remained at home, and so could be of no force, they that were sent, having no commission to dis-

^a Vega. defens. trident. decr. de justif. l. o. c. 7.

^b Ibid. cap. 46.

^c Ibid. cap. 8.

^d Bellarm. de Concil. cap. 7.

^e Andrad. de Script. & trad. authorit. lib. 2.

f Cit. ab An-
drad. ibid.

cusse or determine any other points of difference, but that touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, and yet adventuring of themselves to define and determine some other very important controversies. But to let this passe, these two Councils of *Florence* and *Constance* are ill matched by this Authour. For they agree no better together then fire and water, the one of them defining, that the Pope is head of the whole universall Church, and the other making him onely head over particular churches, but subject to the whole universall Church, and a generall countell representing the same. Whereupon *Cajetane* denyeth it to be a generall Council, and others say, it was a generall Council, but partly approved, and partly rejected. And doubtlesse howsoever this Authour make shew to the contrary, yet he knoweth right well, that this Council did more advantage our cause, and shake the Papacy, in making the Pope, as men subject to error and vile disorders, inferiour to generall Councils, then it helpeth them, or hurteth us, by disliking and condemning some positions of *Wickliffe*, partially and corruptly gathered out of his writings by his adversaries, and taken in the worst sence, which were so uttered by him, as beeing rightly understood, might have a good and Catholique meaning, as *Gerson* testifieth. And therefore, if it were granted, that it was a lawfull generall Council, yet it followeth not, that I must acknowledge *Romish Religion* to bee true in all points: seeing it is pronounced false by this Council in the chiefeft and most principall of all other, which is touching the supream commanding power of the Pope over the whole universall Church, and his infallible judgement from which no man may appeale.

But such is my infelicitie, that I must be forced to acknowledge, that *Romish Religion* is true in all points, though this council define the contrary. His wordes are, *This of necessity Doctor Field with his protestants must acknowledge, or freely by their recited doctrine confesse, that there neither is, nor can be hereafter, by his rule, any true and certaine Scripture, tradition, or religion in the world.* A hard case, and ill choyce, if we must needs runne into one of these extremities, either to acknowledge that our whole religion is false, or that there is no certaine Scripture, tradition, or religion in the world. But though the Sea be before us, and *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* behind us, yet I hope wee shall neither fall into the hands of the one, nor bee swallowed up of the gulfes of the other. Let us see therefore whither our danger bee so great, as he would make us believe. If, saith he, we neither have Scripture, exposition of the difficulties of it, not tradition, but by tradition, as Doctor Field hath granted, and those onely three rules to know them: if those rules may propose unto us false Scripture, false expositions of their obscurities, and false traditions in matters of faith, faith cannot be certaine, and the religion grounded upō it is overthrowne. If this be all, I hope the worst is past, for if I should grant as he maketh me absurdly to doe, that we have neither Scripture nor tradition, but by tradition: yet cannot those rules I assigne to know true traditions by, propose unto us false Scriptures or traditions. For what are they, but the constant practise of the whole Christian Church from the beginning, the consent of the most famous learned in all ages, or at least in diverse ages, no man contradicting or doubting, and the constant testimony of the Pastors of Apostolicall Churches, from their first establishment successively witnessing the same things? Indeed if these rules could propose unto us false traditions, false Scriptures, or expositions of the difficulties thereof, our faith could not be certaine, & all religion were overthrowne: but neither he, nor all the Devils in hell shall ever force us to acknowledge any such thing, neither is there any point of *Romish* superstition proved by any such traditions, as are found to bee true traditions by these rules. But will some men say, doth he make no shew of prooffe, that we acknowledge these rules may propose unto us false traditions, false Scriptures, and expositions of the difficulties in them? Doubtlesse he doth. For thus he concludeth very terribly against us. *The testimony and judgement of the Patriarches or Bishops of Apostolicall Sees, is one of the rules assigned to know true traditions by: but wee acknowledge that the Patriarches of Apostolicke Sees did erre in the Council of Florence, and propose unto us false expositions of Scripture: therefore we must confesse whither we will or not, that the rules we assigne, may propose unto us false Scriptures, and false expositions of Scripture.*

Unto

Unto this concluding argument, wherein the force of the whole chapter lieth, we answer briefly and peremptorily. First, that the major proposition is most false, as he well knoweth; for I never make the judgement and opinion of the present Bishops of Apostolicall churches, to be the rule to know true traditions by: but deny it, and profess the contrary against the Papists, and make onely the testimony of the Pastours of Apostolicall churches, successively from the beginning witnessing the same things, to bee a rule in this kinde. Secondly, that the Patriarches of the Apostolicke Sees, hee speaketh of, were not at the councill of *Florence* in their owne persons, but had others to supply their places, whose proceedings they disclaimed, and voyded whatsoever they did in their names, because they presumed to discusse and determine divers matters of controversie without directions and instructions for them. But howsoever we thinke of the proceedings in this Councell, yet he saith, no Protestant Church can shew any such authority for their cause, as that of the Councils of *Florence*, *Constance*, and *Trent*. It had beene well if hee had beene better advised before he had so much disenabled us: for he shall finde that we can and will shew farre greater authority for our cause then the late Councils of *Florence*, *Constance*, and *Trent*, and that in the weightiest points of all other. For did not the Bishops in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, profess openly, that the reason why the Fathers gave the preëminence to the Bishop of *Rome*, was the greatnesse of his city, being the seate of the Emperours, and that they thought it fit to give equall priviledges to the Bishop of *Constantinople* for the same cause, seeing it was become the seate of the Emperors, and named new *Rome*? Did not the 6. generall Councell in *Trullo* confirme the same parity of the B. of *Constantinople* with the B. of *Rome*? and doe not the decrees of these two Councils shake in peeces the whole frame and fabricke of the Papacy? Did not the second, fourth, and sixth Councils, &c. make the B. of *Constantinople* a Patriarch, and set him in degree of honour before the other two of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, notwithstanding the resistance of the *Romane* Bishops, & their claime from *Peter*? Did not the sixth generall Councell blame the Church of *Rome* for sundry things, and particularly among other, for forcing married men entring into the orders of ministry, to forsake the matrimoniall society of their wives? Did not the Councell of *Nice* referre both Bishops and other inferiour Clergy-men to bee ordered by their owne Metropolitanes, and the Councils of *Africa* thereupon condemne appeals to *Rome*? Did not the Councell of *Eliberis* forbid the lighting of tapers in the Cœmeteries, or places of buriall, to the disquieting of the spirits of the Saints departed? and did it not abolish those pernoctations in the places of buriall which *Hierome* urged so violently against *Vigilantini*, and forbid the having of any pictures in Churches: *Ne quod colitur, aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur*? Doth not the Canon of the Apostles prescribe, that all the faithfull that come together in the Church, and communicate not in the Sacrament shall be excommunicate, which also the Councell of *Antioche* reviveth, and confirmeth? Doth not *Gelasius* command all them to be excommunicated, that receiving the Sacrament of the Lords body, abstaine from the participation of the cuppe? Did not the Church of *Rome* thinke it so farre necessary that the people should communicate in both kindes, that *Ordo Romanus* prescribeth on good Friday, when they consecrate not, but receive that which was reserved being consecrated the day before, they should take wine and consecrate it by putting or dipping the body of the Lord into it, with pronouncing the Lords prayer, that so the people might receive the whole Sacrament? and yet now the halfe Communion is sufficient. Did not the *Milevitane* and *Arausicane* Councils condemne those errors touching the strength of nature and power of free-will to performe the workes of vertue, without assistance of speciall grace? which since have beene received in the *Romane* Schooles, as if they had beene Catholique verities. The like might be shewed in many other particulars, but these may suffice. Wherefore let us proceed to his eighth chapter.

b Concil. Carthag. 6. & 7. cap. 105. epist. Concil. ad. Celestinum.

C H A P. 8.

IN this chapter, first he sheweth that generall Councils are of highest authority in the Church of God: and secondly, labourerh to prove, that they testifie for *Romish* Religion. To prove that Councils are of highest authority in the Church of God, which no man denyeth, hee produceth the testimonies of the Bishop of *Winchester*, Doctour *Morton*, the Protestant Relator of Religion, and Doctour *Sutcliffe*. And lastly addeth, that I am clearely of the same opinion, assuring all men, that the interpretations of Scripture proposed by private men, are not so proposed and urged by them, as if they would binde all others to receive them, and that none but Bishops assembled in a Generall Councell may interpret Scriptures in such sort, as by their authority to suppress all them that gaine-say such interpretations. For so are my wordes, which hee hath altered, to make men thinke I allow none in any sort to interpret Scriptures, but generall Councils: wherein he wrongeth me, as he well knoweth, seeing I professe the contrary, even in the place cited by him. This allegation of my words might have beene spared, seeing there was never any man doubted of the truth of that, for prooffe whereof he alledgeth them.

Wherefore let us come to his second part, wherein he endeavourerh to shew, that generall Councils make for the *Romish* Religion: this hee proveth, because when Protestants deny the authority of generall Councils, they have no excuse, but because they were called by the Popes authority. So, saith he, Doctour *Field*, Doctour *Sutcliffe*, *M. Willet*, and the rest. Surely it is a most shamelesse kinde of dealing to charge men with that they never thought, spake, nor wrote: yet so doth the honest man use me in this place: and therefore citeth neither booke nor page, as he is wont to doe, but sendeth his Reader to seeke that which he shall never finde. For I never denied the authority of any councell, onely because it was called by the Pope, as he untruely reporteth: so that it is vaine and foolish that hee urgeth, that in so doing I contradict my selfe, in that the rules assigned by me to know true traditions, as the testimony of the Pastors of Apostolicall Churches from the beginning, the practise and consent of holy Fathers doe warrant us, that that priviledge ever belonged to the See of *Rome*, that without the consent thereof no councell could bee called, none confirmed. For the clearing of this point, touching the calling and confirming of councils, we must note that they are of diverse sorts: some Diocesan, holden by each Bishop in his Dioceſe: some Provinciaall, consisting of the Bishops of a Province called together, or at least moderated by the Metropolitan: some Patriarchicall, consisting of the Metropolitans and Bishops of diverse Provinces under one Patriarch: and some Oecumenicall, consisting of all the Bishops in the world. The canon he speaketh of, must bee understood of Oecumenicall councils onely, wherein things concerning the faith and state of the whole Catholique Church are handled; for otherwise each Bishop might hold a Diocesan Synode, each Metropolitan a Provinciaall, and each Patriarch a Patriarchicall, without requiring the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*: wherefore let us see how, and in what sort the consent of the Bishop of *Rome* was required to the holding of generall councils, and to what purpose his confirmation of their decrees was sought. Cardinall *Cusanus* handleth this matter excellently well, shewing at large, that the meaning of the Canon of the Primitive Church, was not to give any such absolutenesse to the Bishop of *Rome*, that his negative should dash all, or his affirmative establish what hee pleaseth, without the consent and approbation of the rest: but that being one of the prime Patriarches and chiefe Bishops of the Christian Church, nothing should be concluded without seeking, requiring, and expecting his presence, joynt deliberation and consent: which is not to bee marvelled at, seeing no generall councell can bee of force, wherein the meanest Bishop in the world is purposely neglected or refused, offering himselfe to such deliberation. As no chapter act can bee good, wherein any one having voyce in chapter, is neglected, or excluded: though when

when he is present, or at least called, & not excluded nor neglected, things may passe, though he say no; even so in like sort in a generall councill, though no such assembly be lawfull and of force, wherein the Bishop of *Rome* is neglected, or his joynt deliberation and consent not sought: yet a man is rather to adhere to the Fathers in such a meeting consenting together, then to the person of the Pope contradicting or refusing to assent to that they resolve on: as not only those Papists do think, that teach the Pope may erre, and is inferiour to generall councils in the power of jurisdiction, but they also that are opposite to them in judgement, as *Andradinus* sheweth out of *Cardinall Turrecremata*, who professeth, that a man should rather assent to the consenting voyce of the Fathers assembled in a generall councill, then to the person of the Pope dissenting from them, or refusing to confirme and ratifie that they agree upon: & that in the power of discretive judgement the councill is greater then the Pope. Besides this we are to observe, that when the canon provided no councill should bee holden, and be of force without the Bishop of *Rome*, the meaning of it was not precisely in respect of his person, but of him, and the Metropolitans and Bishops of the West Provinces subject to him as Patriarch of the West, who were a great and principall part of the Christian Church. For the manner was when a generall councill was to bee holden in the East, as all the generall councils that have beene were, that the Bishop of *Rome* as Patriarch of the West, should impart the occasions of such a generall meeting in councill to the severall Metropolitans subject unto him; and they calling their Bishops together in their severall provinces, should send whom they thought fit to the same generall meeting, with such directions and resolutions, as it pleased them; and as *Cardinall Bellarmine* hath rightly observed, it was enough if many Bishops of the East meeting and comming together, some few came out of the West; yea sometimes, though none at all came, as appeareth by the second generall Councill holden at *Constantinople*, if the resolutions which the Bishoppe of *Rome* sent as agreed on in the severall Synodes subject to him, as Patriarch, and the determinations of the Bishops and Fathers assembled, concurred and consented. And this doubtlesse was the reason why the confirmation of the Bishop of *Rome* with his Western Synodes, was required for the ratifying of Generall Councils: because never being present in person, and very few or none of his Bishoppes being at those Councils, it was necessary they should confirme and ratifie what the rest in councill debated, discussed, and resolved on by testifying their assent. For what could passe currently as an act of a generall councill, whereunto a great and principall part of the Christian World consented not? So that it was not the Popes personall confirmation that was desired in ancient times, as if all the Bishops in the World might erre, and the certainty of truth rested in him only, as some men now teach: but the consent of those Bishops that were subject to him as Patriarch of the West, as well as his owne: who being absent, were to ratifie, strengthen and confirme the determinations of them that were present, not as being more infallible in judgement then they, but by a joynt concurrence and agreement. This is all that can be proved out of the consent of Fathers, Historians, and practise of former times; and therefore this man doth but trifle in this as in the rest. Wherefore to conclude this matter touching Councils, I dare undertake to prove that Papists deny and reject more Councils then any of our Divines doe. Touching the right of calling Councils, and in what cases they may be called without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*, without any breach of the Canon alleaged, I have shewed my opinion in the fifth Booke of the Church. And therefore seeing the Authour of these proofes proceedeth no farther in alleaging any thing out of that which I have written, I will here leave him, not doubting but others whom he hath wronged will make him know hee hath dealt no better with them then he hath with me, and that therefore the plausible conclusion hee maketh in the end, of it selfe falleth to the ground, the premises upon which it should stay it selfe, being taken away. For we neither acknowledge that Papists holding the infallibility of the Popes judgement, the universalitie of his jurisdiction, and power to dispose the kingdomes of the world: beleeving free-will, to performe & do the actions of vertue, without assistance

Defens. fidei
Trid. l. a.

De Concil. &
Ecclesia l. i. c. 17. In concil. & 3. nulli fuerunt ex occidente sed Damasus & Celestinus, concilia illa confirmarunt nomine suo & aliorum Episcoporum, quos ipsi Rome collegerant. Constantinus pro 6. Concil. scribit ad Agathonem ut mittat tres personas de sua Ecclesia, & 12 Metropolitanos de suo concilio. Agatho rescribit, cum universis Synodis subjacentibus Concilio Apostolice Sedis.

The third part.

of speciall grace, perfection of inherent righteousness, satisfactions, merit of condignitie, propitiatorie sacrifice of the Masse, and the like, can ever be saved so living & dying; nor that the present *Roman* Church is the true Church of Christ, nor that the preeminence they now give to the Pope, was either claimed or practised over the whole Church, from *S. Peter* to those our dayes, as this namelesse & shamelesse Author saith we doe; nor that all the bookes which the *Roman* Church now receiveth for canonical Scriptures were delivered for such by the Apostles, or received for such by the Church; nor that the true and best translations of holy Scripture, with the lawfull supreme binding exposition of them, together with Apostolicall traditions, generall Councils, or primitive Fathers give any testimony that the present *Roman* Church is that company of holy ones, that household of faith, that Spouse of Christ, and church of the living God, which is so diligently to be sought after; whose communion we must embrace, whose directions wee must follow, and in whose judgement wee must rest; but contrariwise wee are well assured all these doe witnesse against her, that she is an erring hereticall and apostaticall church; that shee hath forsaken her first faith, departed from her primitive sincerity, plunged those that adhere unto her into many grosse and damnable errors, and defiled her selfe with intollerable superstition and idolatry, so that as well in respect of her errors in faith, superstition and idolatry in divine worship; as of her slanderous, treacherous, bloody, and most horrible & hellish practises, to overthrow and destroy all that doe but open their mouthes against her abominations, wee may justly account her to be the Synagogue of *Sathan*, the faction of Antichrist, and that *Babylon* out of which wee must flie, unlesse wee will be partakers of her plagues.

28 SE 60

FINIS.

